

The History of Denmark.

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On which he had received from a poisoned weapon
 contest with *Svend*.

I N G E L L.

THE *Danes* immediately assembled and chose his son *Ingell*, *Ingell* or *Liplet* to succeed his father. This prince at first abandoned himself to a life of indolence and debauchery, into which he was fully drawn by some of the nobility, who formed delights upon his crown, intending by this means to alienate from him the affection of his people. The foresight and natural good sense of the young monarch penetrated into their machinations, and covered him at a time when he was plunged in a life of dissipation and pleasure. All of a sudden he discarded his old companions, and, like our *Henry*, assumed at once a behaviour and dignity worthy of majesty. His dismissal of the first nobility of the realm occasioned murmurings among them, which soon broke out into open rebellion. Here *Ingell* distinguished his valour, his prudence, and his clemency. He first defeated his enemies, obliged them to submit to his terms, and then not only pardoned them, but took them again into favour, which he esteemed the true method of gaining their affections, and securing their allegiance; but he first insisted upon a total reformation of their manners, and enforced this by his own example. We find indeed a different character of this prince in *Heimskringla*, who relates, that after the suppression of this rebellion, he fell again into his old errors, and ended his reign in the same glorious manner in which he began.

O L A U S II.

UPON his death his son *Olaus II.* mounted the throne, in *Olaus II.* inheriting all the vices of his father, without one of his virtues. His whole reign, which happily did not exceed ten *3016 king.* years, was a series of luxury, profusion, and the most scandalous lust and debauchery. He died however seemingly repentant, as appears by the speech he made to his sons on his death bed, in which he exhorts them to retrieve by their just the *Scandinavian* honour, which had greatly suffered by *weak and dissolute measures* (A).

FROTHIO.

Saxo Gram. l. vi. et *Aust.* citat. *Saxo Gram.* l. vi. p. 47. *Meurs.* l. ii. p. 24.

(A) *Saxo Grammaticus* and the first, altho' it appears, upon *Pontanus* call this prince *Olaus* undoubted authority, and indeed upon

FROTHO V. and HAROLD I.

FROTHO V. and Harold I. sons to the late monarch, were both raised to the throne, sharing the sovereignty between them; the one presiding over naval affairs, and the other taking it upon him to direct whatever belonged to the armies and land forces of the kingdom. *Frotho*, as the eldest, chose the former province; a presumption that maritime employments were held more honourable and important than the land service (A). *Frotho* entered first upon action, and made an unsuccessful descent upon some of the neighbouring coasts; his soldiers, most of whom were married, refusing to enter upon any dangerous enterprize, by which their families might be brought to ruin; and *Alnusius* expressly affirms, that the influence which *Frotho's* queen had over him, occasioned his disgrace. The particulars, however, of this affair are not recorded, and we only know that he quitted his employment in disgust to *Harold*, who immediately established a maxim, that no married man should be enlisted into the sea or land-service; a measure that was attended with the happiest consequences. The soldiers, emulous of glory, and free from domestic cares, braved all dangers, and obtained numberless victories under the conduct of the brave *Harold*; after which they were permitted to return home, to settle and enjoy the fruits and glory of their toil and courage. *Frotho* was stung with envy at the success of his brother's arms, who of valour had so much eclipsed his own actions; and unable to support the sight of a person, whose victories reminded him of his own defeat, and whose public character he deemed a tacit reproach, took the base resolution of having him murdered. His resentment had fortified his heart against the dictates of honour, brotherly love, and humanity: he employed an assassin, accomplished his end, and then murdered the tool of his villainy, the better to conceal it*. But parricide is a crime, against which the Almighty seems, in a particular manner, to

Harold
refuses to
enlist mar-
ried men

He is mur-
dered by
his brother.

* SAXO GRAM. vi. MEURS. p. 24.

upon their own, that *Ulf* had changed his name to *Claus*, who is, for this reason, properly distinguished by the appellation of *Claus* the first (1).

(A) The Danish writers are divided in their opinions con- cerning the departments these princes agreed upon. *Pontanus* says, that maritime affairs were committed to *Harold*; that this probably happened after the miscarriage of his brother (2).

(1) Saxo. p. 48. (2) Pontanus. l. i. p. 27.

He appointed his vengeance. *Frotho's* own conscience was sufficient accuser, and gave such evidence again him, as convinced the whole world that *Harold* met with his death from the hand of his own brother. All his measures were directed by phrenzy and despair, which became visible in his countenance. He imagined he could not be secure while the children of *Harold* lived, and took measures to quiet his mind, by increasing the number of his crimes, and superadding the murder of his nephews to that of his only brother. His designs, however, were frustrated by the vigilance of a nobleman, to whom the education of the young princes was committed. After concealing his pupils in a cave, the faithful guardian returned to court, and implored that he would abstain from shedding his own blood, and not deprive his innocent nephews of life, after robbing them of a royal and brave parent. *Frotho*, pretending to be moved by the intercessions of this honest nobleman, and nearly accomplished by dissimulation what he could not effect by force. A few years after, he got the young gentlemen into his hands, and was going to have them slain, when their own blood saved them: they pretended to quarrel, and desired leave to decide their dispute by the sword, which the king readily granted, in expectation that their warmth, courage, and animosity, might effect his purposes, without dipping his own hands in their blood. He was even cruel enough to be a spectator of the fight, and thus his punishment was brought about by the invisible operations of Providence. For the princes, upon a signal agreed, turned upon their uncle, and in an instant laid him dead on the ground with their swords. Thus perished the treacherous and bloody *Frotho*, by the hands of his own nephews, after a reign rendered infamous to all posterity, by the barbarous murder of a brother, who was the greatest ornament of his family and kingdom, as well as the most valourous prince of his age.

HALDANE II. and HAROLD II.

FROTHO was succeeded by the two sons of *Harold*, the oldest named *Engelstene* and the youngest called after his father. *Halldane* immediately engaged in a war with *Sward* king of *Sweden*, for reasons with which we are unacquainted, after giving him frequent and signal defeats, he at length slew him in battle with his own hand. *Erub*, the son and successor of *Frotho*, to revenge his father's death, made a sudden descent

^b PONTAN. l. 1 p. 27. STANING p. 47.

Harold taken up in deciding a dispute with some *Saxon* lords. *Haldane* immediately assembled an army, and gave the *Swedes* battle; but the success was not agreeable to his courage and the justice of his cause; for after an obstinate engagement he was slain in the arms of victory, which *now* immediately declared for *Erick*. Upon this *Haldane* returned to *Denmark*, drove *Erick* out of his dominions, pursued him into *Sweden*, defeated him and terminated the quarrel by the death of his enemy, whom he engaged in single combat. After this glorious transaction, he fitted out a powerful fleet against the pirates who infested his coasts, and was no less successful in this than he had been in all his former wars. Towards the close of his life, and in a very advanced age, he married the princess of *Norway*, and by her had a son born on the very day in which he died, of a lingering disease contracted in consequence of the fatigue and cold he sustained in his campaigns. Such were the actions of the glorious *Haldane*, commonly called the son of *Thor*, (a *Danish* deity) from his invincible courage and those generous qualities which seemed to elevate him above the rank of mortals. His name had spread itself over all the northern kingdoms, and in *Sweden* particularly his memory was no less respected than in his own proper dominions; such was the clemency, affability, and engaging manners of this celebrated warrior.

U N G U I N, or H A G U I N.

Unguin, THE diet of the states elected in the room of *Haldane*, or *Haguin*, his cousin, nephew, or as some historians alledge, his natural brother *Unguin*, or *Haguin*, king of the *Goths*. Some writers call this prince the son-in-law of the late king, tho' *Meurjius* and *Pontanus* affirm, that *Haldane's* daughter had been given in marriage to *Ebbo*, a northern prince, in her father's life time. All we know of this reign is, that it was short and bloody, the crown being obstinately disputed by *Reginaldo* king of *Sweden*, by whom *Unguin* was slain.

S I W A L D.

Siwald, *REGNALDO* did not, however, succeed in his designs, for the states immediately elected *Siwald* in the room of his deceased father. The war still continued with *Sweden*, to say, from *Reginaldo's* continuing his claim, while others af-

c SAXO, *ibid*.

d GRAM. p. 110, & seq.

that *Siwald* renewed it with intention to avenge his father's death. *Pontanus*, indeed, speaks of the *Swedish* war as if it had happened towards the close of *Siwald's* reign, and attributes the quarrels in which he was at first engaged to the beauty of his daughter, who raised contentions among all the northern princes, some of them endeavouring to force *Siwald* to comply with their proposals. Indeed, the transactions of his reign are so variously related, that we can affirm nothing of this more than, that he did not degenerate from the heroic spirit, which had distinguished almost all the preceding kings of *Denmark*. His death is variously related as his life, some writers asserting, that he died in his kingdom; while others affirm, that he died in his days a miserable exile in *Scotland*, where he had been driven by *Uloa*, the son of *Hamund*, who had defeated him in a sea-engagement; a circumstance which *Saxo Grammaticus*, *Meursius*, and other historians relate of *Siwald II.* (

I G. A. R.

SIWALD left behind him three sons, *Siga*, *Alno*, and *Alger*, the former of whom, by right of primogeniture, succeeded to his crown. We say by right of primogeniture, for though the *Danes* kept in their own hands the power of electing their monarchs, yet they seldom set aside the royal issue, and particularly the eldest son, unless his incapacity or some other reason rendered it necessary. *Alno*, being of an indolent temper, committed the care of government to his brother, a prince of a very different cast, and equally respectable for the qualities of his body and mind. The first act of *Alfo's* administration, was the sending ambassadors to demand in marriage *Avilda*, daughter to the king of *Gothland*; a lady who, at this time, contrary to the manners and disposition of her sex, exercised the profession of piracy, and was scouring the seas with a powerful fleet, while a foreign

MEURS. & SUAVING. *ibid.*

(A) *Suaningius* relates, that in single combat forty *Swedish* warriors, and concluded his marriage to *Ubbi Otharo*; in warlike achievements by the preference to all the other rivals; and that, assisted by his son-in-law, he attacked *Reginald* and slew him in battle: that afterwards he killed in

(1) *Ibid.* p. 49.

E 4

prince

Alfo dif- p. 105. was offering sacrifices to her beauty at the shrine of
 putes the love. Alfo, perceiving that this mafculine lady was not to
 be gained by the ufual arts of lovers, took the extraordinary
 refo- her refolution of addreffing her in a method more agreeable to
 her humour. He fitted out a fleet, went in queft of her,
 land by and engaged her in a furious battle, which continued two
 arms, and days without remiffion; thus gaining poffeffion of a heart to
 after, cor- be conquered only by valour. After this conquest of the
 quering her brave amazon, Alfo turned his arms againft other pirates who
 marries the had infested the cofts of *Denmark*. In this expedition he
 amazon. fell in with a fleet commanded by the three fons of *Hamund*,
 king of *Sweden*, and immediately entered upon action. Af-
 ter continuing the whole day an engagement, which was
 fought with equal obftinacy, both fides, night feparated
 the combatants, and next morning propofals were made for
 an accommodation, which were accepted by the parties.
 They each of them had fufficient proofs of the courage of
 fuch antagonifts, and as neither harboured any perfonal
 were, they parted with hearty profefions of fincere
 friendfhip. Notwithftanding this treaty, Alfo
 and thofe wld. the war againft the *Hibernian* princes, at the
 invitation of an art-crafty *Danifh* nobleman, who per-
 fuaaded him that his honour was engaged in obtaining a com-
 plete victory over thofe boyifh commanders. In confequence
 he fitted out a fleet, engaged them a fecond time, and after
 killing *Helvin* and *Lamund*, the two eldeft of the brothers,
 was himfelf flain by the hand of *Hagabert* the third. The
 victorious *Hagabert*, hearing of the extraordinary beauty
 of the king of *Denmark*'s fiftter, drefled himfelf in women's
 apparel, and found means to infinuate himfelf in quality of
 maid of honour to the princefs, to whom he foon made a
 declaration of his fex and quality, and the motives which had
 compelled him to fo extraordinary a proceeding. His youth,
 beauty, and love, foon wrought upon the affections of *Signa*,
 for that was the princefs's name, and the confequence was
 the lofs of her virtue, and of *Hagabert*'s life; for the in-
 trigue coming to *Sigar*'s ears, he ordered him to be hanged
 upon a gibbet without form of trial. This was fo cruel a
 ftroke to the fond *Signa*, that in deſpair ſhe retired to the
 palace, and afterwards ſtrangled herſelf, putting an end to
 a life which would be inſupportable to her, after the igno-
 minious catastrophe of her lover. *Sigar* was inconſolable
 at the unhappy end of a fiftter and brother he loved with
 a tender affection; and his misfortune was aggravated

by the melancholy situation of his kingdom, now invaded by a powerful army from Ireland, commanded by Haco, the king's fourth son, who was come to revenge the death of his brethren. Sigar's grief did not, however, prevent his taking every possible measure for the security of his kingdom. He placed guards on the passes, and took possession of all the strong posts through which Haco must pass to Roskilde and Lettra, then the residence of the Danish monarch; but all these precautions were surmounted by the art and conduct of Haco: he ordered his men to cut down boughs and green branches of trees, which they held in their left hands, marching with their drawn swords in the right. So extraordinary a phenomenon, as a moving forest, terrified the Danish soldiers, and made them abandon their posts without the least resistance; so that Haco met with no obstruction until he arrived with his army at Lettra, where Sigar was encamped with a body of forces. A battle ensued, and the Danish monarch fell, while Haco was exerting a power far superior to what it was ever imagined he possessed.

S I W A L D, II.

IN his room was elected Siwald II. the son of a distinguished and popular voice of the people. So eager was the young prince to expel Haco, or Hacquin, as Pontanus calls him, and to revenge his father's death, that he assembled an army composed of both sexes, and gave battle to the Irish, after Haco had embarked near half his army. The fight continued for near three days without victory's declaring herself, till Haco fell towards the close of the third day upon which a panic immediately seized his troops, who were slaughtered without mercy by the Danes, until they were satiated with blood. Such was the carnage made on the field, that to this day it goes by the name of Valbrana, a word expressive of the horrible slaughter; though Meursius alleges, that this appellation was given to the field in which Sigar was defeated and killed. It is, indeed, the general opinion, that both princes perished in this engagement; and the male line of the royal family being extinct, the government of the kingdom was committed to five of the nobility, who divided the authority. Zealand was given to Hunding, Schonen to Ostmar, Funen to Hanno, and Rorick and Hother were chosen to preside over Jutland, which countries would seem to have constituted the whole of the Danish dominions at that period. In this situation was Denmark governed for the space of forty-one years,

^a Saxo, *ibid.* Pontan. l. i. p. 33.

^b Meurs. l. ii.

Haldane, who had espoused *Gurith*, daughter to *Sifet*, was raised by her means to the throne.

H A L D A N E

Haldane III. 37th king. THIS prince, the third of that name, was inferior to none of his predecessors in valour, and the other qualities of a great king; but his strength was so remarkable as to procure him the surname of *Strong*. The manner in which he gained the consent of *Gurith* his queen to add to her, was an extraordinary instance of his prowess; for he slew with his own single arm twelve guards, the boldest men who could be found, placed round her person to prevent access to all suitors; a precaution which was attributed to her chastity, and others, to the policy of the regents, who were sensible they must surrender their authority as soon as she was married. Some years after his accession to the throne, he engaged in a war with *Vifet* (A), a prince who had been his rival in the affection of *Gurith*. Several desperate battles were fought between them, at the last of which *Haldane* was killed, and the good fortune of his enemy, and rival in glory and power, the

H A R O L D III.

Harold III. 38th king. AFTER his death the states met for the election of a new king, and their choice fell upon *Harold*, the son of *Haldane*. *Harold* began his reign with an attempt to complete the measures entered upon by his father, the reduction of the regents, who had refused to surrender their authority to *Haldane*, though duly elected by the states. In this he was more successful, having obliged all the provinces to submit to the crown in the space of a few years. He begun his operations with declaring war against *Vifet*, who had killed his father: him he destroyed at a festival, which *Vifet* gave to his friends at the celebration of his nuptials with a lady of *Schonen*. He next directed his arms against the governor of *Southern Jutland*, and soon reduced that country, by the death of the governor, whom he slew in the field of battle. His next expedition was against the regents or governors of *Northern*

* Ibid, etiam SAXO & PONTAN. Ibid.

(A) *Vifet* was son to *Hunding*, viceroy or regent of *Zealand*. He succeeded his father in that office, and kept his authority for several years after the acces-

sion of *Haldane* to the throne. Probable it is, that his refusal to surrender it was one of the chief causes of the war.

Jutland

land, in which he met with the same success. Zealand and Funen followed the fortune of the other provinces; and thus the kingdom of Denmark was again reunited, and all those petty states subdued and destroyed in the space of two years, by the vigorous and intrepid conduct of Harold, who was now a second time proclaimed king of all Denmark. After this he returned by force to his throne and dominions, and king of Norway, from whence he had been driven by a strong party that had declared in favour of his sister. During his residence in Norway, Alvar king of Sweden breathed his last, leaving three sons, Ingo, Olaus, and Ingell, the eldest succeeded to the throne; but, not satisfied with his paternal dominion, he had commoners supported by a powerful army, made a descent on Denmark. Saxo relates, that the brothers only meditated an invasion, the news of which coming to Harold, he immediately entered Sweden, attacked the forces commanded by Ingo and Olaus, whom he slew in the field, after entirely routing their army. His defeat obliged Ingell to sue for peace, and accept of the terms which Harold thought fit to impose. The Danish monarch, equally generous in prosperity and firm in adversity, granted such conditions as Ingell ought to have been satisfied with; he seemed to acquiesce, expecting soon to find an opportunity of wiping off the late disgrace. Accordingly he invaded Schonen, while Harold was lulled in profound security, and carried off by violence the sister of the Danish monarch, whom he espoused. Hence the war was renewed, prosecuted with various success, and at length happily terminated, Harold, as just as brave, preferring an indifferent peace to the most successful war, which must necessarily be attended with the blood and ruin of many of his subjects. He was scarce returned from Sweden before the insolence of Ubbo, lord of Embden, or one of those states which now compose the circle of Westphalia, called him again into the field. It was not long before Ubbo found cause to repent his temerity; for he was defeated and taken prisoner, but afterwards set at liberty by the clemency of the conqueror. Nor was this all; Harold married him to his daughter, secured his friendship, and by his means strengthened his own interest upon the continent: but his success was not limited to these conquests; he reduced several nations upon the Rhine, took the Vandals, a people inhabiting that country on the Baltic, situated between the Vistula and the Elbe, into his protection, over-run Aquitain, and a part of Britain, which, says Grammaticus, had with-

Harold's
character.

drawn its allegiance from Denmark since the death of *Harold*. But what sets the equity of this monarch in the most conspicuous view, is that, after raising an arm to punish the perfidy of *Ingell* king of Sweden, he not only gifted from the enterprise on the death of that prince, but appointed guardians to his infant son, though the fairest occasion offered for annexing Sweden to his own dominions; a rare instance of moderation, which deserves being recorded in honour of sovereignty. The young Swedish king, mindful of his obligations, no sooner arrived at the age of maturity, than he declared war against his virtuous benefactor *Harold*, the event of which was the death of this great prince, admired even by his enemies for the elevation of his spirit, his valour, generosity, and attributes to his justice. We find by the preparations made for the war, to what a prodigious height of power this monarch had raised the kingdom of Denmark. *Saxo Grammaticus* relates, that his fleet was so numerous as to extend like a bridge across the *Straut*, separating Zealand from *Schonen*; and that, besides common soldiers, he mustered thirty thousand nobility in his army. His death occasioned the defeat of this otherwise invincible power, and obliged the Danes to patch up a peace at the price of *Schonen*, which was ceded to the victorious *Ringo*.

O L O, or O L A U S.

Olo, or
Olaus,
38th king.

THE glorious *Harold* was succeeded by his sister's son, a prince of a very opposite character to his uncle (A). His name was *Olo*, and first he was appointed to the government of *Schonen* by *Ringo*, who likewise obliged the Danes to submit to the authority of *Hettha*, a woman of a masculine spirit. Upon their remonstrances, however, he recalled her,

MEURS. l. ii. p. 30.

(A) *Pont. nus* speaks differently of this prince, though we know not upon what authority. According to him, *Olo* possessed the noblest qualities of mind and person, having this remarkable circumstance about him, that his eyes killed like those of the basilisk; meaning, perhaps, the sternness of his countenance, which struck ter-

ror into his enemies; a conjecture which we find supported by a fact. One of the Danish nobility having resolved to stab him, when he was undressing to enter the bath, the grim and fierce countenance of *Olo* made him drop the poignard just as he had raised it to give the fatal blow (1).

(1) *Meurs.* l. ii. p. 30.

compensated her with the sovereignty of that country, now called *Sleswick*, where she built the city of that name. *Olo* he substituted in her place, whence it appears that *Denmark* was the consequence of *Ringo's* victory, little more than a provocation to *Sweden*, though all the *Danish* writers omit *Ringo's* name in the list of their kings. Whether it was, that the *Danes* were uneasy under the administration of a prince imposed upon them by their inveterate enemies the *Swedes*, or whether their disaffection arose from his own cruelty, as some writers affirm, is a point disputed by historians: certain, however, that he was taken off by a conspiracy, formed against him by many of the chief nobility of the kingdom, and had common sense of a pretended king: a presumption that *Olo's* misfortune arose from personal pique and mal-administration, more than from the resentment of his subjects against the *Swedes*.

O M U N D

OMUND, says *Meurfus*, was elevated, not out of regard to his father's memory, but from the expectation which he, promising a youth afforded, of his resembling in virtue his great uncle *Harold*. When arrived at age, his nobility advised him to think of encreasing the royal family by marriage. This made him turn his thoughts to the daughter of *Ringo*, whom he had seen and admired when he visited the court of that monarch in his youth: but to the accomplishment of his wishes there, was an obstacle which he determined to surmount. *Ringo* had publicly declared, that he never would receive for his son-in-law a prince who had not signalized his valour. To render himself worthy of this honour, *Omund* entered upon a war with the king of *Norway*, who had lately refused to pay the usual homage to the crown of *Denmark*, and a powerful fleet was equipped for the occasion. In his way he was joined by *Oddo*, a prince who had received some cause of disgust to the *Swedish* monarch. *Ringo* was at this time cruising with a fleet off the coast of *Ireland*, and *Oddo* persuaded his new ally, that now, was the opportunity for recovering the liberty of *Denmark*, subverting the power of *Sweden*, and accomplishing his wish, with respect to *Ringo's* daughter. Persuaded with these arguments, *Omund* complied with *Oddo's* proposal of making a descent on *Sweden*, which was accordingly executed, intelligence being sent to *Ringo*, he returned instantly for the protection of his dominions, and a furious engagement ensued, in which both par-

has claimed a victory. To render things more decisive, they recruited their forces by mutual agreement, and fought a second battle more bloody than the former, at the close of which *Ringo* was mortally wounded. Upon this he sent for *Omund*, and told him, that now he had given proofs sufficient of his valour to merit the daughter of a warrior, and therefore he should contentedly resign himself into the arms of death, as he had the happiness to see his family strengthened by the alliance of *Sechra*, son-in-law; after which words he expired. *Omund*'s next exploits were against *Ruslan*, a warlike virgin, who usurped the sovereignty of some provinces of *Norway*, and pretended to extend her power over *Denmark* likewise. *Omund* defeated her in a sea-fight, but not so decisively but she withdrew her forces, and was again ready to enter upon action. *Omund* not caring to hazard a defeat upon a woman, determined to use policy, and being dint of gold weaned from her the allegiance of the *Norwegians*, who deserted her, and afterwards delivered her into the hands of her brother, whom she had dethroned, in revenge for which he put her to death, and was mean enough to pay homage to *Omund*, in acknowledgment of his services. Having honourably concluded some other wars in which he was necessarily engaged, *Omund* preserved his dominions in profound peace for a number of years, and then died sincerely regretted and esteemed by his people, who immediately chose his eldest son to succeed him. He was, indeed, a prince equally skilled in the arts of war and of peace, who had obliterated by the prudence and success of his administration, all memory of his father's cruelty.

S I W A R D.

Siward,
40th king.

SIWARD, on his accession to the throne, was complimented by an embassy from the king of *Sweden*, who demanded his sister in marriage. Imagining that this alliance might assist in uniting kingdoms always at variance, and prove advantageous to both, *Siward* complied, and the treaty was concluded. *Holland* was the place fixed upon for the celebration of the nuptials; but the *Swedish* monarch being beset by ruffians on the road thither, broke off the treaty and prepared for war, from a notion that the assassins had been hired by *Siward* to murder him. Both kings having raised forces, they met on the confines of the spot appointed for a more friendly intercourse, and a battle ensuing,

the Swedish monarch was slain, and his army totally defeated (A). Defeats and kills

THE war with Sweden in which Siward was engaged, furnished some auxiliary princes on the continent with an opportunity of revolting. They raised an army, obtained a victory, and reduced their sovereign to great straits. Such was their success, and the misfortune of Siward, that he lost all his dominions except Zealand and a few inconsiderable islands. His spirit, however, was not broke; he raised new forces, and determined to perish by their hands, or to reduce to obedience his rebellious subjects. Accordingly, he engaged the rebel army, commanded by one Simon, and just as victory began to declare for him, died of a wound he received by the hand of the rebel general. After he had given a mortal blow to his antagonist, both falling dead upon each other. Such was the end of this brave but unfortunate prince, who had become odious to many of his subjects, rather from a spirit of rebellion in them, than any fault in him. He left two sons, but they being carried off and kept prisoners by the rebels, his brother was elected king in his room ^b.

BATHUL.

BATHUL was raised to the throne less upon account of his own merit, which was but inconsiderable, than from a regard the people had for the blood royal, and respect for the memory of Siward. The state of Denmark was now truly deplorable; her dominions rent in pieces by rebellion, her power and credit sunk, and a king elected, the most unfit in the world to retrieve her affairs, by courage or conduct. There remained, of all the potent kingdom of Denmark, but Zealand & Funen, and those little islands, called by the Danes *Smålands*; Jutland, Norway, Schonen, Slefwick, Embden, &c. other countries on the continent, as well as several islands were dismembered from the crown. In this situation it would probably have remained, had not Jarneric, the son of Siward,

^b Saxo, l. viii.

(A) The event of this battle is variously related, *Meyfius* in particular affirming, that Siward was defeated, and forced to retreat precipitately to Jutland, where he was a second time routed by the *Slavi*, people who had revolted from his authority, and pursued to the island of Funen; upon which he made peace with them, by ceding Schonen to that crown (1).

(1) *Meyf. Hist.* l. ii. p. 31.

fallen

fallen upon the means of recovering his liberty, returning into Zealand, and of asserting the dignity of his ancestors, which was sunk during the weak and timid reign of his uncle *Bathul*, who now willingly resigned the burden of sovereignty, to which he found his own strength unequal.

F A R M E R C I.

Jarmerci, the first endeavours of this heroic prince were to recover the revolted provinces, and reduce them to their former obedience. He began with *Sweden*, that had led the way and encouraged his subjects in their rebellion, by which *Gothar* the king got possession of *Schonen*, *Futland*, and some other Danish provinces. He raised a great army, entered *Sweden*, defeated and killed *Gothar*, and in consequence recovered all that the *Swedes* had taken from his father and uncle: thence he marched into *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, and soon reduced them: from *Sleswick* he marched into *Pomerania*, and thence to *Silesia*, laying all that country under contribution, and exacting an oath from the nobles, that they would pay homage and a yearly tribute to the crown of *Denmark*. In a word, he not only recovered in a short time all the countries his ancestors had ever possessed, but greatly enlarged the boundaries of the Danish sovereignty. All this prosperity was not unattended with a mixture of adversity and domestic misfortunes, which more than counterbalanced the power and grandeur of *Jarmerci*. He had discovered an intrigue that was carrying on between a beautiful young lady he had taken for his second wife, and *Broder*, a son he had by his former. Enraged at a crime so unnatural, he gave orders they should both be instantly put to death, a sentence which was executed accordingly upon the queen; but his son found means, thro' the favour of his keepers, to escape, and raise civil commotion, which ended only with the life of his father, whom he believed, took, and put to death, in a strong castle which *Jarmerci* had built as a retreat in case of any unforeseen change of fortune. It is true, that both the queen and *Broder* were innocent of the crime laid to their charge, the whole being a contrivance of *Bicco's*, a nobleman of great power and ambition, who, out of resentment to *Jarmerci*, wanted to distract his councils. Such was this man's art and address, that he fomented the quarrel between the father and son to such a height, that notwithstanding filial duty on the one side, and paternal affection on the other, strongly urged them to a reconciliation, they were both made to believe that their security could only be effected by the death of the other. Thus ended the glorious reign of

His conquests;
tried
face of
affairs.

Is put to
death by
his own
son.

farmeria, a monarch inferior to none in valour and greatness of soul; but unhappily credulous in his temper, and easily wrought on by these diabolical instruments, who never fail to inlignate themselves in all courts, and create divisions with a view to raising themselves.

B R O D E R.

BRODER succeeded to his father's throne by the unanimous voice of the people, who soon had reason to repent their choice. The indolence and weakness of his reign encouraged several of the provinces recovered by his father, again to revolt; and the *Swedes* in particular took possession of *Schonen*. This is all we know of him, history being silent concerning the manner of his death, and of most of the particulars of his life.

S I W A L D III.

He was succeeded by *Siwald* III. a prince who had arrived to a great age before he was raised to the throne. The actions of his reign are no less obscure than those of his predecessor; nor do we know any thing of the particulars of the kingdom, until his son *Snio* was joined with him in the sovereignty.

S I W A L D III. and S N I O.

Now *Denmark* began to resume her wonted vigour, and immediately entered upon the recovery of *Schonen*, and the revolted provinces, which were soon obliged to submit, and surrender the ringleaders of the rebellion. *Snio* in the next place resolved to secure the crown in his family by marriage, and accordingly sent ambassadors to demand the daughter of the king of *Swedish Gotland*, who were all put to death by this savage prince, under pretence of their being traitors. Irritated at this indignity, *Snio* raised a powerful army, entered *Gotland*, laying the country waste with fire and sword. *Gotho*, for that was the king of *Gotland*'s name, perceiving that his forces were unable to resist the rapid progress of the *Danes*, challenged *Snio* to single combat, a proposal which he accepted, on condition that the kingdom of *Gotland* should submit to the conqueror. Upon this *Gotho* declined the combat, sent his daughter into *Sweden*, and fought a battle, in which his army was defeated, and himself forced to submit to the terms proposed by the victor.

^a SAXO, lib. ii. PONTAN. p. 34.

^b MEURS. l. ii.

A cruel famine prevails in Denmark, and occasions a barbarous proposal, which gave birth to the first migration of the country.

A. D.
383.

rious *Snio*. The king of Sweden married his ward, and while he was enjoying all the pleasures of love, was suddenly despoiled of his wife and treasure, by a rapid descent made on his kingdom by *Snio*, who carried her off in triumph. This rape gave occasion to a long and bloody war, which was terminated by a greater misfortune. Both kings having levied all their subjects, hardly any persons were left to cultivate the lands; the consequence of which was a cruel famine, that carried off incredible numbers of the people. This gave birth to a law, prohibiting, on pain of death, that a single grain of corn should be converted into malt, or used in any other manner than bread, of which the rich were in equal want with the poor; but this edict not having the desired effect, it was proposed by *Aggo* and *Ebbo*, two noblemen of *Jutland*, or of some other of the *Danish* provinces, that all the old men and children should either be put to death, or compelled to seek for new habitations in foreign countries. Intelligence of this execrable scheme coming to the ears of *Gambora*, or as other writers call her *Magga*, the king's mother, a woman of an heroic spirit, she immediately entered the council chamber, and in a very pathetic speech, represented the inhumanity of sacrificing their aged parents and innocent babes, who were unable to secure themselves possessions in foreign countries. It would better become, she observed, the piety and valour of the *Danes* to send forth their young men upon expeditions, which required strength, vigour, and health, and thus supply the wants of the infirm, weak, and aged, by leaving them their share of the public stock of provisions. This, she said, would answer the same purpose as barbarously sacrificing with their own hands, those beings who gave them life, and those innocent tender babes, whose support depended on their parental fondness. She proposed, that if the enterprise appeared so dangerous as to terrify any of the nobility from taking the command of this large colony, to lead it in person, and banish herself from her native soil, for the sake of her country, the sake of humanity, and every principle the most dear and valuable to a true-born *Dane*. *Snio* immediately assented to her proposal, and assembled the nobility and commons to settle the plan of migration. In this assembly it was agreed, that every ninth man in *Denmark* and the provinces, able to carry arms, should compose the colony; that it should be conducted by *Aggo* and *Ebbo*; and that the place of rendezvous should be that province lying between the *Elbe* and the *Oder*, and washed by the *Baltic*, the

* Saxo, *ibid*. FONTAN. & MEURS. lib. citat. SUAN. p. 53.
antient

antient name of which is not determined (A). By this means plenty was introduced in Denmark, and Snio lived in peace to a good old age, after having by prudence and conduct restored his kingdom to its antient splendor; and without a single blemish upon his reputation, except his carrying off by force the queen of Sweden, which may be looked upon as the cause of all the dreadful misfortunes which afterwards attended him by a cruel and ruinous war, and a still more destructive famine. We are not informed by any historian, whether Siwald his father resigned the throne to Snio, or whether he died soon after he had taken him a partner in the throne.

B I O R N O .

BIORN his son succeeded Snio; a prince of little merit Biorno, according to Saxo Grammaticus and Meurfius, though Lyschander, Pontanus, and Svaningius affirm, that the male royal line was extinct in Snio. All writers indeed agree, that here is a chasm of two hundred and ninety-eight years in the Danish history, Biorno alone standing in the space between Snio and Gormo; that is, from the year 401 after the birth of Christ to the year 699 of that æra; a period this the most busy but obscure in antient history, during which all those very extraordinary migrations were made from the northern countries, which destroyed the Roman empire, and wholly changed the face of affairs in Europe. Pontanus and others, to fill up this chasm, relate the expedition of the Wandali, Longobards,

Some different cultures concerning the chronology.

(A) Various are the conjectures of historians and critics concerning the time of this migration, the place where the colony established itself, and the derivation of their name, all agreeing that they were called Lombards after their departure, and Wirmuli, or Wimali, before. The Danish writers to a man affirm, that the famine which occasioned the migration happened in Snio's reign; tho' Paulus Diaconus, and other writers, make it later. Puffendorf, a writer of credit, asserts, that they settled in the isle of Rugen

and country adjacent, till the year 484, when they removed themselves into Pannonia, and other provinces of the Roman empire. As to their name, some derive it from their beards, Long Barb; others from their weapons called Barden; or Longo Barden; but the curious reader will find a satisfactory account of this people, whether Lombards or Longobards (for we make a distinction) in the nineteenth volume of our Antient History, p. 12. 497. & sequens (1).

(1) Vid & Got. Proteg. Hist. Got. p. 53. & Pontan. Hist. Dan. l. iii. p. 39. ad p. 57. Rastock Asaland, t. 1.

Lombards, and other northern nations, giving at the same time a long list of *Saxon* and *Svedish* kings; but as these matters relate nothing to our history, we think it more satisfactory intirely to pass over this period, and resume our narrative with *Gormon*, who was elected to the throne in the year 699 or 700 after the birth of our Saviour (B).

G O R M O N I.

Gormon I. According to *Lyschander*, *Gormon* was the fifth and second monarch who wielded the Danish scepter from *Dan*, and prince the most extraordinary of his age, not for the usual qualities of a king, but his profound skill in magic, and deep penetration into the secrets of nature. We must refer the reader to the wonderful tales he will find related of his magic skill by *Saxo*, who ascribes them all to a strict correspondence he maintained with the parent of deceit: they might pass for truth in the age of that enterprising writer, but they will scarce furnish amusement in these enlightened times, where even fiction itself requires the assistance of probability. We know only for certain of this prince, that he lived to an advanced age without engaging in any wars with his neighbours, and was succeeded by his son *Gotrick*, surnamed the *Generous*.

G O T R I C K.

Gotrick I. SOME writers call this prince *Guilbach*, and others *Godfred*; but we chuse to follow the authority of *Cronm.* and *Pentanus*. In the first year of his government the *Sax* rebelled, and he raised a powerful army to suppress it, which he soon effected, by giving them a signal overthrow, and obliging them, upon the birth of a Danish prince, to send a present to the king of an hundred milk white horses, in token of their submission and vassalage to the crown of *Denmark*. Immediately after, he married the princess of *Norway*, sending at the same time an ambassador into *Swe-*

^b MEURS. p. 36.

^c SAXO, l. 8.

(B) To supply the chasm, *Lyschander* in his *Genealogy* of the *Danish* kings, and *Suaningius* in his *Chronicon Danicum*, give the following table of kings; viz. *Roric* II. *Swan* I. *Guilbach* II. *Harold* III. (according to them;) *Erchall*, *Ver-*

mond II. *Quond* II. to whom succeeded *Bjorno* his son, whom we have made the son and successor of *Saio*. Of these princes they give no account, nor have they even quoted their authority for inserting them.

den,

den, to appease certain tumults which broke out at the general diet of that kingdom: but the ambassador's authority was despised, and he himself killed by a large stone thrown at him in the mob; an insult which *Gotrick* thought it his duty to punish. In consequence he invaded Sweden, defeated the Swedish army, subdued the whole country, and punished the persons concerned in the murder of his ambassador with a heavy fine. Scarce had he returned from Sweden, when Saxony was over-run by *Charlemagne's* army, while *Pip*, lord of the country, unable to resist so potent a force, implored the assistance of *Gotrick*, whose sister he had married; and the Danish monarch readily promised him speedy succour, because he saw the necessity of checking the growing power of *Charlemagne*, who like an impetuous torrent, threatened to swallow up all Europe in one universal monarchy. *Charlemagne's* retreat to oppose the *Saracens* prevented a battle at this time with the main army, but some posts which he maintained were forced, and his troops driven quite out of Saxony. When *Charlemagne* returned from Spain, *Gotrick* sent ambassadors to remonstrate to him, that Saxony was a fief of Denmark, which he thought himself bound to protect. He therefore requested him not to disturb the peace of that country, which would necessarily reduce the Danes to the necessity of opposing him with all their power, a measure that would not at all be agreeable to a people who entertained the highest respect for his majesty. As *Charlemagne* gave no explicit answer to this remonstrance, *Gotrick* resolved to enforce it by arms, and accordingly sent a powerful reinforcement to *Vitichond*, which enabled him to drive the *Franks* out of the barrier towns, and garrison them with Danes and Saxons. *Charlemagne*, offended at this presumption, sent an army under *Conrad* to reduce all Saxony to his obedience; but this general was defeated, and his army dispersed. Enraged at the indignity, *Charlemagne* entered Saxony at the head of an army, and by forced marches had nearly surprised *Vitichond*, who fled precipitately and took shelter with *Gotrick* beyond the *Elbe*. His army being destitute of a commander, became an easy prey to the French monarch, who determining to strike terror in the inhabitants, ordered above four hundred Saxons to be executed, after which he retired with his army, leaving strong garrisons in all the towns.

^d MEURS, & GRAM. *ibid.*

^e PONTAN. l. iii. MEURS.

ii.

Gotrick *reco-
vers
Saxony a
second time.* GOTRICK no sooner had advice of this defeat, than he led his army into that deplorable country, expelled all the French garrisons, and reduced it to its former obedience. Upon his return to Denmark, he heard that *Charlemagne* proposed sending his son *Pepin* with a mighty army to invade the Danish provinces upon the continent, and resolved to oppose him with an equal force. He levied a prodigious army, and equipped a fleet of above three hundred large ships, with which he proposed making a descent on the coast of France, and by this means to weaken *Pepin's* army. In a word, such was the valour, the conduct, and the mighty force of *Gotrick*, that *Charlemagne's* empire was never more endangered than from this formidable enemy, had not an unforeseen accident, and his usual good fortune, saved that powerful monarch. After *Gotrick* had over-run *East Friesland*, and some other provinces belonging to the enemy, leading his army straight to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, at that time the capital of *Charlemagne's* empire; he was stabbed in his tent by a centinel, bribed, as some writers imagine, by *Pepin*, to remove this dangerous rival to his father's glory. Other writers imagine, that this unworthy action was committed by his own son, in revenge for his having repudiated his mother, and taken another wife. Be this as it will, certain it is that the great *Gotrick* fell by the hands of an assassin, at a time when he was about to dispute the empire of Europe with the greatest monarch of the world, leaving behind him the reputation of a just, brave, merciful, and munificent prince, possessed of every quality which could gain the love of his own subjects, and the esteem and respect of all other nations. That he was the dread of his mighty competitor, appears from the excessive and indiscent joy which *Charlemagne* expressed on the news of his death. The exact time of this event is disputed; but *Suaxingius*, and some of the best writers, place it in the year 801 after Christ.

*Gotrick's
character.*

O L A U S III.

Olaus III. GOTRICK being killed, his eldest son *Olaus*, the third of 55th king. that name, was elected king of Denmark. This prince is entirely omitted by many historians, and others place him after *Hemming*, though *Saxo Grammaticus*, and *Meyrus* expressly say, that he was the son and immediate successor of *Gotrick*. *Olaus*, while he was endeavouring to bring to justice the murderers of his father, had the misfortune to involve himself in a civil war, in which we have reason to believe he

permeo, though we do not find this circumstance mentioned by any writer besides *Erasmus of Roterodamus*.

H E M M I N G.

ACCORDING to the same author, he was succeeded by *Hemming*, his only child. The first act of this prince's administration was to conclude a treaty with *Lewis the Pious*, settling the limits of their respective dominions, which was effected to the satisfaction of both parties, without any encroachment on the boundaries of Denmark, now comprehending great part of the German continent. After reigning for two years, with great applause, this excellent monarch expired on his last breath, and left his kingdom to his two cousins, *Siward* and *Ringo*.

S I W A R D and R I N G

DENMARK was divided between them, and a constant jealousy and perpetual wars ensued, by which this potent kingdom began to dwindle, and lose the respect it had long commanded from the surrounding states. At last the condition of the *Danes* became deplorable. *Siward's* subjects deposed him, and raised his infant son *Regner* to the throne, which furnished his rival *Ringo* with a fair occasion of invading *Zealand* and *Schonen*, where he met with little resistance. Immediately on his arrival he threatened with the most cruel and ignominious death, all the inhabitants who refused to acknowledge him for their king. In this critical situation, the people desired he would permit them to deliberate upon his proposal, which being granted, they assembled to debate on the measures which they ought to pursue. On the one hand their affection, and the oath they had sworn to *Regner*, inclined many of the inhabitants to remain firm in their duty; on the other, the power and dreadful menaces of *Ringo* terrified them. Various measures were proposed, and all were attended with thousand difficulties; in consequence of which the assembly was ready to break up without coming to any conclusion, when *Regner*, though then but twelve years of age, spoke in the following manner. "To what purpose is it, my friends, to irritate a powerful enemy, by any unavailing attachment to an unhappy prince, whom you hate not strength sufficient to defend? As deserting your king, and flying from your colours without urgent necessity, would be a crime of the most

c Scriptor. citat. ibid.

"heinous nature, so, adhering to them at the hazard of your own lives, when you are sensible you cannot better the cause in which you are engaged, and downright folly, and a trespass against the first principles of nature. Deceit in some cases is allowable: can it ever be practised in a more just cause than the present, or with more probability of success? You must deceive the enemy you are unable to combat; you must counterfeit submission, until an occasion offers of resuming your principles, recalling your king, and throwing off the yoke of the oppressor. A reverse fortune is never so easily surmounted as by yielding to it." This sensible oration from a child, determined them to follow his advice; as soon as they had conveyed him safe into Norway. They accordingly submitted to *Ringo*, and immediately gave notice of their intention to *Siward*, who without hesitation struck his tents and marched to give battle to his rival, equally desirous of coming to a decisive action. The armies met and engaged with unequalled fury, until *Ringo* was killed and victory had declared in favour of his adversary, who had likewise received a mortal wound, of which he died the next day; and happy had it been for Denmark had this event happened earlier, though each was deserving enough of the crown, had he enjoyed it without a competitor. It was their rivalry and ambition that reduced the kingdom to its melancholy situation, and the continuance of their wars would probably have made way for its total conquest by some foreign power^a.

*Death of
Ringo and
Siward.*

R E G N E R.

Regner, BOTH these princes being removed by death, *Regner* was recalled from Norway, and replaced in the throne (A). As soon as this prince had settled the domestic economy of his kingdom, which he found intirely ruined and confounded by the late civil discords, he marched into Norway against *Froe*, king of Sweden, who had invaded that kingdom, imagining that he could easily reduce it before the situation of the Danes would admit of their sending forces to its relief. *Froe* had, indeed, defeated *Siward* king of Norway, and made prisoners of his wife and daughters, before the arrival of *Regner*. He

^a SAXO, l. ix. MEURSUS.

(A) Authors differ considerably in the orthography of this prince's name, some calling him *Regner*, others *Reginfrid*, and not a few *Ragnifrid*. We have adhered to the orthography of *Grammaticus*, *Meursius*, and *Pontanus*.

now exposed them, and all the virgins who had fallen into his hands, to the most cruel indignities and insults, which made them receive Regner as their deliverer. The indignation of this prince was so highly inflamed by their piteous relations, that he marched immediately against the barbarous conqueror, and gave him battle; but with a very dubious event, until *Lathgartha*, a virgin of a heroic disposition, who had been ravished by the brutal *Aroe*, entered the ranks, and with incredible valour, drove the *Svebes* every where before her, till she opened a way to the flying, whom she pierced through the body before he was ^{able} to guard against her furious attack. The war was finished by this decisive action. Regner was so captivated with the bravery of the virgin, that he sought her of her relations in marriage, and obtained her with little difficulty.

Bravery of *Lathgartha*, a young lady of Norway.

Regner marries

DURING the king's residence in Norway, the provinces of *Tröndhjem* and *Oppland* revolted, and some commotions were excited in *Zealand*; his presence soon reduced affairs to their former situation, but not till he had given battle and defeated the rebels, all of whom he generously pardoned, excepting a few of the ringleaders, who were reserved for an exemplary punishment. Another revolt soon however broke out, and was suppressed with the same expedition and vigour; to this succeeded a third, and to that a fourth, which obliged him to treat these obstinate delinquents with more severity, and to put it out of their power to disturb the course of government by their rebellious and restless disposition.

REGNER's marriage with the valorous *Lathgartha* was unfortunate; for she was supposed to aspire at the crown independent of her husband, against whose life she was unjustly thought to harbour designs; upon the discovery of which he repudiated her, and demanded in marriage the daughter of *Harald* king of Sweden. Before he could obtain this lady, it was necessary he should fight the two greatest bullies in Denmark. This he performed with success, having killed them, and, in consequence, gained the prize, which had been contended for by all the surrounding young princes, inflamed either with love or ambition. By this lady he had seven sons, *Rathbert*, *Dun*, *Loth*, *Siward*, *Biorno*, *Agner*, and *Ivar*. In Harold the mean time, *Harald* threw off the Danish yoke, and chose a king, whom they called *Harald Klang*; upon which Regner raised an army in Denmark, and reinforced himself by a strong body of auxiliaries from Norway, which was afterwards strengthened by a fleet of one hundred and twenty ships.

He repudiates *Lathgartha*.

proclaimed king by the Cimbri, and defeated by Regner.

*The fidelity
and cour-
age of
Lathgar-
tha.*

of war, which *Lathgartha* had equipped for his service, and commanded in person. *Regner* was astonished at this instance of her affection; but she frankly told him that no inconstancy on his side could wean her from her duty, or oblige her to revolt from the allegiance she owed, both as his subject and his wife. "It says she, the charms of my person be faded in your eyes, it is requisite that I should endeavour to supply that loss by other qualities, more conducive to your glory and the good of these kingdoms." Such was the generous revenge which this noble lady took for the infidelity of her spouse. He marched with his army directly against the rebels, and begun an action which continued with great warmth and spirit without appearance of advantage to either side. At length, *Sward*, the son of *Regner*, was killed, which occasioned great confusion in the wing of the *Danish* army he commanded. *Regner* hearing of his son's misfortune, flew like lightning along the lines, exhorting his men not to add to his calamity by their misconduct, and rallying them with encouraging spirit and resolution, while *Lathgartha* led on the wing the king had left, and pushed the enemy with such irresistible valour, that they were broke and totally defeated.

*He subdues
Saxony.*

*Regner
defeats the
emperor
Lotharius.*

HAVING settled the affairs of this country, rewarded, and refreshed his soldiers, he led them without delay into *Saxony*, which he resolved to punish for its frequent revolt to the emperor. Arriving here with a fleet of two hundred sail, he landed his men with such expedition, that the *Saxons* were subdued almost as soon as they had intelligence of his arrival. The emperor *Lotharius*, then encamped with a large army on the *Elbe*, gave battle to *Regner*, and was defeated; but the *Danish* monarch was prevented from pursuing his victory, by disturbances that were raised in *Sweden* after the death of their king *Haroth*, whose children the nobles had driven out of the kingdom, raising one of their own number to the throne. *Regner* sent his sons with an army to reinstate the royal family, which they soon effected by a signal defeat, given the usurper. *Sorlus*, so the usurper was called, finding himself unable to combat the forces of the king of *Denmark*, sent a herald to desire that the issue might be decided by selecting a certain number of combatants out of each army; a proposal that was accepted. *Sorlus* chose one *Scardo*, the most famous swordsman in *Sweden*; and his seven sons for his seconds; and on the side of the *Danes*, the three princes *Biarro*, *Fridleff*, and *Rathbert* offered themselves. The combat began in sight of both armies, and *Scardo* be-

ing killed, *Sorlus* and his children, unable to stand against the fury of the *Danish* princes, were soon forced to follow his fate. This conquest being obtained, the *Danish* army attacked the *Sweatens* and obtained an easy and decisive victory.

It would appear, that *Regner* went in person to Sweden, for we are told, that here he carried on an intrigue with a person of fashion, by whom he had a son, called *Ubbo*, who, born under an unhappy planet, says *Meursius*, afterwards contrived to dethrone the parent that begot him.

THE death of *Ubbo*, his beloved wife, so grievously afflicted *Regner*, that he found it necessary to divert his mind by engaging in some foreign war. Accordingly he published an edict, ordering all his subjects who were harassed either with idle children or servants, to send them to him for employment. As soon as he had raised a sufficient force, he put the affairs of his kingdom in the best order, and committed them to the care of a council, composed of twelve of the most prudent and weighty men in *Denmark*. After which he embarked his troops, and made so successful a descent on *Britain*, that in a short time he reduced the island, not even the *Orkneys* escaping his arms. In his return to *Denmark*, he appeased some commotions, set on foot in *Norway* by the pride and ambition of several of the nobility, who aspired at the crown. He was not long in *Denmark* before he married a third wife, by name *Suanloge*, and had by her three sons, *Reynold*, *Wifserc*, and *Erick*.

THE next exploits of this conqueror were performed in the *Hellepont*, against *Dio* king of that country, anciently called *Dio* king *Myfia*, who refused to pay certain duties which had always been claimed by the ancestors of *Regner*. This war ended as successfully as the former; upon which he turned his arms against the *Russians*, who had lent considerable assistance to *Dio*, by which he was enabled to prolong the war. We are told by the *Danish* historians, that this rude people confided more in the power of incantations, charms, and their skill in magic, than in arms; that they raised such storms of hail and snow, as reduced the *Danes* to the last extremity, and had almost conquered them by famine, who had always proved invincible in arms. *Regner*, after losing near half his army, was forced to retreat into *Courland*, where he was kindly welcomed and furnished with every necessary which the country afforded. Incensed at his late disgrace, he again entered *Russia*, with a resolution to bring the savage monarch to action.

^b Ibid. etiam PONTAN. l. iv.

The History of Denmark.

The king of *Russia*, for so he is called, foreseeing *Regner's* return, had procured a strong body of auxiliaries from the king of *Finland*, whose troops were exceedingly expert in throwing the lance. Relying upon these succours, he ventured to attack the *Danes*, unable, on account of the mountains of ice and snow, to extend their wings, or draw out in order of battle. *Regner*, for this reason, kept in his camp, and watched the opportunity of finding the enemy unguarded. Next night presented the happy occasion he wished for; upon which he led his army with the utmost expedition and silence in the middle of the night, and broke into their camp, while they were sleeping, themselves with the notion of starving the *Danes* into submission. In this disorder he obtained an easy victory; and after taking sufficient revenge, withdrew his army out of this inhospitable country.

*Ubbo, his
bastard
son, re-
volts, and
is con-
quered.*

THE long absence of *Regner*, furnished his eldest son *Ubbo* with an opportunity of displaying his ambition, and unnatural desire of deposing his own father, and seizing upon a crown to which he had no kind of right. In this wild project he was assisted by his grandfather *Esbern*, a man of great power in *Swedish Gothland*, where he raised a numerous army in support of *Ubbo*. But *Esbern* was defeated by *Biorno*, who was left præfect of *Gothland* by his father; and *Ubbo* meeting with a check from *Ivar*, the other son of *Regner*, went into voluntary banishment. Soon after, by the assistance of his grandfather, he equipped a large fleet, with intention to surprise his father at sea in his return from *Russia*. He met with him accordingly, but was forced to yield to the superior valour and justice of the parent. In this action *Esbern* was slain among the first, and his head fixed on the prow of *Regner's* galley, which so terrified *Ubbo*, that he made all the sail he could towards *Zealand*, where, once more, making trial of his fortune, he was defeated, made prisoner, and slain by his keepers, for having attempted to make his escape.

*Regner
conquers
Daxo, the
son of Dio.*

REGNER, who was born to shine as the first of heroes in the *Danish* annals, had no sooner suppressed this domestic sedition, than he was attacked by a more formidable foreign enemy; and this was no other than *Daxo*, the son of *Dio*, king of the *Hellepont*, whom he had lately overcome in several battles. The peace which *Dio* had concluded, was by no means sincere, and patched up only with intention of leaving the first opportunity of revenge. He submitted from necessity to the terms of the conqueror, and permitted his dominions to be governed by *Widserc*, *Regner's* son, who was left in quality of lieutenant, *Daxo* retaining nothing more than the name and pageantry of majesty. *Daxo* embraced the opportunity of a fair

fair that was held in the city, to perpetrate his base design of *Daxo* massacring *Widferc*. Accordingly he invited that prince to a ^{murders} feast, and had concealed a number of armed assassins; but ^{the brave} this scheme being frustrated by some business, which had pre-^{Widferc,} vented the lieutenant's attendance, he went early in the morn-^{son to} ing to his house, attended with the assassins, dressed like pea-^{Regner,} sants, and finding admittance, was forcing his way to *Widferc's* chamber, when the prince, alarmed with the noise, leaped out of bed, and placed himself, sword in hand, in the entrance. Here he valiantly defended himself till he received a wound, was overpowered with numbers, and taken prisoner. His valour had such an effect upon the treacherous *Daxo*, that he offered to share the kingdom with him, and to give him his sister in marriage, provided he would promise never to revenge this attack. But the generous *Widferc*, preferring death to owing an obligation to his perfidious foe, resolutely replied, "That he desired no greater favour of his hands, than his imbruing them in blood that would not fail of drawing upon the insidious *Daxo* the vengeance of *Regner*." Incensed at this haughty repulse, the cruel *Daxo* ordered him, with all his attendants, to be bound and thrown into a large fire lighted for the occasion, there fastening his eyes with the unhappy catastrophe of the valorous and noble-spirited *Widferc*. Advice of this barbarous action coming to the ears of *Regner*, it gave such a shock to his constitution, as had near unsettled his understanding. He ran about the palace like a maniac, tore his hair, rent his cloaths, and committed all the other actions of phrenzy and despair. This paroxysm of madness was succeeded by a fit of despondency and sullenness, which it was feared would intirely destroy his reason; but the good sense of the queen *Suanloge*, got the better of his grief, and roused him to a sense of his own condition, the situation of the kingdom, and the folly of lamenting, like a woman, what ought to be avenged with all the fury of an injured king and father. Convinced, with the many forcible arguments *Regner* this lady advanced, he levied an army, marched into *Daxo's* ^{revenges} country, defeated his army, took him prisoner, and, like a ^{his death;} truly generous prince, again set him at liberty: "Enjoy that ^{but gene-} life, said he, which would only be an unworthy atonement to ^{roughly} the manes of my brave son; and let thy own conscience be ^{grants his} thy punisher." However, to add to his mortification, he ^{life to} ordered that he should pay an annual tribute, and come in person, once a year, attended by twelve noblemen, all barefooted, in token of his subjection. After this, leaving his son *Eric* his lieutenant over the conquered countries, he returned to *Norway*, where some new commotions began to disturb the public

public tranquillity. These he soon suppressed, and settling the affairs of that kingdom, left his son *Bierno* to preside over them.

Regner
invades
Scotland,
and defeats
the king.

Subdues
England.

Rebellion
breaks out
in Den-
mark.

Christia-
nity intro-
duced into
Denmark.

BEFORE his return to *Denmark*, his eldest son *Suanloge* died, a circumstance which threw him into a sort of deep melancholy, that could only be subdued by the din of arms; and now the occasion offered: for *England* and *Scotland* both refused to pay the usual homage. This urged *Regner* to raise a prodigious armament by sea and land, which he transported into *Scotland*, and there fought a dreadful battle, which lasted three days, and ended in the defeat of the *Scots*, and death of their king. The victory, however, was not cheaply bought; for *Regner* lost his sons *Dan* and *Rathbert*, with a prodigious number of officers and soldiers in the engagement. Passing from hence into *England*, he fought there with equal success, and subjected the whole kingdom to his obedience, after defeating *Hella*, the son of *Haum*, who was assisted by a powerful reinforcement from *France*. Nor did *Ireland* escape the terror of his name, and the weight of his arm; for transporting his army to that kingdom, he slew *Melbric*, the *Irish* general, in battle, routed his army, and made himself master of *Dublin*, the capital, which he gave to be plundered by his soldiers. Before he returned to *Denmark*, his subjects there had broke out into open rebellion, and recalled *Harold*, who had before been set up as king in *Jutland*. This prince reflecting upon the power and valour of *Regner*, resolved to make use of every precaution to withstand him, and secure the possession of his new-acquired authority. Accordingly he sought the alliance of the emperor; which he obtained conditionally, that he would embrace the Christian religion, and propagate it with all his power through his dominions. *Harold*, the better to secure the emperor's friendship; without any religion, immediately became a convert to Christianity; without faith, abjured infidelity, destroyed all the pagan idols, and erected a church in *Sleswick*, where the doctrine of *Jesus* was publicly preached. *Regner* arriving in *Denmark*, as these new schemes of religion and politics were carrying on, attacked *Harold* without delay, overthrew him, and forced him a second time to seek shelter in *Germany*. Then he destroyed the Christian temple erected in *Sleswick*, and restored the worship of the pagan gods; a circumstance which mitigates by no means from his reputation, as he had yet received no conviction of the truth of the gospel, and had he embraced it, must have proved a convert from political motives; a reflection, which we thought necessary, in answer to the ridiculous defamation of Christian writers. This last act, say they, was evidently

punished by the Almighty; for *Hella*, king of *England*, revolting a second time, had seduced *Ireland* to second his views of independency. This once more drew the aged *Regner* into the field, where his usual good fortune, but not his valour, deserting him, he was defeated and made prisoner. His cruel enemies, without regarding the character of the hero, threw him board, into a dungeon filled with snakes, vipers, and poisonous animals, thus gloriously putting an end to a life grown old in glory and victory. A proverbial saying of this great king's in prison, determined *Hella* to set him at liberty; but too late, he had breathed his last before the order came to the jailor (A). Other writers have given a different account of the death of the great *Regner*; but we are of opinion, that the authority of *Danish* writers ought, in facts respecting their own country, to weigh against the testimony of foreigners; we have therefore related it as we find it asserted by *Grammaticus*, *Pontanus*, and *Meursius*, who correspond directly in all the circumstances of his reign. His whole life was an uninterrupted course of glorious victories, wise measures, and noble generous actions. His repudiating his wife *Lathgartha*, a woman of so sublime and elevated a soul, may be imputed to him as a weakness, if we suppose it proceeded from the inconstancy of his nature. But this does not appear; on the contrary, *Meursius* and *Grammaticus* affirm, that this lady's chastity was publicly taxed; and it was unworthy of *Regner* to cohabit with a wife, who had even been suspected of incontinence. Thus we see the errors of those writers, who place the conversion of the *Danish* kings in the reign of this monarch^a. It is true, *Harold* was a Christian, if we may give that appellation to a man who professed this religion only to serve temporary views; but he never was king of *Denmark*, he was only an usurper, who, by means of a faction, was raised four months to the throne, during the absence of the lawful prince, by whom he was driven into his primitive obscurity^b.

It is now difficult to fix with certainty the successor of *Regner*, and continue the series of *Danish* kings. The disputes and differences on this head, among writers, are numberless;

^a *Suening*. *Comp. Dan.* p. 63. ^b *Propis vid. Gram. Meurs. Pontan.* & *Suening*, p. 64.

(A) *Sueningius* says, that other writers, that the conqueror of the brave *Danish* monarch *Regner* was defeated by *Hella*, expressly affirming, was king of that country. P 63. contrary to the testimony of all

and it would be a vain endeavour to reconcile them : we shall therefore adhere to those who have kept the nearest to a natural chronology, though all, indeed, have greatly failed in this particular (A).

I V. A.

Ivar, 57th king. A.D. 836, or 841. According to the best authorities, *Ivar* was raised to the throne of his deceased father, and began his reign with revenging the unworthy death of that famous warrior. He was proclaimed immediately after *Regner's* death, which happened, according to *Murcius*, in the year of *Christ* 836 ; and if we credit *Petrus* and *Sueningius*, five years after. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, and, without hesitation, invaded *England* ; but finding *Hella* too strong for him, he sent to his brothers for succours. Their arrival with a powerful reinforcement, soon turned the scale in favour of *Ivar*, who defeated *Hella*, and took ample vengeance on him for the cruel death of his father. Some writers affirm, that he took him prisoner, and ordered him to be hanged on a gibbet before the camp ; but *Grammaticus*, with more probability relates, that *Hella* fell in battle (B).

*Ivar re-
venges his
father's
death.*

The better to secure the country, and gain the affections of the people, he remained two years in *England* ; during which time the *Danes* revolting, raised his brother's *Siwara* and *Eric* to the throne. This news alarmed *Ivar*, and obliged him to have recourse to the assistance of the *English*, of whom he embarked a large body, and sailed with them directly to *Holfuin*. At length he met with the *Danish* army, engaged and defeated it near *Sleswijk*, after a very bloody and obstinate contest, in which the rebels lost twelve thousand men. He now resolved to keep the *Danes* in awe by his presence, and therefore sent his brother *Agner* to govern in *England*. Here *Agner* resided but a short time before the *English*, uneasy under a foreign yoke, raised an army, and

(A) *Sueningius* and *Pontanus* intirely omit *Ivar* in their list of kings, though it is certain that *Regner* had a son of that name, of whom we have made frequent mention ; and as these writers have chiefly made use of the authority of *Saxo Grammaticus*, we are at a loss to conjecture upon what testimony they excluded this prince. As they have given no reason for his proceedinge, we think our-

selves excusable in adhering to the authority of that elegant historian.

(B) *Murcius* affirms, that *Hella* conquering *Ivar's* father, by the assistance of the *Roman* forces, whose standard was an eagle, he ordered an impression of this to be sealed on *Hella's* back, his body to be flayed, and sprinkled with salt, until he died in the most agonizing torture. P. 44.

were on the point of reducing him to extremity, when *Siward*, his brother, arrived with a body of forces to his relief; by which he was enabled to reduce them to their former obedience; and to prevent another insurrection, he cruelly massacred the pious king *Edmund*, with all the nobility of the court.

WHILE these violent transactions were carrying on in *England*, a rebellion was raised in *Sweden* by means of one *Osten*, a man of a turbulent aspiring disposition. Thither *Agner* flew with an army of *English*, and engaging the enemy with too great impetuosity, was slain in the heat of the engagement; but we are not told which of the parties obtained the victory. *Ivar* outlived his brother but a short time; for he was carried off by a fever in the fifth year of his reign; but not until he had acquired and merited the reputation of a great and warlike prince.

SIWARD SNAKE-EYE.

To *Ivar* succeeded *Siward*, surnamed *Snake Eye*, his brother. *Siward* In his youth this prince had distinguished himself by many extraordinary feats of valour in the field; but now having acquired the crown, he turned his inclinations to the arts of peace, endeavoured to restore industry, and promote the public tranquillity, that had so long been disturbed by a series of foreign and domestic wars. God, says *Meursius*, seconded his pious intention, and enabled him to complete a reign as pregnant with real felicity and true glory, as any which the annals of *Dunmook* can produce. He died and left an infant son, chosen by the states to succeed him in the throne^d.

ERIC.

THE name of this young prince was *Eric*, surnamed *Bern*, *Eric*, 591st or, as the *Scotch* to this day pronounce it, *Bearn* or *Child*. In his minority he was deposed by *Eric*, brother to the *Harold* we have so frequently mentioned in the reign of *Regner*, who took the reins of government into his own hands, assumed the supreme authority, and by means of a faction, obtained the title of king: a revolution that happened, according to *Meursius*, in the year 847, though, more probably, just ten years later.

ERIC the USURPER.

MINDFUL that his brother was deposed soon after he embraced the Christian religion, he took the strongest aversion

*Eric the
Usurper;
601st king.
A.D. 857.*

^c MEURS. l. iii. sub. init.

^d SAXO & MEURS. ubi. citat.

to the doctrine of *Jesus*, put all the ministers of the gospel in *Denmark* to death, and every where restored the pagan religion; from which we may infer, that Christianity had now begun to take root in this kingdom. As *Saxony* and *England* had now begun to feel their uneasiness under the *Danish* yoke, and to raise arms for the recovery of their liberty, *Eric* struck up a league and strict alliance with the kings of *Sweden* and *Norway*, obtained large supplies of land and sea forces from them, raised himself a powerful army, and with an hundred thousand fighting men, and a proportionable fleet, entered upon the reduction of *England* and *Saxony*, dividing his forces, that he might attack both together, and prevent their mutually assisting each other. Spreading terror wherever he went, the fame of his power was sufficient to reduce the revolvers to obedience, and submit to the terms he thought fit to impose, before he had set foot in either country.

A. D. 858. It was after his return from this expedition that we may date the era of Christianity in *Denmark*; for *Eric* was again brought back to embrace the truth of the gospel, in which

The usurper embraces and propagates Christianity.

both he and his brother *Harold* had been educated. *Ansgarus* bishop of *Bremen*, was the happy instrument of this conversion; in consequence of which *Eric* abolished the idols he had but lately restored, and published an edict of toleration, permitting all his subjects to follow the doctrine of *Christ* with impunity. Such was the force of truth, or such, perhaps, the inconstancy of human nature, always eager after novelty, that Christianity spread with amazing rapidity, and was greatly aided in its progress by the zeal and piety of the king, who, notwithstanding his devotion, never once thought of restoring the crown to the right owner: but the invisible hand of Providence brought about justice in a way which the usurper little expected, amidst the tranquility in which he had hitherto possessed the throne. *Guthorm*, his brother's son, became his rival, and connected his own cause with that of young *Eric*, the son of *Siward*, and the lawful king of *Denmark*. Violent were the dissensions raised among all degrees of men by this opposition. Such of the nobility as had taken part with *Harold* against *Regner*, or held places under the usurper, remained his fast friends; the rest of the nation in general, those who remembered the glorious *Regner*, and retained any sense of justice, gratitude, and compassion, took the side of *Guthorm*, and declared in favour of the young prince. A bloody battle was fought, in which almost all the nobility of *Denmark* were slain, and the numerous progeny of *Regner* entirely extinguished, except the son of *Siward*, the last hope

of this illustrious family *. The usurper too was slain, and *Young Eric* by this means made way for the young *Eric* once more to mount the throne of his ancestors. At first he strenuously opposed the growth of the Christian faith: nay, took the most vigorous measures to suppress and root it out of his dominions. He put several of the most devout and zealous Christians to death, who had refused to change their religion; others he forced or bribed into a compliance with his will. He levelled all the churches even with the ground, and sent an army to savage *Saxony*, chiefly because the people of that country had received the light of the gospel. Not long after, however, he not only withdrew his resentment, which had grievously oppressed the Christians, but published an intire liberty of conscience, and embraced himself the true faith, by means of the eloquent and prudent *Ansgarius*, to whom this as well as the former conversion is wholly to be ascribed. He erected, at his own expence, a magnificent church at *Ripen*, ordered the Pagan temples to be razed, and now became as bigotted a Christian, as a little before he had been a Heathen; thus acting in extremes, and probably neither from conviction, but from superstition and prejudice. At the persuasion of *Ansgarius*, he appointed persons, properly qualified to teach the gospel in every corner of the kingdom, allowed them handsome salaries, and took *Ansgarius* for his director, not only in spirituals but in temporals likewise; an office for which the good bishop was but indifferently qualified. Having thus afforded a remarkable instance of the weakness of the human understanding, which at different times, and without any particular conviction, can maintain opinions diametrically opposite, he died the proselyte and chief support of that religion, which, but a few years before, he had persecuted with such cruelty and bitterness ^b.

A.D. 861.

His character.

CANUTE the LITTLE.

ERIC left an only son called *Canute*, and afterwards sur-named *the Little*, or, according to some writers, *the Hairy*. As his infancy persuaded the states that a long minority might prove dangerous to the kingdom, they resolved to elect one of their own body, who should govern with the title and authority of a king during his life, the crown then to revert to *Canute* or his children. Accordingly *Emmignup*, a noble-

Canute the Little, 61st king.

* SAXO, l. ix. MEURS. l. iii. PONTAN. l. iv. mox citat.

^b Aut.

The History of Denmark.

man of great wisdom and valour, was chosen by public consent; but he was scarce seated on the throne, before Olaus king of Sweden entered the kingdom, seized upon the crown, maintained it till his death, and then transferred it to his son Siward, who was slain some years afterwards by an insurrection of the people, in favour of Canute, now arrived at years of maturity.

A second
migration
of the
habitants
of Den-
mark.

IN the very beginning of Canute's reign, a large colony of Danes went forth to look for new habitations (though for what reason we are not told) and settled themselves in Prussia, the eastern parts of Courland, and in Carelia. Now it was that Norway entirely shook off the yoke of Denmark, under the auspices of Harold, surnamed Yellow-hair (A), which is the only circumstance of any note we find mentioned under this reign. This prince differed greatly from his father with respect to his religious disposition; for Eric was either a zealous Pagan or bigotted Christian; whereas Canute was perfectly indifferent to both, and regarded the priests of all religions little better than pious impostors, whom it was necessary to protect on account of the veneration in which they were held by the people; a way of thinking that brought great scandal upon his memory.

F R O T H O VI.

Frotho VI. *FROTHO VI.* the son of Canute, succeeded him; but the year of his succession to the throne is disputed. He was the greatest warrior that wielded the Danish scepter since Ragner. He reduced England, which had rebelled during the indolent reign of his predecessor, and first planted the Christian religion there, if we may credit the Danish historians. The better to propagate the faith in Denmark; he was preparing an embassy to pope Sergius III. to acknowledge his supremacy in spirituals, and to request that he would send some persons perfectly qualified to teach the gospel in Denmark, when death put an end to all his projects, and deprived his people of an excellent prince. He was married to Emma, daughter to the king of England, by whom he had a son named Gormo, who succeeded to his crown.

G O R M O A N G L E II.

Gormo *GORMO* was surnamed *Angle*, or the *Englishman*, because he was born in England, where he likewise received the first education.

MEUR. p. 46. Saxo, l. ix. p. 178.

Ibid.

(A) Pontanus calls this prince Harold, Haerfaar or Fair-Hair.

rudiments of his education. Upon advice of his father's death, he immediately embarked for *Danmark*, and there received the crown by the unanimous consent of the people. In his absence, the *English* again had the opportunity of recovering their liberty; nor did he make any attempts to deny them of it, either from inaction, or from a recititude of opinion, a strict regard to justice, and affection for the country of his birth, and education, is unceasing. *Grammaticus* indeed says, that his nature was mild, modest, and moderate; that he was contented with the government of his kingdom, and thought it impossible for a prince to do that justice to the subjects of two distant and distant kingdoms, which his duty required; an opinion that reflects great honour on his memory. After a peaceful reign of four years he died, and left the crown to *Harold V.*

H A R D L D V.

THE peaceable reputation which *Gormo* acquired, and the tranquility which his subjects enjoyed, was not lost or disturbed by *Harold*, who was a prince of much the same disposition. He acted upon his father's principles, preferred ease and tranquillity to every other advantage, preserved the kingdom in just the situation he found it, and handed down the crown without additional lustre or stain to his son^d.

G. O R M O. III.

GORMO III. surnamed *the Old*, from the extraordinary age to which he lived, was a weak and timid prince, though father to two very warlike princes by his wife, daughter to the king of *England*. He was a bitter enemy to the Christians, whom he persecuted in every quarter, demolishing their churches, and banishing their clergy. Among other sacred buildings, he totally destroyed and razed the famous cathedral in *Sleswick*, and ordered the Pagan idols to be set up wherever they had formerly stood.

GORMO's sons were both men of great ability in war, twins by birth, and rivals in glory. Their first exploits were directed against the *Vandals*, whom they subdued: next, *Gormo*'s they carried their arms against the *English*, who had for some time enjoyed their liberty, and conquered them; but without dethroning their uncle, who at that time wielded the sceptre of this country: however, they obliged him to

^c Ibid.

^d PONTAN. l. iv. SUANING. p. 65.

sign an instrument, whereby he conveyed the crown to them at his decease. From *England* they passed into *Ireland*, and laid siege to *Dublin*, where *Canute* received the wound of which he died a few days after; upon which *Harald* pushed the siege, took the city, and the affairs of the country, and returned into *Denmark*.

WHILE his sons were gathering laurels abroad, *Gormo* took arms against the Saxons, with a view to oblige them to renounce the Christian religion. Having reinforced his army, by a large body of auxiliaries *Vandals*, he destroyed the country before him with fire and sword, sparing neither sex nor age that did not abjure the faith. The emperor *Henry the Fowler* soon came to the relief of the Saxons, defeated *Gormo*, and drove him out of *Saxony*. Pursuing his victory, he entered *Holstein*, passed into *Slupwick*, took the city of that name, then a town flourishing in trade, and gave it to his soldiers to be plundered. At a small distance from thence he built another town, transmitting thereby to posterity, that here he fixed the boundaries of his empire. He then granted peace to *Gormo*, on condition that he would cease to persecute his Christian subjects, and permit liberty of conscience to all. *Gormo* was not acquainted with his son *Canute*, and for some time after his return from *Saxony*. When it came to his knowledge, it affected him so strongly, that he sickened with grief, and died.

H A R O L D VI.

Harold
VI. sur-
named
Blaaland,
66th king.

HAROLD his son was immediately elected king; but he refused to accept the crown, until he had first performed his father's last obsequies with all the magnificence becoming his high rank and quality. He was no son more crowned than he had to dispute the throne of *England* with that haquin, king of *Norway*. His claim to this was indeed the sole, both on account of his affinity, and by the will of *Ethelred*, who had bequeathed him his dominions, in exclusion of his own son; though, from motives of equity, *Harold* avoided disputing the crown with this last prince, and permitted him to wear it unmolested to his death. As *Adelstan* died without issue, he now thought he might fairly assert his claim, and accordingly made preparations for that purpose. *Haquin* in the mean time invaded *England*; besides which, *Harold* had other reasons for engaging in a war with him. But this alone was sufficient; a conduct that was owing to respect for his

uncle and cousin, the late kings of England, might not now be considered into indolence or cowardice, he therefore passed with a fleet into England, and sent others to support the claim of *Harold*, the descendant of the *Norwegian* blood, who had craved his assistance. The king of *Norway*, hearing that his dominions were invaded by a pretender to the throne, returned to the defence of *Harold* in *Denmark*, and in *England*. On the coast of *Norway* he engaged the *Danish* fleet, commanded by *Hovind* and *Cnosfo*, but sinking himself a prisoner in ships, he landed his men, and drew them into a land-war engagement, in which he defeated them, but did not live to enjoy his victory, for he was killed in the pursuit by which means *Harold*, the pretender to this crown, succeeded him, and paid the promised tribute and homage to *Harold* of *Denmark*, in return for the generous aid he had lent him. Thus *Norway*, once more, became a province to *Denmark*.

AFTER *Harold* had settled the affairs of *England*, he sailed against the *Vikings*, who committed horrid depredations on all the coasts of the *Baltic*; nor had scarce rid his hands of this war when his aid and protection were solicited by *Stuborn*, king of *Sweden*, who was driven out of his own dominions by *Eric*. To enforce his request, *Stuborn* had brought along with him *Gertha* his sister, a lady of admirable beauty and accomplishments. The stratagem had the proposed effect; *Harold* became enamoured of her, married her, and promised the brother all the assistance in his power to reinstate him. Raising an army, he led it into *Holstein*, and marching from thence into *Sleswick*, he took by storm the new built city of *Henry* the emperor, put the commanding officer to death, and made prisoners of the garrison, leaving a sufficient number of his own men in their stead. He restored to this city the ancient name of *Sleswick*, and annexed it again to the dominions of *Denmark*. While he resided here, the *Vandals* resumed their ravages; and *Harold* again attacked them with such vigour, that he reduced and plundered all their strong holds, and, among the rest, the rich and important city of *Wollin*, built in an island of the same name, which is formed by two branches of the river *Oder*. This city he presented to *Stuborn*, who became extremely dear to him, on account of the brave exploits he had seen him perform in the course of this war. He now therefore resolved to turn his arms against *Eric*, and to reinstate his brother-in-law, before he undertook any other affairs. Recruiting his army with the utmost expedition, he led his forces through *Holland* against *Eric*.

^b Id. l. x. p. 182.

Otho's expedition into Jutland.

In the mean time, advice was received, that *Otho I.* had entered *Jutland* with a powerful army, and penetrated to the very heart of the country, to revenge the injury offered the empire by the attack on *Sleswick*. *Otho*, indeed, gave other reasons for his conquest. He pretended to be the protector of Christianity, which *Harold* persecuted, to be the ally of the *Vandals*, whom *Harold* conquered, and the lawful possessor of *Sleswick*, which the *Jutes* took and plundered. The emperor found *Jutland* an easy prey, all the inhabitants fit to bear arms being inclined to serve in the *Sweedish* war. Some assert, that he proceeded to *Dantzick*, and thence travelling along the coast, hung a spear into the sea, marking that strait as the boundary of his empire. *Crantzius* affirms, that he built the island of *Funen*, and there built a city called after his name: but this we find denied by all the *Danish* writers; for the city which resembles his name was built, say they, by *Bikin*, many years before the birth of *Otho*. What the event of this was we know not. Some *German* writers assert, that he collected all his force, pitched his camp on the coast of *Scania* at *Sleswick*, to intercept *Otho*, which he did, and was defeated. On the contrary, *Grammaticus* writes, that *Otho*, fearing *Harold's* march against him, retreated with precipitation, leaving behind many necessities of his camp, which became so many trophies to the *Danish* monarch. All agree, that the princes having adjusted the preliminaries of a personal conference, met; and *Harold*, overcome by the arguments of *Otho*, and the clergy about him, embraced the Christian religion, solemnly and publicly abjuring Paganism. On this occasion he received baptism, *Otho*, the emperor, being sponsor; and the same ceremony was performed on his queen, and all his children. During the congress *Stubiern* was defeated by *Eric*, who, in consequence of his victory, seized upon *Halland* and *Bleking*, two parts of *Schonen*, belonging to *Harold*. This occasioned the latter to provide against all future irruptions, by erecting that strong wall across the isthmus of *Sleswick*, which he called *Danemarsk*, or the work of the *Danes*. Some writers ascribe this wall to the emperor *Otho*, though for what reason we are at a loss to conjecture: the very name sufficiently indicates the authors.

AMIDST these transactions, *Harold* king of *Norway* died, and his son *Haquin* succeeding, refused the homage and tribute which his father constantly paid to *Denmark*. This he believed was a seasonable opportunity for claiming his inde-

^a Saxo, ibid. MEURS. l. iii. p. 48.

pendency, when *Harold* was engaged in quarrels with such powerful monarchs, as the emperor *Otho*, and *Eric* king of *Sweden*. It fell out, however, otherwise than he imagined; for *Harold* immediately demanded the usual homage, and levied an army to enforce his demand. *Haquin* refusing to comply, he sent a fleet and army thither, under the conduct of some of his generals, while himself marched against *Eric*, whom he defeated, and obliging him to sue for peace upon such conditions as were proposed by the conqueror. In the mean time his army was defeated in *Norway* by *Haquin*. This was only the prelude to his future misfortunes, for *Harold*, spurred on by ambition, and the incitations of the *Saxons* and *Gimbri*, two powerful provinces, who were ready to desert him, aspired at his father's crown. *Swen* was accordingly crowned king at *Weiburg*, and a great contest ensued for the empire; and indeed, such was the influence that the seeds of disaffection began to spring up in every part of *Denmark*. *Harold*, however, determined not to be wanting in his duty, raised an army, and gave battle to his son. He was defeated on account of the treachery of his officers, many of whom went over with whole troops to support the rival prince. He next equipped a fleet; nor was his fortune more favorable, for he was a second time defeated, and obliged to take shelter in *Zealand*, where he found means to rent his ships, with which he determined once more to hazard an engagement. The event was no less unsuccessful than the former, upon which he fled into *Normandy*, and obtained large supplies of men and ships from the duke. With this reinforcement he returned to *Zealand*, and once more gave battle to his son. Both were sensible that they now fought for the last time, and the battle continued for two days with

(A) *Græm*, whom *Harold*, after his defeat, was busied in erecting a magnificent church to the memory of his beloved *Gyntha*, and that he employed all the inhabitants of the provinces in bringing materials to the workmen. This servile occupation those proud and warlike people could not support without indignation, and this it was that alienated their minds from *Harold*.

Harold seeing a stone of prodigious weight raised by the workmen, asked his jester, whether he had ever seen so prodigious a weight raised by human strength? "Yes," replied the jester, "I have seen your son *Swen* run away with a whole kingdom;" intimating the design of setting him upon the throne, which was the first notice *Harold* had of the rebellion (1).

(1) *Saxo*, l. x:

the utmost obstinacy. Great numbers were killed and wounded on both sides; but neither could resolve upon yielding the victory, and of consequence the crown. A treaty therefore was set on foot by some of the more moderate and prudent men in either army; to which the father and son assenting, a truce was settled, and next day appointed for a congress to adjust the particulars of the ensuing treaty. At the mean time *Harald* was killed by the hands of a common soldier, while he was walking in a grove near his camp, to relax his mind after the fatigue of the day, and the crown descended to *Swen*, without dispute or opposition. Thus died *Harald*, a prince of very shining talents, and equally versed in the arts of war and of peace. His piety was no less remarkable than his other virtues. Ever since the Christian religion had made great progress, and the bishoprics were endowed in his dominions. He built many churches, founded monasteries, convents, and other religious houses: but what renders his memory respectable is, that he governed with equity, was a just king, a kind master, a tender husband, and an affectionate father, though he met with ungrateful returns from his son and subjects. His body was buried with great funeral pomp, his son paying those honours to his father, which his ambition prevented his performing while he lived; and now only it was, that his subjects became sensible of his merit, and their own folly, when it was too late to remedy their fault.

His unfortunate end and character.

S E C T. IV.

In which is contained all the material Occurrences until the Year 1141

S W E N.

A.D. 981.
Swen, surnamed Split-beard.

AS *Swen* was the first *Danish* monarch who had been bred from his youth, and publicly baptized in his infancy according to the Christian faith, we may date the perfect establishment of the gospel in *Denmark* in his reign. He was called *Swen-Osbo*, in compliment to his godfather the emperor, and surnamed *Split-beard*, from some peculiarity observed about his beard. He was scarcely established in the throne, when it was perceivable that the minds of the nobility began to relapse into the idolatry of Paganism, and recur

to their old superstition. *Swen*, willing to shew his gratitude to those men who had forfeited their fidelity, and hazarded their lives to procure him a crown, ordered the heathen idols again to be erected in compliment to them. He even went further, and persecuted the clergy, though he never publicly abjured the doctrine of *Christ*, or sequestered those lands which his father had annexed to the church. Next he took up arms against the inhabitants of *Wollin* on the *Oder*, for having assisted his father in the late rebellion; but here he was defeated by these brave and loyal islanders, and in the engagement taken prisoner, and set at liberty on payment of twice his own weight, when full armed, in payment of the ransom settled at three payments; but the king's person was confined till the last payment was made. The ransom was raised by the generosity of the *Danish* ladies, who sold their jewels for this purpose, the treasury being quite exhausted, and the country oppressed by heavy taxes for the payment of the two former divisions of the ransom. Upon his return he made some laws favourable to the women; and among others ordained, that they should inherit a third of the estates real and personal. Moreover, he redeemed with all possible expedition, all the Jews the king had sold for his liberty, and returned them to the proper owners.

He is taken prisoner by the Vandals.

His misfortunes did not, however, reclaim him, says *Grammaticus*; he still pursued his idolatrous courses, and persecuted the faith, which drew down upon him the vengeance of the Almighty with more weight. *Eric* of Sweden, contracting an alliance with the king of *Poland* and the emperor *Otho*; and besides, holding *Swen* in the utmost contempt, after the frequent defeats he had received from a king handful of *Vandals*, raised a great army and invaded *Sweden*. He besieged *Schenen*, and driven out of his kingdom. Thence he wandered an exile into *Norway*, went to the court of *Olaf*, who had succeeded his brother *Haquin*, reminded him of the obligations his father *Harold* owed to the king of *Denmark* for placing him in his throne; but was answered that ingratitude could equal his, who had robbed his father of his crown and his life. Finding no hopes of success by further applications to this monarch, he went to *England*, and there met with a reception equally cold and mortifying. Not thinking himself secure here, he retreated into *Scotland*, and was kindly received by the king, and maintained handsomely at the public expence, for the

He is de-seated and banished by

Received by the king of Scotland, and restored to the throne.

The History of Denmark.

space of fourteen years^b. *Eric* now dying, and misfortune opening the eyes, and softening the heart, *Swen*, he began to perceive the folly he had committed in persecuting the faith in which he had been instructed. He attributed past calamities to the hand of God, who had thus punished his impiety, and returned with renewed fervour and zeal to the profession of Christianity. His restoration soon followed, through the mediation of the king's counsellors, who exerted himself warmly in behalf of the unfortunate.

A.D. 994.

On his return he recalled the clergy he had banished, set at liberty, and compensated in the best manner he was able, the sufferings of those who had been banished, and lastly convoked a diet of the states, to whom he related the circumstances of his banishment, by which he became the sport of his enemies, and the object of compassion of his friends. He had lost his crown and reputation, dearer than life itself, by the hands of a man who had been defeated.

Schonen, by his mother; whence it was visible that the will of God had interposed, and made use of *Eric* as the instrument of his vengeance, in order to render his conversion and defeat the more disgraceful. As he could not now deny acknowledging the justice and wisdom of that invisible Power, whom he had impiously abjured, he requested his people, as they valued their present and future happiness, to be warned by his example, to receive the light of the Gospel, and leave that false and profane religion, which God might permit for a time, but would not fail to punish and destroy in the end. His proposal did not meet with the reception he expected, and he therefore resolved upon other means of accomplishing his wish, and re-establishing Christianity.

The Christian religion restored in Denmark.

This was soon effected by the arrival of *Poppo*, a German divine of great piety and eloquence, who, by dint of example and persuasion, brought about what the king's authority could not. Several miracles are related of this prelate; and indeed he was enriched of the happy talent of impressing the people with whatever notions he thought fit to inspire, in which perhaps consisted his supernatural powers. All the clergy were recalled, lands and houses appropriated to their maintenance and residence, and a see given to *Poppo*, appointed to preside over the rest of the Danish clergy; but at the same time a suffragan of *Adeloge*, bishop of *Bremen*.

WHILE *Swen* was thus employed in promoting piety and the Christian religion, *Olaus* king of *Norway* was taking mea-

^b Vid. aut. citat. ibid.

^c Saxo Gram. l. x.

fires for disturbing the public tranquillity. Apprehensive of Swen, attending the internal œconomy of his kingdom, might be a claim to a supremacy over Norway, he determined to dissipate his measures by levying a powerful army, and entering into strict league with Sweden. Swen, receiving intelligence of these intrigues, found means to countermand them, and by the help of Olaf, by marrying the queen-mother, and by the friendship of king Canute, informed that Swen had concluded a treaty for the defence and propagation of Christianity, and the mutual security of their kingdoms, he was with disappointment, and, as it were, in revenge, he declared war. The fleet of Swen, who invaded Norway met: they were totally defeated and England. Swen, with inveteracy, pursued the battle with a few ships; but was soon pursued, and, to avoid the disgrace of being taken, and in the power of his enemy, he leaped into the sea, and was drowned. In consequence of this victory, Norway was again annexed to the crown of Denmark, and Swen immediately published a law in favour of the Christian religion. Haraldr, the son of Swen, in the affairs of Norway, he prepared to invade England, which had for some years thrown off its allegiance to the crown of Denmark (A). Ethelred II. held supreme authority in that kingdom, the particulars of which shall be related in its proper place. Danish and English historians differ considerably in their accounts of the circumstances, and we shall have occasion to mention their several relations in our History of England, the proper place for such a disquisition. Sufficient it is for our present purpose, that a peace between Ethelred and Swen was concluded, and the latter had over-run great part of the

Ibid. etiam PONTAN. l. 5.

A) We must observe, that though Danish writers assert in general terms, that England was subjected to the kings of Denmark, near three hundred years before Canute the Great, it is probable they never conquered above one or two divisions of the Saxon heptarchy. In these early times they were just such a people as the Saxons had been about five hundred years before; their invasions were sudden, their ravages barbarous, and their retreats quick. They probably extorted a promise of homage from the conquered; but never resided long enough in the country to enforce it by authority and power before Canute's reign, who first took the title of king of Denmark, England, Norway, &c. &c.

kingdom,

His death
and char-
acter.

kingdom, and obliged the former to acknowledge his (B) sovereignty. In this island he breathed his last, much regretted for the exemplary piety, strict justice, and remarkable proofs of military genius and valour which he had displayed towards the close of life. There could not, indeed, be a stronger satire on the manners of his youth, than that total change of conduct he put on in his old age. The same man who, with the most criminal ambition, had sought a father's life, for the sake of a crown, was now contented with the bare homage of prince, always acknowledged a vassal by the kings of Denmark; permitting him to retain all the power, authority, and honours belonging to a king.

It is not very certain who was the immediate successor of *Swen*, though almost all historians allow that he had two sons, *Harold* and *Cnut*. *Saxo Grammaticus* and *Pontanus* take no farther notice of the former, than by mentioning him as the son of *Swen*; affirming that the latter, though youngest, was raised to the throne in preference to his brother.

H. A. R. O. L. D.

Harold,
70 king.

On the contrary, *Meursus* and *Lyfshander* number *Harold* among the kings, asserting, that he succeeded *Swen* by right of primogeniture; this being an invariable maxim with the Danes, where some very extraordinary circumstances and reasons for laying aside the elder brother did not occur. Upon their authority we shall venture to insert *Harold* in the list of kings, however unworthy of that dignity he afterwards proved. His effeminacy, lewdness, profligacy, and intire contempt of decency, virtue, and morality, rendered him so odious to a people always brave, and now perfectly civilized by the beautiful system of religion and morals introduced among them, that he enjoyed but a short time the honour he so little merited. He was deposed with every possible mark of disgrace and infamy, and his

He is de-
posed.

^c MEURS. l. iii. p. 52. ^d SAXO GRAM. l. x. p. 191.
PONTAN. p. 145. MEURS. Hist. p. 53.

(B) *Saxo Grammaticus* relates, that the following proclamation was made by *Swen*; viz. that he had taken up arms with no intention of ruining the people of England, but of reducing them to that obedience they had so often promised after repeated defeats. He was willing, he declared, to allow *Ethelred* the name and power of king of England, provided only that he acknowledged the sovereignty of Denmark; a proposal which was accepted by *Ethelred*, as he had not forces or a fleet sufficient to dispute it.

brother

brother raised to the throne; of which he likewise had like to have been deprived, on account of his constant engagements in foreign wars, the *Danes* neither bearing with temper a perfect indolence, nor too great activity in their princes^a.

CANUTE the GREAT.

CANUTE, surnamed the *Great*, began his reign with the invasion of *England* and *Norway*, both these kingdoms having thrown off the subjection they had promised to his father *Swen*. The talents of *Canute* in the cabinet and the field were greatly superior to his father's, and indeed equal to those of any prince who had worn a *Danish* diadem. The *English* recalled *Ethelred* their king, who had abdicated the throne; and as their affections were torn in extremes, *Canute* perceived that this event would be attended with an attempt to render him independent of the crown of *Denmark*, and took his measures accordingly. That he might not be oppressed with such a multitude of foreign wars, as he found he must necessarily be engaged in, he temporized with the *Vandals*, and other northern nations, who claimed the same independency with *England* and *Norway*, in order to direct his whole force against the two last kingdoms. *England* was his main object, and to prevent its receiving succours from *Norway*, he artfully drew *Claud* the king's brother into his views, by persuading him to lay claim to the crown. After this he sailed for *England*; and in his way met, say the *Danish* historians, with the *English* fleet, commanded by king *Edward* in person, whom he defeated after a sharp engagement (A). At first, say they, victory, which was disputed with great obstinacy, seemed to incline to the *English*, when *Thymon*, a nobleman of *Zealand*, arriving with a reinforcement, soon obliged her to declare in favour of *Canute*^b. Numberless difficulties, indeed, occur in this period of our history, and the

Canute the Great,
71st king.
A. D.
1015.

^a GRANTZIUS apud MEURS. l. iii. p. 53. PONTAN. l. v. p. 267. ^b SAXO GRAM. l. x. MEURS. l. iii. PONT. l. v.

(A) These were the express words of *Maximus* and *Pontanus*, which are diametrically opposite to the relations of all *English* historians. According to these last, *Ethelred* reigned in *England* at this time, *Canute* landed without opposition; and,

relying upon the dilatory disposition of the *English* monarch, imagined he should carry all with little trouble; but misfortunes had rendered *Ethelred* more prudent, and his vigorous measures obliged *Canute* to embark for *Denmark* (1).

(1) *Guthrie*, p. 267.

strongest

Contradiction—strongest contrariety of sentiments in the *English* and *Danish* history of the *Normans*; but we shall leave them to be discussed in our History of *England*, that being the theatre of the war, and the proper place for entering upon such disquisitions, which very little affect the History of *Denmark*.

CANUTE had other motives than the power of *Ethelred* for returning to *Denmark*. His absence had furnished *Olaus* of *Norway* with an opportunity of invading his kingdom; but his return, and the vigour with which he attacked the *Norwegians*, obliged that monarch to embark not only with great loss, but also to seek shelter in *Swiss*, whither he was pursued by *Canute's* son, who had a great part of that country, and totally subdued *Esthonia*, a province of *Livonia*, at that time subject to the *Russians*, obliging the inhabitants to pay tribute to the crown of *Denmark*.

IN the mean time *Canute*, after holding a personal conference with the king of *Sweden*, to adjust some disputes which threatened to disturb the public tranquillity, and settling the affairs of *Denmark*, was preparing to embark again for *England*, where he imagined his presence would be advantageous to his affairs, upon the death of *Ethelred*. But the old king of *Sweden* dying before the fleet intended for *England* was ready to put to sea, his intention was deferred, upon receiving advice that *Omund*, the young king of *Sweden*, was taking measures to reinstate *Olaus* of *Norway* in his throne and dominions. *Omund*, in fact, not only granted *Olaus* a passage to *Norway* through his dominions, but assisted him with a powerful body of troops, by which the exiled prince was soon in a condition to appear at the head of a formidable army, and to fortify all the posts against *Canute*. Not contented with this, it was agreed between him and the king of *Sweden*, that the former should invade *Zealand*, and the other *Danish* islands in the *Baltic*, while the latter should make a descent on *Jutland*: they had moreover endeavoured to stir up an insurrection in *England*, where the malcontents were to declare themselves at the very time when he should be most engaged in the defence of his own dominions. By this extended plan, and such a variety of attacks in different places, they hoped to confound his councils, to weaken and divide his forces in such a manner as would render victory certain, and clip the wings of this soaring and ambitious king. But his policy, his penetration, courage, and steadiness, frustrated all their designs, and turned their intrigues against themselves. He procured some of the most faithful and valiant men of *Zealand* to carry on a

Canute
enters upon
a war
with Swe-
den and
Norway.

secret correspondence with *Olaus*, and to promise that they would take up arms, with all their vassals, as soon as his fleet appeared. Several other designs they formed; and appeared so earnest and sincere, that *Olaus*, having no suspicion of treachery, had nearly been surrounded by *Canute's* fleet, while he was waiting the effects of the promised insurrection. Thus were all the measures of *Olaus* overturned, without the loss of a man; and himself, forced to retreat with such precipitation, as equalled the disgrace of a defeat. As soon as *Canute* had refreshed his troops, he passed with such celerity to *Sihama*, that he surprised, defeated, and slew in battle the king of *Sweden*.

HAVING now rid his dominions of foreign enemies, his next measure was to raise such civil commotions in *Norway*, as would render it impossible for *Olava* to disturb the peace of *Denmark*. With this view he artfully distributed large sums of money among the leading men of that kingdom, encouraged *Harold* the king's brother to renew his claim to the throne's power, and, in a word, took such effectual and politic steps, as not only answered his purpose, but ended in the death of *Olaus*, who, as some affirm, had been murdered, by a conspiracy formed by his brother *Harold*; and, according to the relation of others, was deposed and put to death by his own inability, influenced by the gold and intrigues of the court of *Denmark*.

CANUTE was now the most formidable potentate perhaps, in *Europe*. *Denmark*, *Sweden*, *Norway*, and *England*, were tributary to him: his alliance was courted by the greatest monarchs; and even the emperor *Conrade* sought his daughter in marriage, and voluntarily renounced all claim to *Holslein*. When *Conrade* was afterwards deposed, he reaped the fruits of *Canute's* friendship; for, by means of his interest and power, he was again restored to the imperial dignity. After this he embarked for *England*, in which country he spent the remainder of his life. Finding the extent of his dominions, and the government of so many distant kingdoms, too great a weight for any single person, he resolved to divide the authority; and accordingly gave the crown of *Denmark* to his second son *Harald-Canute*; to *Harold*, the eldest, according to the *Danish* historians, he gave the crown of *England*; and to *Swen*, the youngest, he assigned *Norway* (A). As we shall have

* SAXO, L. X. MEURS. l. iii. p. 55. b Vid. Aut. citat. ibid.

(A) Our *English* historians in concerning the issue of this monarch. They call *Swen* king of *Mod. Hist.* VOL. XXXII. of

have occasion to enlarge upon the military actions of this great prince in our History of *England*. To avoid repetition, we shall only subjoin in this place, that he died a natural death in *England*, after he had reigned with great applause for the space of twenty-five years over that kingdom, and is deservedly enrolled with the greatest princes who ever wore the diadem. His early age was rendered famous by conquests, glorious victories, and the most refined policy: the last years of his life were amiable by temperance, a strict regard to justice, affability, clemency, and every other virtue that could render him beloved and respected by his subjects. But this is not the place to expatiate on his character, of which we only trace the outlines (B).

H A R D I - C A N U T E.

Hardi-
Canute,
72d king.

THIS prince, the second son of *Canute*, obtained the appellation of *Hardi-Canute*, or *Hardi-Knute*, from the difficulties he combated, and the valorous actions he performed in *Russia*, when his father had sent him thither in pursuit of *Olaus* king of *Norway*. He was preparing to invade *England*, then governed by his brother *Harold*, when some insurrections among the *Norwegians*, who were desirous of recalling the *Olaus* family, rendered his presence in that country necessary. His transactions in *Norway* are variously related. Some affirm that he sent an army thither, which was defeated by *Magnus*, the son of *Olaus*, the elected king of *Norway*. Others are of opinion, that, in order to prosecute his voyage to *England*, *Hardi-Canute* entered into a treaty with *Magnus*, and yielded to him the crown, of which his brother *Swen* was

of *Norway* the eldest son of *Canute*, and affirm that he was born before his father became king of *England*, which is an assertion directly opposite to the relations of *Danish* historians (1).

(B) The *Danish* writers relate an anecdote of this prince, which we do not find mentioned by any *English* historian. Having in his cups killed one of his soldiers, he immediately assembled the people, and insisted upon his being tried by jury, who brought him in guilty, but

reserved the sentence and punishment to his own pleasure. He had before rated the price of murder at a certain pecuniary mulct, a third of which went to the king, a third to the relations of the deceased, and a third (say the *Danish* writers) to the army. He now decreed, that himself should pay nine times the value of the usual fine; and to remove difficulties about his own trial, he ordered it should be given to the clergy (2).

(1) *Vid. Mærsf. Hist. l. iii. p. 54.*

(2) *Mærsf. l. iii.*

unworthy, but still obliged him to acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of *Denmark*. Be this as it will, certain it is that *Hardi-Canute*, equipped a great fleet, and sailed to *Bruges* in the *Low Countries*, at that time the residence of his mother *Emma*, by whom he was made acquainted with the death of *Harold*. Here it was that he was met by the *English* ambassadors, sent to invite him to accept of the crown. As from henceforward he may be looked upon as an *English* king, we shall leave the particulars of his reign to be related in the history of that country. Sufficient for our purpose it is, that he reigned king of *Denmark* from the year 1035, one year before his father's death, to the year 1041; and died with the reputation of a prince whose character was compounded of the most detestable vices and the noblest virtues. His valour and generosity were in the number of the latter; his cruelty, selfishness, intemperance, and debauchery, composed the former.

M A G N U S.

PONTANUS relates, that, after the death of *Hardi-Canute*, *Magnus*, the son of *Olaus*, king of *Norway*, succeeded to the throne of *Denmark*, in consequence of a compact between him and *Hardi-Canute*, that the survivor should inherit both kingdoms; but we find no mention of this treaty in any other historian, nor was it in the power of *Hardi-Canute* to bequeath his crown, without the consent of his people. On the contrary, *Meursius* affirms, that *Magnus* invaded *Denmark* with a powerful fleet and army, immediately on the death of *Hardi-Canute*. It was the dread of his power that induced the states to elect him, in order to avoid the necessity of being compelled into that measure. Immediately he received the allegiance and homage of the nobility, and was publicly proclaimed king of *Denmark* and *Norway*; for by this time the *English* had renounced the *Danish* blood, and raised *Edward*, surnamed the *Confessor*, to the throne. His election was uncontested; but *Swen*, the nephew of *Canute the Great*, by his sister, soon after the accession of *Magnus*, put in his claim to the throne, imagining he should be strongly supported by *England*, in consequence of a promise he had received from *Edward*, and some other steps he had taken in that country. This *Swen* is spoken of as if he had been king of *England* after *Hardi-Canute's* death; for *Grammaticus* and *Meursius* both say, that he left the affairs of the kingdom in the hands of *Harold*, *Godwin's* son, who betrayed him, and was the great instrument of expelling the

Magnus,
73^d king.

Swen, nephew to
Canute,
claims the
crown of
Denmark.

* CRANTZ. apud MEURS. l. iii. SAXO, l. x.

Danes out of that island. Relying upon this support it was that he disputed the crown of *Denmark* with *Magnus*, intending to use force, should his application to *the States* prove ineffectual. Both his designs were now frustrated, and the *Danes* driven out of *England*, which they could never afterwards recover.

*Swen de-
seated.*

NOTWITHSTANDING these unfortunate occurrences, *Swen* determined not to relinquish his claim; he had the address to gain over a great number of the *Danish* nobility to his interest, and by their means equipped a fleet in *Jutland*, with which he gave battle to *Magnus*, and was routed, being forced to take shelter in the island of *Furun*. Here he refitted, and ventured upon another engagement, which terminated as unsuccessfully as the former. His whole fleet was taken or dispersed, himself escaping with a single ship to *Zealand*, whither the conqueror pursued him, and obliged him to retire to some of the remote provinces of *Sweden*.

Magnus

*throws the
Vandals
in a bloody
battle.*

THIS war being ended, *Magnus* resumed his operations against the *Vandals*, with whom it seems he was at war before *Swen* occasioned the late commotions. He had slain their prince *Ratiborius*, who left behind him eight sons, all sworn enemies to *Magnus*, and men of great valour, who resolved on revenging their father's death. Accordingly they overrun with a multitude of troops the coasts of *Jutland*, laying waste all the country through which they passed, with all the cruelty of incensed barbarians. Fired with resentment, and the deplorable condition to which his unhappy subjects were reduced, *Magnus* raised an army, seized the strait or narrow pass at *Sleswick* to intercept the enemy, and there gave them battle, with such advantage as fully avenged his subjects, and punished those barbarians for their savage cruelty. Some historians relate, that forty thousand of the *Vandals* were left dead on the field, and those that remained compelled to lay down their arms, and surrender at discretion; but *Meursius* reduces the number of slain to fifteen thousand, affirming, however, that the prisoners greatly exceeded this number.

*He is sur-
named the
Good.*

THIS victory, and his clemency to the prisoners, acquired him the surname of *Good*; and so endeared him to all his people, that on his return they met him in crowds, loading him with blessings, abjuring *Swen*, and offering their lives and fortunes for the extirpation of that pretender to his crown, and the defence of his majesty's person and dignity. It was not long after the defeat of the *Vandals* that *Magnus* died by

a fall from his horse, which took fright at a hare's crossing the road before him, and threw his rider upon stakes fixed in the ground, or some trunks of trees that had just been cut down. Other writers alledge, that he was drowned in the *Baltic*, in passing from one ship to another in a small boat. Certain it is, that his death was greatly and deservedly lamented by his people, who enjoyed under him all the felicities which it was in the power of a wise and brave monarch to communicate to affectionate, and faithful subjects, in so short a reign as eight years, or, as some writers imagine, of no more than three years.

W E N III.

AFTER the death of *Magnus, Swen*, who had ever since his defeat been an exile in *Sweden*, was called without opposition to the throne, to which he was the nearest heir by blood. From his mother, who was sister to *Canute the Great*, he took the surname of *Estrith*; but notwithstanding his alliance to this great prince, necessity, rather than affection, made the *Danes* elevate him to the dignity of their king, the whole blood royal being extinct in *Hardi-Canute*. A great part of the nation, and indeed the bulk of the nobility and people, who had sided with *Magnus* against him, would have been glad to see any other person upon the throne, as they dreaded the resentment of a prince whose pretensions they had so strenuously opposed. Another circumstance besides the necessary from kindred, contributed greatly to *Swen's* promotion. The late defeat of the *Vandals* had greatly weakened that people; but then it increased their animosity to the *Danes*, in the same proportion it diminished their strength. They impatiently watched the opportunity for revenge; and a better could never offer, than when *Denmark* was embroiled in a civil war, which would inevitably happen, had any opposition been made to *Swen's* elevation. This the prudent men foresaw, and chose therefore to run the hazard of his resentment, for having taken part with *Magnus* against him, than to expose the kingdom to certain destruction, from the incursions of so barbarous, cruel, and incensed a foe, as the *Vandals*.

SWEN began his reign by making some regulations in the church, and settling the jurisdiction of the several bishops, and concerning which some disputes had arisen among the clergy. While he was busied in this manner, the *Norwegians* recalled *Harold*, the brother of their king *Olaus*, and placed him on

* Ant. supra. citat. ibid.
SAXO GRAM. l. xi. p. 204.

† PONTAN. l. v. p. 182.

Harold of
Norway
makes war
upon Swen.

the throne, after he had lived a great number of years an exile. *Harold* knowing that *Swen* was elected king of *Denmark*, and finding that his power was insufficient to dispute with that monarch, scrupled not to hold his kingdom as a fief of *Denmark*, until a fit occasion should offer for his claiming its independency, and throwing off so shameful a vassalage. He seized the opportunity of *Swen's* being engaged in a war with the *Vandals*, and levied powerful forces, with which he had the presumption to invade a part of the *Danish* dominions. Intelligence of his proceedings soon recalled *Swen*, who gave him battle, and with prodigious loss. A great part of his fleet was taken without a single man on board, the seamen plunging themselves into the sea to avoid the disgrace of falling into the hands of an enemy they had been taught to hold in contempt, in consequence of the repeated victories gained over them. *Meursius* relates, that *Swen* having first gained a complete victory, but generously setting the captives at liberty, *Harold* immediately renewed the fight, while the *Danish* monarch was wrapped in security, and easily defeated him. *Swen* being thus conquered, took refuge with the remainder of his fleet in the small islands, from whence he went over to *Schenen* and *Zealand* to recruit his forces, and endeavour to retrieve the loss sustained from his too great humanity. As soon as he had completed his levies, and repaired his fleet, he again sought the enemy in the *Baltic*. To prevent his ships deserting him, he had them chained together, and though greatly inferior in force, bravely maintained the engagement till night, and would probably have attained a victory, had not *Harold* received a reinforcement, which greatly dispirited the *Danes*, or rather a number of *Germans* who served in the fleet, and now separated themselves in the night, to prevent the consequences of a defeat, and their falling into the enemy's hands. *Swen*, whose courage was invincible, renewed the battle next morning, notwithstanding a third part of his fleet had withdrawn, and hoping to make up by resolution what he wanted in strength, fought with the utmost fury, and most obstinate valour, until he was at length overpowered by numbers, and forced to yield to his ill fortune.

Swen defeated.

HAROLD, not satisfied with two victories obtained over the *Danes*, landed his forces, and laid waste all the coasts of the islands and *Danish* continent, burning, destroying, and ravaging many villages and cities, and among the rest *Sleswick*. *Swen* was forced to content himself with harassing *Harold* in his march, not being able to raise a force sufficient to give him

battle; but when he had least reason to expect it, Providence wrought a happy change in his situation. The civil divisions in England had raised *Harold's* ambition to extend his conquests and influence, which he thought he might probably do by taking part with *Godwin's* children against their sovereign. The low condition to which he had reduced *Swen*, gave him no disturbance about the consequences of his absence from Norway; he therefore resolved upon an expedition to England, where he was killed; by which means *Swen* recovered the peaceable possession of all his dominions. *Harold's* sons *Olaf* and *Magnus*, shared their father's dominions, and entered into a treaty and alliance with *Swen*, which was confirmed by the marriage of *Olaf* with the daughter of *Swen*. *Harold killed and defeated in England.*

THE death of *Harold II.* king of England, slain in a battle fought with *William of Normandy*, called the Conqueror, furnished *Swen* with an opportunity of putting in his claim to the crown of England, as the only remaining descendant of *Canute the Great*. He had kindly received the two sons and daughter of *Harold*, who took refuge with him upon their father's defeat; and the latter he married to the prince of *Russia*. He accordingly equipped a fleet of two hundred sail, and put on board a large body of land-forces, under the command of his sons *Harold* and *Canute*. On their arrival in the mouth of the *Humber*, they were suddenly joined by a great body of malcontents, who were resolved at any rate to throw off the unsupportable tyrannical yoke of *William*. After a series of transactions, which will be recited in the English history, they retired, at the persuasion of *Osbern*, brother to *Swen*, who had been corrupted by the gold of *Normandy*. The king his brother was so incensed at this meanly venal action, that on the return of the fleet, he immediately ordered *Osbern* into perpetual banishment. The Danes depart from England.

A FEW years before *Swen's* death, the *Vandals* again revolted, from their dislike to the Christian religion, which they had been forced to embrace, after the great defeat they last received from *Harold*. After overturning and ruining all the Christian churches among them, setting up their pagan idols, and putting to death a bishop and several Christian prelates, they entered *Wessex* with fire and sword, and made the country an entire desert. They moreover pillaged the city of *Stekwick*, levelled the churches with the ground, and in derision broke the crucifixes which mistaken piety had erected in different quarters of the town. But the greatest insult upon *Swen* was, the manner in which they treated his sister *Syrith*, The Vandals over-run Holstein.

^a MEURS. Hist. ibid.

^b SAXO GRAM. l. xi.

Swen's
death and
character.

whom they stripped naked, and in that condition sent to *Denmark*. With such celerity did they execute all these barbarities, that they had over-run the provinces of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, before *Swen* had intelligence of the irruption. He immediately raised an army to revenge these injuries, but soon dropped his resolution, and wasted his time in unseasonable acts of devotion at *Roschild*. Superstition had now weakened all his faculties; priests became his privy counsellors, and all the duties of a king, and of a man were absorbed in a narrow zeal and criminal bigotry to the pageantry of religion. His subjects were oppressed with taxes to support the luxury and pomp of the clergy, to purchase plate, and other church ornaments, and to endow religious foundations. Hence it is that the clergy alone have extolled the character of this prince, as the most munificent, pious, and merciful prince that ever filled the throne of *Denmark*; notwithstanding his incontinence was so great, that of fifteen sons he left behind him, not one was legitimate; and he had polluted the house of God by the cruel murder of several of his nobility: an offence which he sufficiently expiated by his munificence and generosity to those who assumed the power of granting absolution for the most heinous crimes.

His five
sons succeed
him in the
throne suc-
cessively.

THIS prince died of an acute fever in *Jutland*, while his son *Canute* was quelling a rebellion which appeared in *Esthonia*, that province of *Livonia* which the *Danes* preserved from the time that *Hardiknute* conquered it. When *Swen* perceived that his dissolution was approaching, he assembled all the nobility about him, and obliged them to promise that they would chuse his eldest son for their king, and after him the next surviving brother; in consequence of which obligation, five of his children successively arrived at that dignity; an instance that cannot perhaps be equalled in the history of the world. As to the character of this prince, his unfortunate battles with *Harold* of *Norway* prove him a great warrior; for military talents are not always to be estimated by the event. His excessive indulgence to the clergy at the expence of his people, who were almost ruined by his pious donations, prove him either to be naturally weak, or at least emaculated by superstition. The number of his illegitimate children demonstrate him to have been libidinous; and his massacring a number of his nobility as they were offering their devotions in church, is a testimony of his cruelty and impiety, however he might throw a veil of grimace over the latter; but his conduct in the *Norwegian* war are sufficient proofs that his natural disposition was brave, liberal, and generous to a degree of weakness.

HAROLD the SIMPLE.

HAROLD, the eldest son of *Siw*, was elected in the Harold room of his father, after warm disputes about the succession. The noble qualities of *Canute*, a younger son, had raised a ple⁷⁵⁶ strong party in his favour; but the promise made to the late king, and *Harold's* gold, at length prevailed: upon which *Canute* went over to *Sveithen*, there, to carry on the war against the *Vandals*, that had been left unfinished by his father. This was a kind of honourable voluntary banishment, into which he entered to avoid exciting his brother's jealousy, or disturbing the tranquility of the kingdom. So prudent and moderate a conduct in a young prince of known ambition wrought such an effect on *Harold*, surnamed the *Simple*, that he gave him the kindest invitations to return, and offered to receive him as his colleague in the throne; but *Canute* adhered to his first resolution, either foreseeing that a divided authority would be attended with inconvenience, or disdaining to share the supreme power, with a brother whose capacity he despised.

SOME writers place an inter-regnum of four years about this time; but whether after the death of *Siw*, or of *Harold*, we cannot affirm; nor do the best historians make any mention of all of such a chasm in the regal government: for *Harold* was elected by the first diet that assembled after the death of his father; and *Canute*, who then resided in *Jutland*, was immediately recalled on the death of his brother.

BEFORE *Harold* mounted the throne, he made the largest promises to the people of framing new laws, such as would redress all the grievances consequent on those at that time in force, and of governing them with the most scrupulous regard to justice, and the public good; but the first part of his engagement he never fulfilled, except in one instance. This was a law by which criminals, where positive evidence was wanting, should be allowed to clear themselves by an oath, and, without passing the ordeal, or trial by fire, as was usual in *Denmark*, and all the other kingdoms in *Europe*. The law was received with universal approbation: after which *Harold*, as he had sufficiently established his reputation, resigned himself to the most shameful indolence and sloth, neglected to enforce the laws already made, and suffered the whole kingdom to be polluted by the most scandalous corruption, licentiousness, and venality; in which situation *Canute* found it at the death of his brother, who survived his elevation but two

* SAXO GRAM. l. xi.

b SVANING. Chron. Dan. p. 72.

years, according to *Grammaticus* and *Meursius*, though the latter acquaints us, that some writers have prolonged his reign to upwards of six years (A).

CANUTE the PIOUS.

Canute
the Pious,
76th king.

His con-
quests.

His vir-
tues.

CANUTE was recalled by the states on the death of his brother, and appointed his successor. *Grammaticus* says, that this prince accepted of the crown merely with a view to extend the Christian religion, and not from motives of ambition. The war he had carried on in his brother's life, time against the *Vandals* was for the sake of religion; and he now renewed it, when his power enabled him to punish the impiety of those infidels with more success and severity. Nor did he ever relax in this design, until he had accomplished it, by obliging several idolatrous nations lying on the borders of *Livonia* and *Muscovy*, to receive the truths of the Gospel. Having happily finished this war, he married *Elfrida*, daughter to the earl of *Flanders*, and then applied himself to curb the licentiousness, immorality, and corruption which had crept into public offices, and among all degrees of men, during the inactive reign of *Harold*. But sensible that example would operate more powerfully on the minds of the people than the most rigid laws, he began a reformation, by the strictest observance of every moral and religious virtue, by enforcing the laws already made, and by shewing his own compliance to them, in the same manner he required of the meanest subject. The effect answered his most sanguine expectation. Every man was ambitious of emulating his sovereign; merit and virtue were the only recommendations to court-favour; and this rendered them universally sought after. In a word, *Canute's* reign may be called the reign of religion, virtue, and true worth in *Denmark*, in which temperance, chastity, liberality, justice, and all the heroic and social virtues were cultivated from the king to the peasant: an astonishing instance to

MEURS. l. iii. p. 62.

(A) Here fresh chronological difficulties occur, some writers affirming, that *Harold the Simple* began his reign in the year 1065, on which year *Swen* died, according to them; and among these is the judicious *Pontanus*. *Sueningius*, on the

contrary, whose industry and erudition cannot be called in question, places *Harold* 1070 and 1081, if we suppose him to have reigned but two years, and if we rather suppose him to have reigned six, between 1075 and 1080-1.

what

what a pitch of piety and virtue a nation may be brought by the example and practice of a discerning monarch ^a!

AFTER civil affairs had undergone a thorough alteration, *Canute* next applied himself to ecclesiastical matters, in which he made several useful regulations. The first was to detach the body of the clergy intirely from the civil government, and confine their authority wholly to the affairs of the church; such as interdicting the lives, manners, and doctrine of the inferior clergy; prescribing the forms of public worship, &c. The power of the bishops, however, was greatly augmented; for they were raised to the dignity of dukes and princes, and took place of the barons and nobility of the highest quality. Such was his regard for the bishops, that he even invested them with the sword, and permitted them to go to war with the king in defence of monarchs; an institution which seems to shew, that the good sense of *Canute* was not proof against the craft of the clergy and priesthood; as nothing could be more absurd than this authority committed into the hands of prelates (for that was the number of bishops in Denmark) while all the rest of the clergy were wholly cut off from civil connections, and deprived of that weight which alone could give influence to their doctrine, or declare them of the same function with those dignified prelates ^a.

BUT it was not the least glory of *Canute*, that he paid the utmost respect to men of learning, and promoted the study of ^{Canute's} arts and sciences by his own private benevolence, as well as ^{regard for} learning by public rewards, and certain literary foundations, which he bestowed to the ecclesiastical government. It is certain, however, that a prince may carry his regard to religion and learning to a pitch dangerous to himself and oppressive of the people. *Canute's* bounty to the clergy and learned men had no bounds; besides the numberless institutions he made in his favour; he granted them the tythes, which occasioned an universal disaffection, and at length brought on his ruin. Large sums of money were expended in erecting churches and pious foundations, which were raised from the sweat of the labourer; and the oppressions of the useful husbandman and mechanic.

IN this situation were the affairs of Denmark, when *Canute*, having laid aside civil and ecclesiastical affairs, resolved once more to embark in war, and attempt the recovery of England. He communicated his intentions first to his brother *Olaus*, who of England.

^a PONTAN. l. v. p. 198. GRAM. l. xi. p. 215. MURR. l. iv. ^a GRAM. l. xi. PONTAN. ubi supra. ^b MURR. l. iv.

His brother conspires against him.

greatly approved of it from private views, and afterwards to the senate, who did not discourage the project. Upon this *Canute* equipped a fleet, and raised an army with all possible expedition. The earl of *Flanders*, and a great number of *English* exiles residing at that nobleman's court, rejoiced at the occasion that was likely to restore them to their own country, whence they were driven by *William's* severity and partiality to the *Normans*. While the fleet and army were waiting at the appointed rendezvous, until *Canute* had finished some public business, and appointed regents to govern the kingdom in his absence, he discovered that his brother *Olaus* had been secretly endeavouring to deprive him of the crown: upon which he immediately set out with a few troops for *Slagtwick*, of which his brother was governor, to secure his person, and bring him to public justice. *Olaus* had, however, so gained upon the affections of the soldiers, that they refused to obey the king's orders to seize him: upon which *Eric*, brother both to *Olaus* and the king, broke into his apartment, and brought him bound in chains to his majesty. *Canute*, not caring to pollute his hands with a brother's blood, sent him to his father-in-law the earl of *Flanders*, with directions that he should be treated in a manner suited to his rank, but so narrowly watched as to prevent his return to *Denmark*. In the mean time, the tools of *Olaus* had so wrought upon the minds of the soldiers by their artful insinuations, that they disbanded themselves before the king's return, which obliged him to postpone his expedition to *England*, and convoke another diet, before he could raise an army.

The army deserts.

The king calls a diet.

THIS diet he opened with a speech, reminding the people of the glory acquired by his ancestors, by the faithful attachment of their subjects; of their conquests in the different parts of *Europe*, and particularly in *England*, which country they held for two hundred years in subjection, and now lost from the indolence and pusillanimity which laid hold of the once intrepid *Danes*. He represented to them the shame of deserting their monarch, who was in full pursuit of glory, conquest, and dominion; and of so scandalously abandoning a cause, which required no more than their presence to terminate happily. He laid before them the advantages which would result to *Denmark*, a poor, rocky, cold, and unfruitful country, from the conquest of an island abounding with all the conveniences and luxuries of life: in a word, he omitted no arguments that could seduce or impel them to their duty; but in vain. The emissaries of *Olaus* were indefatigable, and the minds of the

people wholly alienated from their sovereigns from the time he had granted the penitence to the clergy. They insisted upon the revocation of this decree, and *Canute* was unhappily obstinate to confirm it. The people rose, in arms in different quarters, and he was forced to seek shelter in the island of *Funen*, where he soon after perished through the treachery of a nobleman, in whose fidelity he placed his greatest confidence. He died by the hands of a people he loved; and but for a few errors in his conduct, and the ambition of his brother *Olaus*, would have governed happily. His valour, justice, generosity, and piety, were universally acknowledged; but a certain easiness of temper, and tincture of enthusiastick devotion, betrayed him into weaknesses that were the original causes of his unfortunate end. In a word, the reader cannot but perceive a striking analogy between his character and melancholy catastrophe, and that of our *Charles I.* Both were princes, who, but for the peculiar circumstances of the times, would have reigned equally beloved by their subjects, and esteemed by foreigners; both fell the sacrifices of amiable foibles, dangerous indeed in monarchs, but greatly admired in private life.

He is betrayed and put to death.

O L A U S, surnamed the Hungry, or Famished.

CANUTE's death was no sooner known, than the friends of *Olaus* set every spring at work to procure his liberty, and raise him to the throne. They doubted not but they should enjoy his chief confidence and favour, as they were the instruments of his promotion. Accordingly a sum of money was raised for his ransom, and his brother *Nicholas* sent to the earl of *Flanders* to conduct *Olaus* to *Denmark* (A). On his arrival his brother *Eric*, who had seized him in *Sleswick*, retired with his family into *Sweden*, not doubting but the young king would deeply resent an action which had occasioned his long imprisonment.

THE first act of *Olaus's* government was the shewing his gratitude to his brother *Nicholas*, then confined in *Flanders*, and sending thither a large sum of money for his redemption. He next proceeded to several popular regulations, in order to

SAXO, GRAM. l. xii. PONTAN. l. v.

(A) In the conduct of *Nicholas* offered himself a prisoner in his room, was accepted, and voluntarily put on the chains which his brother had just laid to set *Olaus* at liberty, *Nicholas* aside (1).

(1) Saxo Gram. l. xii. Pontan. l. v. p. 200. Meurf. l. iv.

secure

*Great
scarcity in
Denmark.*

secure the affections of the people, as he knew that a great part of the nation dreaded his resentment, on account of their espousing the cause of *Canute*: but he was interrupted in the midst of this laudable conduct by a terrible misfortune, which he could neither foresee nor prevent. A dreadful famine, in consequence of a bad harvest, prevailed so much, that the richest people in *Denmark* were forced to supply the want of bread with roots, and other vegetables; while the poor, who were unable to procure even these, perished in the streets and highways. Nor was this all: the heat of the preceding summer, and the deluges of rain which had fallen in the autumn, occasioned such a corruption in the air, and alteration in the human frame, as was attended with the most deplorable pestilence that had ever been known in any northern country. Both these terrible calamities, of famine and pestilence, seemed to contend which should most afflict the miserable *Danes*. Thousands of souls were swept off by each, and public fastings and prayers appointed in all the churches, to beseech God to remove so insupportable a scourge, which they now looked upon as the just punishment of their late rebellion against the bell of *noðunus*. *Sweyn*, bishop of *Roschild*, undertook a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, thereby to appease the Almighty, and atone for the crimes of the people. At length it pleased God to put a stop to the plague, and to send a plentiful harvest, which removed the wants of the people; but not during the life-time of *Olaus*, who, oppressed with grief at the miseries of the nation, died suddenly, and, as some affirm, upon the following occasion. It had long been customary for the nobility to dine with the king on *Christmas-day*, and they were accordingly invited by *Olaus*. When dinner was served up, the king called for bread; but was told, there was not a bit in the kingdom: a reply that struck him with such horror, that he put up a prayer to God, beseeching him to accept of his life as an atonement for his crimes, and the sins of the nation. His prayer was heard; for he instantly expired, and the famine ceased. We must however observe, that this anecdote is not very consistent with the account given by the best writers, and even by *Grammaticus* himself, though he relates this story; for they all assert, that the famine was removed by the ensuing plentiful autumn. Some writers allege, that *Olaus* reigned only seven years; but *Einarsen*, a contemporary historian, affirms, that he wore the crown for eight years and nine months^b.

*The cause
of the
death of
Olaus.*

^b Apud. MEURS. l. iv. GRAM. ibid.

BOOK III.

OLAUS dying suddenly, the states immediately assembled to elect a successor, and it was unanimously agreed, that a deputation should be sent to *Eric*, then an exile in *Sweden*, to invite him to the throne. Under this excellent prince, who was possessed of many heroic and amiable virtues, *Denmark* began to retrieve her ancient character and power. In the beginning of his reign he entered upon a war with the *Vandals*, who had protected two notorious pirates, banished out of *Schonen* for their crimes; and, under their conduct, committed the most impudent depredations and robberies on the high seas, as well as on the coasts of *Denmark*. Hitting out a fleet, he invested their capital in the isle of *Rugen*; and, after a brisk siege, took it by assault. Then, to deprive those pirates of this strong hold, he ordered the fortifications to be razed, and the town so thoroughly dismantled; that for a great number of years it did not recover its ancient strength and splendor. He next pursued the pirates into all the different ports of the *Baltic*, and punished severely those who fell into his hands, in order to terrify others by these examples. *Eric's* nature was mild, and prone to mercy; but he saw the security of *Denmark* depended on the extirpation of this nest of thieves. After having wholly subdued the *Vandals*, as he imagined, he returned to his capital, where he was received with the acclamations of a joyful people, who had penetration enough soon to discover the true character of their sovereign. His residence here was but short, when the *Vandals* made shift, notwithstanding their late reduction, to enter *Denmark*, spreading terror and desolation wherever they went, in revenge for the destruction of their city; but making so short a stay as rendered it impossible for *Eric* to attack and punish them, before they quitted his dominions. Enraged with this insult, he raised a body of troops, and, entering their country, so severely chastised them, that during his life they never again attempted giving the least molestation.

*Eric III.
78th king.*

*He severely
chastised
the pirates.*

On his return he sent a deputation to *Rome*, setting forth the virtues and piety of his brother *Canute*, who perished a martyr to religion by the hands of an enraged mob, and requesting that his name might be enrolled in the calendar of saints, which petition was honourably received and granted. *Canute*, by his holiness, who had too much policy and breeding to refuse a request from so potent a monarch, which at the same time implied a compliment to his own authority. Not long

*Obtains
leave from
the pope
to canonize*

The History of Denmark.

after the pope, *Nicolas II.* found an opportunity of displaying his power more amply to the *Danes* for a dispute, concerning some temporalities, arising between *Eric* and the bishop of *Bremen*, that prelate went in person to *Rome*, and laying the case before his holiness, obtained a verdict, though *Eric* refused for some time to stand by this award; but was afterwards forced to yield to the clamours of his own clergy, and the thundering menaces of the cardinal. It is even affirmed, that he was forced to go in person to *Rome* to supplicate the pope's pardon, and make up the breach between him and the holy see, by the most respectful submission and deepest contrition: the account, however, of this event, is very obscurely related by all the *Danish* historians.

An extraordinary story of the power of music.

AFTER *Eric's* return from *Rome* it was, that a musician, boasting to him of his skill on the harp, asserted, that his power over the faculties extended so far, that he could at any time deprive his hearers of their understanding, and render them frantic by force of harmony. *Eric*, who greatly doubted the truth of the musician's asseveration, ordered him to give a specimen of his skill, and was himself the first instance of the truth of what he asserted; for his passions were so wound up, that in an extasy of madness he flew like a maniac round the apartment, and in his transport killed four soldiers of the guard, which the musician observing, immediately changed his cadence to a soothing strain, and soon allwaged the violent transports he had excited. Grieved at what he had done, *Eric* rewarded the musician, and after making all possible recompence to the relations of the deceased, vowed a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, in order to do penance, and expiate thereby the horrid crime he had committed. For some time he concealed his intention from the states; but all things being ready for his journey, he made public declaration of his vow. They unanimously remonstrated against his design, which must inevitably involve the kingdom in numberless calamities. They embraced his feet, and bathed them

Eric's pilgrimage to the Holy Land.

Dies at Cyprus.

with their tears, beseeching that he would not expose to danger a life upon which depended the felicity of a whole kingdom; but *Eric* was inflexible. He accordingly pursued his journey, and passing through *Greece*, was honourably and magnificently entertained by the emperor *Alexius*. From *Constantinople* he took ship for *Cyprus*, and there ended his days some time after his arrival. His death so afflicted *Bathilda*, his queen, and faithful companion of his pilgrimage, that she survived him but a few hours, and was buried with him in the

same tomb. This event fell out, according to *Grammaticus* and *Suaningius*, in the year 1101 after the birth of *Christ*, although an author quoted by *Maurifus*, places it four years earlier; and thus *Denmark* was deprived of an excellent king, through a false and mistaken devotion. *Eric* was surnamed *the Good*, from an excessive benevolence in his disposition, which rendered him the sure friend and patron of the distressed and unfortunate. His affability was so great, that he conversed with the poorest subjects, received their complaints, and relieved their sorrows, either by his authority, or out of his own private purse: yet had he the address of blending the dignity of a king with the humility of a subject; for he was equally beloved by his nobility and commons, and respected by all the neighbouring powers. We are told that his eloquence was so great, that he was never under the necessity of exerting his authority in the senate: the irresistible persuasion that hung upon his tongue carried all before it; and if he was ever opposed, it was only that his people might have the satisfaction of yielding to the sweetness of his oratory. However absurd his piety may appear in these more enlightened days, his implicit faith in the pope's infallibility was the fault of the times: in other respects he practised the rigid precepts of morality, which are ever inseparable from true religion; and the last act of his reign shewed his strict regard to his vows, though it may be condemned by such as are of opinion, that a proper regard to the public good might have sufficiently absolved him from an obligation rashly entered upon.

WHEN *Eric* departed for the Holy Land, he left his son *Freld* regent of the kingdom; but the states being made acquainted with his death, recalled *Nicholas*, paid his ransom to the earl of *Flanders*, and placed him upon the throne, out of respect to the promise they had made to his father on his death-bed. They were urged the more to this by the severity of *Harold's* manners, which they foresaw would render them unhappy, if they raised him to the throne. Before the arrival of *Nicholas*, *Swen*, relying upon his interest with the diet of *Wiburg*, put in his claim to the crown as the elder brother, and was hastening thither when he was seized by a fever, of which he died in a few days. *Ubbo*, the next in age, wanted not a party of the nobility to espouse his cause; but he declining the crown out of respect to his younger brother, whose capacity, he modestly declared, was more adequate to the weight of governing; a rare instance of self-denial and brotherly love.

* Ant. citat. ibid.

N I C H O L A S.

Nicholas, 78th king. A. D. 1107. Thus the sceptre was put into the hands of Nicholas, who at first wielded it with great applause; but falling off in his character, and degenerating from the virtues of his ancestors, and from his own, he fell into the utmost contempt (A), and involved himself and his people in a variety of misfortunes. The breach of the public tranquillity, and its first rise from Henry, son to Godfrey, for Roman Vandal. This prince, after the destruction of the country in the last reign, lived privately for some years in Denmark; but on Eric's setting out for the Holy Land, found means to recover his hereditary dominion. He was nephew to Nicholas, and had frequently besought him to restore his mother's portion; but had always met with a harsh refusal. This irritated the young prince, and determined him to have recourse to arms.

Some of the Danish provinces laid waste by the Vandals. Entering into an alliance with the Nordalbingi, a people of Lower Saxony, or properly the *Holfteiners*, he soon subdued all the country lying between the *Elbe* and *Sleswick*. Thence he made such terrible incursions into the duchy of *Sleswick*, that Nicholas, who at that time resided in the capital, was forced to double his guards, and provide for the security of the city. For this purpose he sent to the several parts of his dominions for troops, and unfortunately committed that trust to *Elive*, a nobleman, who held a clandestine correspondence with Henry, and stipulated with him to betray his royal master. With this view he used all possible delay in marching the troops; and, to cover his treachery, was continually sending expresses to Nicholas, representing the occasion of his dilatoriness, and raising some new difficulty. At length the infantry arrived, and with them Nicholas, at *Elive's* persuasion, determined to give battle to Henry. The event fell out as the traitor foresaw: Henry's horse broke and put in confusion the Danish infantry; and now, when it was too late, the perfidy of *Elive* was discovered. Nicholas was defeated, and forced to retreat with precipitation into Denmark; where he no sooner arrived than he divested the treacherous *Elive* of all his employments, and confiscated his estate, believing that, and as necessary consequence, poverty, to be a more severe punishment than death itself.

^b MEURS. l. iv.

(A) Here would seem to be an inter-regnum of six years, as Eric died in the year 1101, and Nicholas was not placed in the throne until the year 1108. It is probable, that Harold, during this period, held the office of regent; and so indeed we find it asserted by *Suaningius*, though this fact is omitted by all the other historians. Vid. p. 74.

IN the mean while *Henry*, grown bold by his victory, made more dreadful incursions into the *Danish* territories, and, laying waste all the sea-coasts, made an attempt on *Sleswick*; but was repulsed with loss. *Canute*, the son of *Eric* the late king, and nephew to *Nicholas*, perceiving the misery to which this fine duchy of *Sleswick* was reduced by the cruelty of the *Eric*, *Vandals*, requested the government of a country which had been so cruelly treated, for the sake of the danger, by many of the nobility. When a general treaty and interest, he at length obtained it, and immediately set out to perform the duties of his government. His first measure was to offer proposals of peace to *Henry*, which he assured him he would willingly enter into, without any other condition than his indemnifying the duchy of *Sleswick* for her losses, and the king of *Denmark* for the expences he had been at in the war. These were terms which he was sensible the haughty spirit of *Henry*, now rendered more insolent and untractable by prosperity, would reject, and therefore provided accordingly, by raising a body of troops with the utmost expedition and secrecy. With these he marched in the middle of the night, with all possible silence, directly to a castle on the frontier of *Sleswick*, where *Henry* kept his head-quarters, and was fortunate enough to surround the place before the *Vandal* prince received any intimation of his march. In this situation, *Henry*, perceiving that resistance would be fruitless, mounted his horse, and by a secret path made his escape, leaving the castle to be plundered by the *Danish* soldiers, who did not fail to retaliate the many injuries they had received from him.

HENRY's escape occasioned a prolongation of the war: he levied a strong body of troops, with which he had frequent skirmishes with *Canute*, without ever venturing upon a general engagement. At length the *Dane*, tired out with the tediousness of a war which kept him in perpetual apprehension, determined to finish it by one decisive stroke. He augmented his army, entered the enemy's country, laid it waste, and then defeated *Henry*, who had hazarded a battle. The consequence was, that *Henry* sued for peace in the most supplicating and abject terms, promising to submit to any terms which the conqueror would think fit to impose. His submission was immediately accepted by the magnanimous *Canute*, who, like *Annibal*, after *Virgil*, was fatigued with humbling a haughty foe, and delighted with extending his clemency to the conquered. He immediately took horse, attended only by an escort of twenty persons, and entering *Henry*'s domi-

Canute
and Hen-
ry enter
into a strict
friendship.

Canute's
wise policy,
by which
he made
king of the
Vandals.

nions with more valour than discretion, sent a messenger to his castle to acquaint him with his arrival. The Danish messenger entered the castle just as Henry was sitting down to dinner; upon which he instantly seized his arms, and ordered all his people to stand on their defence; but being told that Canute was come to conclude a peace, he went out to receive him. These brave princes embraced each other with tears, signed a peace, and entered into the strictest friendship, which continued inviolable for the remainder of their lives. Such was the esteem which Henry conceived for Canute, that on his death-bed he appointed him the guardian of his infant nephew, and put the government of his kingdom into his hands; nay, he had taken such precautions and measures with the emperor, that, after his death, Canute found himself raised by his means to be duke of *Niecklemburg*. Thus the valour and generosity of Canute not only secured the duchy of *Sleswick* to the crown of *Denmark*, but strengthened the interest of that kingdom, by attaching to it a brave people, ever before in a state of hostility with the *Danes*, and procured to himself the dignity of a duke and prince of the empire, without any intrigue, or ambition. Soon after the emperor invested him with the title of king of the *Vandals*, for which purpose he visited the imperial court.

THIS prince reigned some years with the utmost reputation, esteemed, beloved, and respected by all good men; but his reign was at length disturbed by contentions, which arose between his sons. Ambition had fired the breasts of these young men, and had like to have proved fatal to the duchy of *Sleswick*; but as these transactions have no immediate relation with the History of *Denmark*, it will be sufficient to add, that the prudence of Canute triumphed over the headstrong ambition of his children, whom he reconciled with a parental authority, as well as by the esteem and awe with which his character impressed their minds.

IN the mean time, the king of *Sweden* dying, the *Ostrogoths* chose another king in his room; but the *Swedes*, believing that the right of election belonged only to themselves, put to death the *Ostrogoth* king, and chose *Magnus*, the son of *Nicholas* king of *Denmark*. This prince married a daughter of the king of *Poland*, was by that means involved in a war with *Vratislaus*, prince of *Sclavonia*, into which he drew his father *Nicholas*, not as an auxiliary, but a principal in the quarrel. *Denmark*, *Poland*, and *Sweden*, being combined against *Vratislaus*, he found himself under the necessity

Denmark,
Sweden,
and Po-
land unite
against the
Sclavonians.

of making proposals of peace extremely advantageous to the allies; but *Nicholas* would admit of no overtures until he had subdued the greater part of *Sclagwig*: after which he insisted upon the conquered prince's making his submission in person; and was weak and perfidious enough to break the parole of honour he had given for the security of *Vratislaus*, and retain him prisoner until the remonstrances of *Canute*, king of the *Danish*, obtained his liberty. *Nicholas* afterwards thanked the generous person for this interposition, which, he said, had saved his and the national reputation, which must have received an indelible stain from so notorious a breach of public faith. He then vented his indignation against the advisers of such unwholesome and dishonourable measures; yet, after all, his generosity proved the ruin of the noble-minded *Canute*. His enemies increased in proportion to his virtue, and they were overwhelmed with shame and confusion at his superiority of character: far, however, from endeavouring to imitate his example, they laboured to remove this mirror of dishonour, that only served to reflect with redoubled force their own disgrace. They found means of insinuating into the head of the credulous *Nicholas*, that ambition was the basis and spring of all *Canute's* actions; that, far from being satisfied with the crown he wore, and with the duchies of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, he aspired at a still higher dignity; and that his popularity was paving an easy way for his ascending the throne of *Denmark*. As his own children were in the number of accusers, the weak *Nicholas* the more readily credited these flanders, equally false and insidious, and only now watched a fair opportunity of robbing *Denmark* of its greatest ornament and support.

In the mean time, *Nicholas* prepared to celebrate the nuptials of his son with a princess of *Poland*; for which purpose the nobility and vassals of *Denmark* appeared with all possible magnificence at *Ripen*, and among the rest *Canute*, who eclipsed them all in splendor and pomp, as much as he did in merit. This circumstance added fuel to the fire that was soon to consume him. The king of *Denmark* was now convinced of the truth of all those treacherous insinuations that were daily whispered in his ear; while *Canute*, guarded only by his innocence, and unacquainted with the machinations against him, gained the esteem and affection of all worthy men. The plot was ready to break out against him, when a sudden revolt in *Pomerania* called him to his own country, and for a time postponed his fate. Here he quickly subdued the rebels, and afterwards returned to *Denmark* to receive his sovereign's applause; but how was he thunderstruck

His virtues raise him a cloud of enemies.

A conspiracy against his life.

*The queen's
speech to
Canute.*

at the cold reception, nay, the stern aspect of the silly *Nicholas*, on his approaching that throne, to which he aspired with much lustre. Instantly he beset his majesty, to acquiesce in with the cause of a conduct so different from what he flattered himself with; he offered to submit his actions to the most minute scrutiny; he breathed nothing but loyalty and duty, and expressed himself with so noble but resolute refusal of those that queen *Margaret*, a woman of great virtue, espoused his cause; and, losing herself, for *Ross* all the attempts of his enemies. This excellent princess, however, falling into a dangerous jealousy, he soon lost that favourable hope and patroness of merit. On her death-bed, she left for *Canute*, and told him, that his greatest enemies were those whose nature and duty ought the most assiduously to bind to his interest. She recommended to him to establish harmony and tranquillity at home; to gain the love and confidence of his own children, which would be a certain barrier against all the insinuations of other enemies. *Canute* had, she said, the kindness of a father, who allowed great weight to the allegations of those who were supposed to be acquainted with the private designs of their own father. She was now departing of this life, and would die contented in the thoughts, that thus intelligence, the goodness of the Almighty, the justice of *Canute's* cause, and his own integrity, prudence, and virtue would surmount all difficulties, preserve *Denmark* from the calamity of a civil war, and enable him to triumph over all his adversaries. With which words this pious and noble-minded princess resigned her last breath. *Canute* was moved no less with the death of so generous a friend than with the particulars of her dying words. He was shocked at the unnatural conduct of his own children, and greatly perplexed in what manner to execute the wholesome advice of his queen. Before he had settled any plan of operation, his enemies, taking advantage of her majesty's death, prevailed upon the king to have him solemnly cited before a general diet of the states, where he was accused of heinous crimes, and particularly of a design upon the crown of *Denmark*; but such was the eloquence of *Canute*, inspired by conscious innocence, that even now he baffled his foes, and fully convinced *Nicholas* of his honour and loyalty.

*His enemies renewed
their attack.*

NOTWITHSTANDING this victory, it was not yet a mortal malice found means to renew the attack with redoubled vigour, after having drawn the young queen into their party, who soon wrought a change upon the mind of *Nicholas*, and per-

^a SAXO, l. xiii. PONTAN. *ibid.* MEURS. l. iv. ^b Aut. citat. *ibid.*

fisted him, that he could not expect *Magnus*, his son, should
 ever succeed to his crown, while *Canute* enjoyed such a share
 of popularity as even affected him, and made him totter in
 the throne. An accident added strength to her suggestions; for
Nicholas going to *Sleswick*, the government of *Canute*, both
 kings had occasion to appear with their royal badges at some
 public assembly, where *Nicholas* entering first, seated himself
 on his throne, near the end of the hall, and was soon followed by
Canute, who sat on the opposite end, without remem-
 bering to pay the expected compliments at his first entrance.
 As soon as he recollected himself, he leaped down in the ut-
 most confusion to apologize for the omission; but *Nicholas*
 construed it into pride, and the queen, with her party, wrested
 it to the most invidious sense. In consequence the king as-
 sembled, with the utmost privacy, the leading men on the fac-
 tion, and, after having bound them to secrecy by an oath,
 declared his wish, that so dangerous a person as *Canute* might
 be taken off, in such a manner as would not excite the jeal-
 ousies of the people, whose idol he was (A). The manner
 of the oath was unusual, in order to render it more solemn;
 it was taken neither in a kneeling, sitting, or standing
 posture, but with their faces prostrated on the ground. After
 this the manner of executing their design was committed to
Geoffrey, who possessed the art of dissimulation in the greatest
 perfection. This person invited, according to the annual cus-
 tom, all the nobility of the kingdom to an entertainment on
Christmas-Eve. *Canute* was not forgot, and he, desirous of
 wiping off the late omission, did not fail to obey the sum-
 mons, that he might shew his respect for his sovereign. He
 was treated by *Magnus* with the most extraordinary instances
 of esteem. The perfidious friend told him, that the generos-
 ity of his conduct, and steady adherence to virtue, had blotted
 out all suspicions in the king's mind, and united the whole
 kingdom in one chorus of applause, and admiration of his
 great qualities. He said, that intending a pilgrimage to the
 Holy Land, he would request it of *Canute*, as a proof of his
 friendship, that he would charge himself with the guardianship
 of his children, and superintendency of his affairs during his

*An oath of
 secrecy ta-
 ken by the
 conspira-
 tors.*

*The trea-
 chery of
 Magnus.*

the young queen, that pre-
 sided at this clandestine meet-
 ing (1). Other historians men-
 tion the king as if personally
 there (2).
Magnus, won over by the art
 and intreaties of his stepmother

(1) *Gram.* l. xii.

(2) *Meurf. Hist. Dan.* l. iv.

absence, as there was no person of whose capacity and integrity he entertained so high notions. In a word, he said every thing which could suggest, excite, and confirm Canute in his opinion, that he was perfectly reconciled, because he saw the truth, tho' it was for the basest and most perfidious purposes. After he had sufficiently killed Canute's suspicions, he formed his plan, and hearing that he proposed visiting a sister in the country, whither he would carry but few attendants, fixed upon this as the proper occasion for his desired *Rosechild*. The day arrived, and Canute, who had no suspicion of treachery, tho' his wife had sent a messenger from *Wick* to acquaint him of the conspiracy, set out with no more than four attendants. He was attacked in a lone wood by *Magnus*, supported by a large body of conspirators, and slain before he had time to form any suspicion of the treachery of this awful friend, and with such circumstances of deep dissimulation and savage cruelty, as render this story one of the most pathetic in history, though our plan will not permit us to dwell upon particulars. They sell the great Canute, the ornament of Denmark, and the greatest hero of his age. His virtues, which had raised him from a private station to a throne, were now the cause of his death, by the hands of wicked conspirators, who could not see, without envy, themselves eclipsed in the eyes of the people by such superlative merit.

Canute falls a sacrifice to the ambition and perfidy of Magnus and the conspirators.

The whole kingdom in a tumult.

THE news of his death soon reached *Rosechild*, the then confidence of the court, and the king himself could not but shed tears at the loss of this great man, tho' he was part to the plot. The people were inconsolable, they poured out imprecations against the murderers, and nothing prevented an universal insurrection besides the consideration, that now all their endeavours would only augment the public calamity, without being able to recal him to life. His friends solicited the king for leave to bury him with the pomp becoming his quality and merit, in *Rosechild*; but this he prudently declined, from an apprehension of the consequences that might flow from so affecting a sight as his mangled corpse being exposed to the

^a SAXO GRAM. l. xiii. MEURUS. l. iv. RONTAN. l. v.

(B) His wife *Ingeburga* receiving some intelligence of the plot, sent a trusty messenger with the utmost expedition to inform him of his danger; but Canute, like a truly generous mind, slighted the messenger, and as the effects of fear, saying, that it was impossible *Magnus* could be such a villain, and so mean a hypocrite (1).

(1) *Meurf.* l. iv.

people.

people. He was therefore privately interred at *Ringstad*, without any other monument than what he had established in the hearts of the affectionate *Danish*, who to this day adore his memory.

MAGNUS, after this infamous exploit, returned to *Roschild*; but could with difficulty escape the vengeance of an enraged populace. His party however was so strong, that he soon quelled new opposition; and began publicly to boast of what he had performed. He now looked upon himself as the immediate and true successor to the throne, assuming, in all respects, the importance of the heir-apparent; but could little foresee how just and intertable were the ways of Providence, which, sooner or later, never fails to punish the wicked and unjust. *Ingeburga*, the wife of *Canute*, *Canute's* was delivered of a son about eight days after his murder: the wife delivered infant became dear to the public, from the love they bore to *Canute's* father. *Harold* and *Eric*, his uncles, were appointed his son, and guardians, and joined with the brave sons of *Godmund*, his guardians' cousins, to vindicate the cause of oppressed innocence, &c. *Eric* should succeed to the crown of *Denmark*, the dukedom of *Holstein*, and the government of *Sleswick* (A). They held an assembly of their friends at *Ringstad*, where they pathetically lamented the fate of the deceased, enumerated his qualities, and, in the manner of *Marc Anthony*, exposed his rent and bloody cloaths to the view of the populace, craving their aid and assistance to avenge his memory, and support his infant son. All were fired with the affecting sight; they tried out for arms, and desired to be instantly led against the barbarous and perfidious murderer, choosing *Eric* for their general.

THE king soon had intelligence of this transaction, and immediately consulted *After* the primate, in whose fidelity and prudence he greatly confided, what steps should be taken in *the people* so dangerous a conjuncture. After many proposals it was determined, that *Magnus* should be concealed, and that the king should immediately proceed to *Ringstad*, and there *Canute* convoke the people. His edict was published, and when the day arrived, *Eric* made a speech, adapted to inflame the minds of

(A) *SAEWSORTH*, c. vi.

^b *SAXO GRAM.* l. xiii.

(A) The reader has seen that *Canute* had other sons; but history takes no notice of them in the present case, probably because *Eric*, *Harold*, and the

people thought them among the number of the conspirators, and therefore unworthy to succeed to their father's crown.

the populace; which had a violent effect, until the primate appeared, and by his winning manner and persuasive eloquence appeased the tumult, and determined the people to receive their sovereign with becoming respect. While the primate was gone to introduce the king, *Eric*, seizing the opportunity, made a short speech, which soon roused them to their former sentiments, and confirmed them in their resolutions of revenge. On the king's arrival he was received with a tumult, murmuring, which ran through the whole assembly; upon which he again rose, and told high, that the friends of *Canute*, and the nation in general, designed that justice should be executed on the murderers of that great man. *Eric* was supported by the whole assembly; and the king, for his necessity to his own safety that he should, *Canute* should immediately be sent into perpetual exile, which was all he could obtain in his behalf from the people, who thought they had shewn great lenity in sparing so unworthy a king.

Magnus banished to appease the people.

The king recalls Magnus, which occasions an excommunication, and is recalled by *Eric*.

By a dispensance with his oath, *Nicholas* sent *Magnus* to *Orthogoth*, where, by his influence, he was created king; an instance of paternal affection against which the people shewed no resentment: but, unhappily, he was persuaded soon after, by those who had been engaged with *Magnus* in the conspiracy, to recall him to *Denmark*, as his heir apparent. This immediately raised a ferment in the kingdom, and obliged *Eric* and *Harald* immediately to convene the people at *Ringstad*. Here they set forth the king's perfidy and breach of vows, which, thus affirmed, rendered him unworthy of the crown he wore; and obtained a resolution of the assembly, that both he and *Magnus* should be persecuted as enemies to the nation: the assembly farther insisted upon *Eric's* accepting the crown, which out of policy he refused, until he should merit it by his services, and some signal acts of valour. An army, however, was instantly raised, with which *Eric* marched directly to *Jutland*, where *Nicholas* at that time was, and would immediately have made him prisoner, had not the policy of *Truro*, bishop of *Kipon*, diverted his intention. This prelate made use of such specious arguments in defence of the king's conduct, which he urged arose from necessity, rather than ambition for *Magnus*; he related so many plausible schemes, which he determined to execute as soon as opportunity offered, that his impetuosity was checked; and he encamped in the place he then was, with a view to receive proposals from *Nicholas*. His troops were suffered to forage, and wander round the country,

as he had no suspicion of treachery in the prelate, who bore the reputation of great piety. At his was the opportunity *Eric* desired, and he improved it to such advantage. That attacking *Eric* unprepared, he totally dispersed his army, after having made great slaughter in his camp. *Eric's* rage, at this fresh instance of his perfidy, was inconceivable; and, indeed, the dissatisfaction of the nation rose now to such a height, as not to be satisfied with less than the lives and crown of *Nicholas* and *Magnus*. Another assembly was held, and *Eric* now accepted the sceptre which he before refused: an army was raised with all expedition, and an ambassador was sent to crave the assistance of the emperor *Adolphus*, who was engaged in the cause of *Canute*, for whom he had always professed the warmest friendship. *Adolphus* promised every assistance to the ambassadors: he had, in fact, no other view than the extension of the empire, which he thought might easily be effected by seizing upon the Danish provinces, bordering *Uppsala* provinces, during the heats of a civil war. For this ignominious end an army; and marching into *Scania*, the conspirators were encamped with a strong body of forces behind a descent into *Danewark*. Here, instead of giving him battle, he entered upon a treaty, created *Magnus* a prince of the empire, and then drew off his army. *Eric*, who had gone to *Helsing* with a fleet to support the emperor, was astonished at his treachery; and, upbraiding him with perfidy and cowardice, told him, that *Magnus*, he doubted not, would return his favours with the same ingratitude he had done those of *Canute*: a prognostic that was soon verified by the event; for *Magnus*, equally deaf to the dictates of honour and conscience, fell upon the rear of the Imperialists, cut off their retreat, and obliged *Adolphus*, who led that part of the army, *Magnus* to save his life by swimming.

In the mean while, *Eric*, having no hopes of assistance from the emperor, returned to *Zealand*, and there received ambassadors from the king of *Norway*, who demanded the infant son of *Canute* in marriage for his daughter. Pleased with the hopes of so powerful an ally, as this connexion would produce, he assured the ambassadors, that he was ready to enter upon a treaty with their king, and would with pleasure

seize every opportunity of cultivating his friendship by the ties of alliance; to testify which, he immediately offered the king his niece in marriage, and gave pledges for the faith of his nephew.

BOTH parties now prepared for war; and *Nicholas* drew to his side all the bishops of *Jutland*, and several of the principal

* METERS, l. iv.

nobility of the kingdom, besides the conspirators, who were all strongly attached to his interest. In *Eric's* army were his brother *Harold*, with his two sons, who could not help espousing his honest cause, though they were displeased at his elevation in preference to *Harold* the elder brother; the bishop of *Roschild*, and *Christiern*, a nobleman of great influence and personal valour, to whom he gave the command of the forces intended to oppose the king in *Jutland*, while himself with the fleet should attack *Magnus*. He soon came up with his antagonist, and, after a brisk action, totally destroyed and took his fleet, *Magnus* making his escape in a boat. But this good fortune was counterbalanced by a victory which the king gained over *Christiern* by land, who was made prisoner, and carried to *Sleswick*. Before *Eric* received notice of his general's defeat, he was so elated with his own good fortune, that he entered the gut of *Alberg*, with intention of landing his forces, joining *Christiern*, and gaining an easy victory over the king. He rendered his ships less rigid in point of discipline, he permitted the soldiers to relax themselves, and confined them on board by strolling round the coasting; an imprudence which the king did not fail of turning to his advantage. He attacked *Eric* in this situation, and defeated a great part of his army. Nor was this all his loss; for *Harold*, his brother, envious of his dignity, and perceiving the king's cause bore a better aspect, deserted him, and carried over a strong reinforcement to the king's army. Happily however for *Eric* the winter came on, and prevented the king pursuing his advantage, or even keeping the field.

*Eric de-
feats the
land army
of Eric.*

*Harold
deserts to
the king.*

BEFORE the next campaign *Sweden* revolted, and created *Livero*, a nobleman of high rank, sovereign. He immediately assumed his independency by a very extraordinary act, which was no other than debauching *Uvilda*, wife to king *Nicholas*, whom, for the more security, he had sent into *Sweden*. Early in the spring *Nicholas* took the field, and joined battle with *Eric*, greatly inferior to him in strength, and obtained so complete a victory, that *Eric* was forced to fly into *Norway*, accompanied only by his wife, his natural son *Storn*, and a few attendants. Here he was at first kindly received, until *Nicholas* bribed the *Norwegian* king to put him to death, or deliver him into his hands; but *Eric* escaped this danger by means of the queen his niece, who privately gave him notice of what was transacting. Upon this he instantly wrote to his friends in *Langland*, to send a ship to *Norway* to carry him off. The ship arriving, he artfully contrived to

*Eric de-
feated by
the king.*

*Eric flies
into Nor-
way.*

^b SAXO GRAM. l. xiii. PONTAN. l. i.

escape from the castle, where he was confined under pretence of being secure against the machinations of *Nicholas*, by ineffectual guard. As the Danish crew were determined to continue their king, he soon found himself as safe as so slender a force could make him, and wasted into the midst of his friends in *Langland*. As they coasted along the shore, several of *Nicholas's* ships intirely deserted by the crews, who were making merry on shore; and to prevent a fair being again serviceable, they bored clean through the bottoms, and sunk or destroyed them, with all possible silence and expedition. The news soon spread that *Eric* was escaped, but *Magnus* was in no condition to pursue him, his fleet being wholly destroyed.

Eric now got among his friends, resolved to make one more attempt to revenge *Canute's* cause, punish the perfidious *Magnus*, and establish himself on the throne, to which he was elected by the people. His first step was to hang up *Ubba*, whom *Nicholas* had made governor of *Langland*, an ignominious death he justly merited, as one of the principal conspirators against the life of *Canute*. After this he made a descent with a small fleet on *Schonen*, which he soon reduced, by means of the friends he had among the inhabitants, who only wanted an opportunity of declaring themselves dissatisfied with the present government. Early in the spring king *Nicholas* entered upon measures to stop the progress of his rival. He raised an army, equipped a fleet, assembled the shops and his most warlike vassals, and sent a number of scouts abroad to examine into the situation, number, and condition of *Eric's* force. It was not long before advice was received, that *Eric* was boldly marching to attack the king, though supported but with a handful of men. The scout, who had probably been corrupted by *Eric*, further declared, that he appeared like something supernatural, riding upon a white horse that raised him into the clouds, and cut the air with incredible velocity. *Nicholas* perceived, that either fear or treachery had occasioned this phænomenon; but his soldiers judged otherwise, and fled with great precipitation to the ships, from which they could hardly be prevailed upon to return. In this confusion *Eric* attacked the king, and after making great slaughter of his troops, intirely defeated him, the main *Magnus* in the field, who in this last act played the hero, chusing rather to die honourably than escape by an ignominious flight.

^a MEURS. l. iv. GRAM. l. 13.

^b Aut. citat. ibid.

Nicholas
declares
Harold his
successor.

THIS news reaching Norway, the king Magnus was so incensed at his wife for the information she had given Eric, by which he escaped, that he sent her back to Denmark. As to king Nicholas, he escaped by all Harold into Jutland, where he assembled a council of the nobles, and declared the successor of his son Magnus, not from any personal regard he had for him, but to render his interest to oppose his brother Eric with all possible violence and animosity. His next step was to go in person to Slefwick, in order to reconcile the inhabitants to him, who were greatly incensed at the murder of Canute their governor. His friends had done all in their power to dissuade him from this measure; but he was obstinately bent on it. There had always been an annual festival held at Slefwick, in the members of which were obliged, previous to their admission, to vow revenge against whoever should injure any individual in the society. Canute, while he lived, had been constantly president of this social club, and by his affability, kindness, and generosity, had justly won their affections. On the king's arrival they instantly flew to arms; and in the space of a few minutes the city-gates were shut, the walls surrounded with armed men, every thing in commotion, and all means of escape cut off from Nicholas, who now, when it was too late, perceived his error, but determined to support the consequences with the intrepidity of an hero. His friends advised him to take sanctuary in St. Peter's church; but this he refused, that he might not pollute the holy altar with his blood, and by that means aggravate the crime of his infatuated people. However, he endeavoured to seize upon the citadel; but was slain in the tumult that arose between his guards and the citizens, after he had reigned for the space of thirty-five years, according to Saxo Grammaticus and Mæurhus; though Pontanus and Sverningius place his death in the year 1135; and all writers agree, that he ascended the throne in 1107. When his friends represented to him the danger of his going personally to a city so strongly attached to Canute, he told them, that majesty had nothing to fear from shoemakers and tailors; yet did he fall by the hands of those very citizens he affected to despise, leaving this useful lesson to his successors, that moderation, affability, and clemency, are the surest guardians of the crown, and popular hatred the most dangerous enemy in a free constitution.

Nicholas
put to death
by the Slefwickers.

ERIC

* PONTAN. l. v. SUAN. p. 76.

(A) With Nicholas ended agreeable to the promise he had the reign of Sver's fifth son. on his death bed exacted from his

ERIC IV.

As soon as the burghers had executed their design upon the Eric IV. King, they marched in a troop to the prison, in which *Christiern* had been confined since his defeat, and set him at liberty. Their next step was to proclaim *Eric* king, agreeable to a former election in a general assembly of the nobility and commons of Zealand and Scania. *Eric* having as yet no intelligence of what had been transacted in *Sleswick*, was making preparations for finishing the war. Accordingly he sailed over with his fleet to *Denmark*, and here was first made acquainted with the death of *Nicholas*. Though he greatly rejoiced at this event, yet believing that neither his own authority, or the tranquillity, could be sufficiently established while his brother *Harold* lived, and claimed the ensigns of sovereignty, he resolved to march against him. *Harold*, on the other hand, hearing of the king's death, and *Eric*'s approach, was greatly perplexed how to act. His force was very unequal to his brother's; and hazarding a battle would therefore be exposing him to the most imminent danger; yet he had no other alternative than flying into banishment. His two eldest sons continued faithful to *Eric*, and were now in his camp. *Harold* however persuading himself, that probably they were not destitute of filial affection, though honour obliged them to remain firm to their engagements, resolved to consult them secretly in what manner he should act in so dangerous a conjuncture. A trusty friend had access to them, and they, without hesitation, requested that he would escape with the greatest expedition to the king of *Norway*, assuring him, that a battle would be attended with certain ruin. Thus, they acquitted themselves like faithful adherents to *Eric*, and like dutiful children to *Harold*; but the former, having some intimation of this secret correspondence, had them seized; and, after a short imprisonment, ordered them, at the instigation of *Christiern*, to be drowned in the river *Sles*, into which they were plunged headlong.

As soon as *Eric* had settled the state of affairs in *Jutland* and *Sleswick*, he returned to *Zealand*, where he found *Harold* supported by a strong body of *Norwegian* auxiliaries, and pro-

* MEURS. l. iv.

his nobles; a circumstance rather glorious to his memory than fortunate in the issue, as each reign was afflicted succes-

sively with some uncommon misfortunes, which the reader must have observed in the perusal of the preceding pages.

claimed

Harold re- claimed king of *Denmark* at a diet held in that island. On this intelligence *Eric* speedily returned to *Jutland*, and ordered five of the six remaining sons of *Harold* to be put to death, without remorse or pity, for their innocence and affinity to himself. As for the youngest son *Olaf*, he made his escape in a peasant's dress to *Sweden*.

In the mean while the *Vandals*, encouraged by the intestine divisions in *Denmark*, made a sudden irruption into *Hidslein*, and laid waste with terrible desolation every place through which they passed. To redress their insolence, *Eric* got together a fleet of eleven hundred sail, embarking in each vessel four horsemen, with their proper accoutrements, besides foot; with which armament he passed over into their country, and soon reduced it. From thence he went to the isles of *Rugen* to punish the inhabitants, who had not only assisted the *Vandals*, but renounced Christianity, exercised the most abominable and prophane pagan superstition, and, what more immediately concerned the state of *Denmark*, the most desperate piracy on the high seas. Having subdued them, he compelled the whole island to banish idolatry, to establish funds for the residence of a bishop to instruct them in the duties of the Christian religion, and to swear allegiance to the crown of *Denmark*. However, they did not long continue their submission; for *Eric* was scarce returned to *Denmark* before they restored their idols, and banished the Christian prelate. He was preparing to punish them with more severity, when the return of *Harold*, as we have mentioned above, diverted his intention. History relates, that he soon removed this rival brother by assassination; but we no where find the particular circumstances mentioned.

Eric subdues *Rugen*.

Harold assassinated.

An insurrection in Norway.

DURING *Eric's* residence in *Denmark*, some disturbances arose in *Norway*, that terminated in the ruin of king *Magnus*. *Harold*, who claimed the crown in consequence of his affinity to the late royal family, had so engaged the hearts of the *Irish*, among whom he lived for a great number of years, that they sent him to *Norway*, attended with a considerable body of troops. An insurrection of the people immediately appeared in his favour; and they insisted, that *Magnus* should receive him as his colleague. This he refused, gave battle to the rebels and auxiliary *Irish*, and defeated *Magnus*, who took shelter in *Denmark*, where he was kindly received by *Eric*. The truth was, revenge and policy, not humanity to the distressed, were the motives of *Eric's* conduct. He considered this as a favourable occasion of punishing *Magnus* for his

treacherous assassin upon his person, in contempt of all the laws of hospitality; Harold solicited his aid, and Eric made no scruple of promising it as soon as he had put an end to the affair, in which the revolt of *Rugen* now involved him. Against these invaders he set out a second time, and so totally defeated them, that he apprehended no other rebellion for some time; which he applied himself to the performance of his duty towards *Harold*; he augmented his land and sea-forces,

and then sailed to *Norway* with a very formidable army, attended by *Harold*. Here he took some sea-port towns; but *Magnus* declining battle, he returned to winter in *Denmark*, resolving to resume his operations early in the spring.

NEXT year he returned with a superior force, and coming to *Eric's* camp, a decisive battle with *Magnus*, defeated his army, and took *Eric* to him prisoner. His victory he disgraced by his cruelty; for, to *Magnus*, in event all attempts to reinstate the unfortunate king, he put out his eyes, deprived him of his virility, and after this barbarous castration, enclosed him for life in a monastery, raising *Harold* to the throne.

HAVING finished the war in *Norway*, he returned to settle the domestic economy of *Denmark*, which had fallen in great confusion during the long series of civil and foreign wars, in which the nation was for several years engaged. While his mind was thus usefully employed, an unfortunate dispute of *Roskilde* arose among the bishops, about the archbishopric of *Lunden*, which then vacant. *Eschil*, bishop of *Roskilde*, supported by the people, and *Rico*, bishop of *Sleswick*, for whom the king entertained a personal friendship, on account of his attachment during the civil war, were the candidates. *Eschil* raised an army, and obliged the king and *Rico* to retire to *Jutland*. Here they levied forces, returned to *Zealand*, gave battle to the haughty prelate, and took him prisoner, keeping him in close confinement, until he was released at an exorbitant ransom, and the strong intercession of the most powerful of the nobility.

THIS dispute being for a time laid aside, the king resumed his attention to redress the grievances of his subjects, in which he met with numberless difficulties; for, in easing the burthen of taxes laid on the commons, he offended the nobility, and, in granting new honours and privileges to the latter, he only rivetted the chains of the former. This soon raised a ferment in the nation, which could be composed only by his death; an event that was treacherously brought about, while he was publicly administering justice in full court, near *Ripen*, where he was stabbed by one *Plogus*, surnamed *Black*, a no-

* SAXO GRAMM. libid.

Eric murdered by Plogus. a nobleman of great distinction in *Julius*. He died Eric, after a reign of scarce four years, resigning with his last breath a crown which he obtained by many valorous exploits, and dignified by such acts of popularity and justice, as long endure his memory to the commons of *Denmark*. He obtained, says *Pontanus*, the surname of *Emund*, from his courage and the dangers he had surmounted; and of *Haresfoot*, from his activity and swiftness, according to *Mourins* and other writers by the

THE royal family being almost extinct in *Christian* great disputes arose in the diet about the succession. Some proposed *Sven*, the natural son of the late king; others again supported the claim of *Canute*, son to *Magnus*, and grandson to *Eric*; while a third party, headed by *Christiern*, of whom we have made mention in the late *Vol. vii. c. vi.* espoused the cause of *Valdemar*, the son of *Canute* king of the *Vandals*, by his wife *Ingeburga*. There were many reasonable objections started against all the three candidates: the first was a son to a prince, who was himself the fruit of an illegitimate embrace: the second was a minor, and the son of a prince detested by the people, on account of the murder of their favourite *Canute*, and banished the kingdom by a solemn decree of the diet: and lastly, the third was so young, that dreadful consequences were apprehended from so long a minority as must ensue from his election. However, the influence and address of *Christiern* surmounted this last difficulty, as the people were greatly disposed to favour the offspring of a person they had perfectly adored. He sent privately for *Ingeburga*, and introduced her and her infant son to the people, with a pathetic speech, reminding them of the noble virtues of his father. The effect was sudden, and the diet, with one voice, proclaimed him king; but *Ingeburga*, aware of the dangers to which the child must be exposed by this exaltation, would by no persuasions consent to his election, until a regent should be appointed. She farther insisted, that the regent should actually enjoy the badges and authority of majesty during his natural life; that his ambition might be gratified, and all cause for conspiring against the life of her son, removed. This was a wise precaution suggested by maternal tenderness, that probably secured the crown afterwards to *Valdemar*. So strenuously did she maintain this point, that *Eric*, surnamed the *Lamb*, from the mildness of his disposition, was chosen regent, or rather colleague to *Valdemar*, and sole king during the young prince's minority. He was the son of *Hacquin*, who

^b Ibid. etiam PONTAN. & MEURS. loc. citat.

had married the late king's daughter, and related to *Eric the Great*, by the marriage of his son *Harold* (A).

It was his temper which gave rise to his elevation; for his known moderation, and extreme love of peace and tranquility, caused no jealousy, lest ambition might tempt him to disturb the public quiet.

ERIC V. surnamed the LAMB.

ERIC V. had scarce ascended the throne, when the divisions among the clergy broke out afresh with redoubled vigour. *Eschil*, bishop of *Roschild*, as soon as death had removed *Eric*, the Lamb, who was the greatest obstacle to his aspiring views, went over to *Schonen*, and by the consent, and even at the persuasion of the inhabitants, assumed the title and authority of primate, without obtaining, or indeed asking the permission of the new king. A. D. 1139.

The people were enamoured of the late archbishop; and as *Eschil* was his relation, they strenuously insisted that the dignity should be kept in the family. This induced *Eric*, surnamed the Lamb, to maintain the pretensions of *Rico*, bishop of *Sleswick*, patronized by the late king, and likewise to curb the ambition and insolence of *Eschil*. Observing, however, the obstinacy with which the whole province of *Schonen* espoused his cause, and that degrading him would necessarily be attended with a civil war, he dropped the design rather than disturb the tranquility of the kingdom. The dispute about this archbishopric of *Lunden* was the first occasion the kings of *Denmark* had to repent their having invested their turbulent prelates with temporal authority, and elevated them to such a pitch of grandeur, as rendered them haughty, insolent, and even dangerous to their sovereigns. In some measure to gratify *Rico* for his disappointment, *Eric* made him chancellor of *Denmark*, and gave him the bishopric of *Roschild*, vacant by the removal of *Eschil*. Ecclesiastical disputes renewed.

AMIDST these transactions, *Olaus*, the son of *Harold*, who escaped the massacre in which his brothers perished, by order of the late king, now returned to *Sweden*, and publicly demanded his father's estate that had been confiscated. This the king refused, pleading a law passed in the reign of *Frotho the Great*,

^a SAXO, l. xiv.

^b SAXO, *ibid.* PONTAN. l. v.

(A) *Grammaticus*, *Pontanus*, and the alliance arose by the marriage of *Eric*'s son, and not by *Meurfus*, make use of the word *consanguineus*, to express this any mixture of blood with *Eric* affinity, though improperly, as himself (1).

(1) *Vid. Auth. citat. ibid.*

*Attempts
on the
king's life.*

*Eschil
is
sent for
the king.*

by which the estates of all persons who had taken up arms against their king and country, were forfeited to the crown. *Olaus* finding that he could not avail himself of integrity, law, or force, had recourse to plots and conspiracies. He endeavoured one night to assassinate the king in his bed-chamber; but it was prevented by the guards, from whom he escaped with difficulty, and fled a second time into *Swena*. Returning thence into *Schonen*, he levied forces, assumed the royal dignity, and prepared to invade the whole kingdom. *Eschil*, notwithstanding his quarrel with the king, raised forces to oppose him, and performed the part of a loyal subject, but unsuccessfully; for being defeated in the field, he retreated to *Lunden*, and was there besieged by *Olaus*. After defending the city, which was secured by no walls, with great bravery, he was at length, from the scarcity of provisions, forced to surrender upon honourable terms. Some writers say that he was taken prisoner, and dismissed, after swearing allegiance to *Olaus*, which oath he broke as soon as *Eric's* army came near enough to protect him. He offered his services to this prince, and took it upon him to crush the rebellion, provided his majesty would furnish him with a suitable army, which was readily granted. As soon as the prelate found himself at the head of a formidable body of men, he went in search of the enemy, who did not decline battle. Here he was a second time vanquished, and returned to the king with apologies that were easily admitted, as his misfortunes could not be attributed to want of loyalty, but to unskilfulness in a profession no way appertaining to the character of a dignified prelate.

OLAUS, elated with his two victories, began now to assume the king in reality. He plundered all the effects belonging to *Eric* and *Eschil*; deposed the latter from his archbishopric, and placed another in his room; revoked all the decrees made in this and the last reign; and lastly, sending his army into winter-quarters, making *Lunden* the repository of their arms, he went over to *Schonen* with only a few attendants, as if the war had been wholly ended, and himself in quiet possession of the throne. This imprudent security would have wrought his destruction, had not fortune interposed for his safety; for *Eric* receiving intelligence of his total neglect of military duty, collected a small body of soldiers, and passing over in the night, attacked the enemy just as their camp was ready to break up, and while every thing was in the utmost confusion and disorder. The consequence was a complete victory, having taking four of *Olaus's* generals, dispersed his

whole army, pillaged his camp, reduced *Lunden*, seized his arms and magazines, and put to death the new bishop, appointed by *Olaus* in the room of *Eschil*, or, as others imagine, *Eschil* himself, for having traiterously suffered himself to be twice defeated in the field.

OLAUS returned to *Sunden*, from whence he soon returned with another army, and gave battle to *Eric*, in which he was a second time defeated at *Glimstorp*. Nor did this destroy his hopes, or any ways dispirit him; for we are told, that in the same campaign he fought no less than twelve oblique battles with *Eric*, in all of which he was unsuccessful. He had indeed an admirable talent at accommodating himself to circumstances, and retrieving the situation of affairs, after they had been given up by all other men; but he never stuck at the point, whether honourable or not: his whole object was success in whatever manner it was obtained. Finding therefore *Olaus* that all attempts in *Schonen* would be vain, he passed over *second time* only into *Zealand*, and was here defeated by *Rico*, bishop of *defeated*. *Roschild*. Determining however to have his revenge, he gave out that he had quitted the island, and concealed himself with a strong party of desperadoes in a wood adjacent to *Rico's* palace. This he attacked furiously in the night; but finding the doors too strong to be forced, he called out for fire to consume the building. *Rico* upon this demanded a parley, which being granted, he was going to remonstrate with *Olaus*, when he was treacherously slain by his order, before he had well passed through his own gate.

AFTER this infamous action *Olaus* returned to *Schonen* before *Rico's* death could be known there; but *Eric* took his measures so well, that he had almost put an end to the war by a sudden attack on the enemy, in which *Olaus* narrowly escaped being made prisoner. This was only a short respite *Olaus* from the fate which impended; for he was soon after *slain*. He was defeated and slain in a bloody battle fought just as he was upon the point of quitting *Schonen*.

THIS dangerous rival being removed, *Eric* applied his attention to composing the state of the kingdom, greatly disturbed by this tedious war. He married the sister of the bishop of *Bremen*, remunerated the nobles with some beneficial grants of estates forfeited in the late war, for the zeal and fidelity with which they had served him, and distinguished himself by many acts of piety, justice, and popularity, until at length he fell into an inactivity and indolence, that greatly impaired his reputation. To redeem his character he fitted

Eric falls into indolent and shameful measures.

* SAXO GRAM. l. xiv.

MEURS. l. iv.

out a fleet against the *Vandals*, who resumed their piracy; but a lazy humour had now so strongly possessed him, that loitering on the coast of *Zealand* without keeping proper watch, he was surprised by the enemy, and very nearly taken prisoner. It is supposed that his fondness for his young queen had totally emasculated his mind, and rendered him indifferent to every consideration but domestic felicity, which he indulged to an excess of weakness. He now returned home after his shameful flight, without again attempting to wipe off the disgrace, or repress the insolence of those barbarians. Next year he was seized with a fever, of which he died, leaving the reputation of a prince endued with excellent natural qualities, were they not corrupted, and at last diliterated by a shameful indolence, the consequence of too uxorious a disposition. On his death-bed he was weak enough to put on a monk's habit, relying upon that as a sure passport to the mansions of bliss; in this apparel assembled his nobility round him, delivering to them his scepter. Yet though he resigned the badge of authority, he could not bear to have a successor mentioned; for when that was proposed by one of the nobility, in order to put a stop to the incursions of the *Vandals*, he turned round in wrath, and expired with sentiments of resentment. (A).

c HELM. Chron. Slav. l. i. c. lxxviii.

(A) It deserves notice that not *Lamb* (1); though it is *Helmode* affirms this prince's probable he might have received the former appellation an authority somewhat inferior after the death of *Eric*, and the to the badges of majesty) and other before.

(1) *Helm. Chron. Slav. l. i. c. lxxviii.*

S E C T. V.

Wherein the History is brought down to the Accession of Canute VI. in the Year 1182.

S W E N IV. and C A N U T E V

SWEN IV. and C A N U T E V. **O**N the death of *Eric V.* the kingdom was divided among three persons, each enjoying a sovereign and equal authority. These are the words of the *Danish* writers, though it appears in fact, that *Valdemar* was still in his minority, and enjoyed no part of the supreme authority. The *Zealanders*, at the persuasion of *Steno*, a person of great influ-

Swen IV.
and Canute V.

else, espoused the cause of *Sven*, son to *Eric Emond*, and chose him for their king. The *Futlanders*, however, favoured *Canute*, the son of *Magnus*, and accordingly elected him for their sovereign, until *Valdemar* should arrive at the age of maturity. Whether he was then to share the authority with the young prince, or entirely to resign it to him, is not clearly determined by historians. But certain it is from this, that *Valdemar* had no certain division of the kingdom appropriated to him during his minority; nor did he at all enjoy either the ensigns or authority of a monarch. He was educated indeed as the prince apparent and immediate successor to the crown, had a household and liberal appointments, but bore no sway in the administration.

THE consequences of this partition of power was an immediate rupture between the rivals *Sven* and *Canute*, that again broke out between Swen and Canute. involved the nation in a civil war. The latter taking advantage of *Sven*'s absence in *Schonen*, where he was levying an army, invaded *Zealand*, reduced it, and drew *Esfibil*, the archbishop, into his interest; whence it appears, that this prelate was not put to death in the former reign, as some historians alledge. Endeavouring to join *Canute* in *Zealand*, the prelate was taken, and, by order of *Sven*, inclosed in a cage, and suspended in the steeple of his own cathedral, exposed to the derision of the populace, afterwards imprisoned, and at length dismissed at the request of the pope, who interceded for his son.

As soon as *Sven* had completed his levies, he embarked his army for *Zealand*, determined to drive the enemy out of the island. Both armies willingly came to an engagement, fought with the utmost obstinacy, and made terrible slaughter, until victory, long hovering in suspense, at last embraced the cause of *Sven*, and brought him such an advantage, that his rival was compelled to retire to *Futland*.

POPE *Eugenius* this year published an edict, strictly enjoining all Christian princes to combine against the infidels, which brought about a temporary reconciliation between *Sven* and *Canute*, that ended in a confederacy and junction of forces Swen and Canute against the *Vandals*, who still adhered to their pagan idolatry. *Canute* had the allies arrived on the enemy's coast, when they reconciled, were joined by the *Saxons*, and now the fleet was divided into three squadrons, who were to make their several attacks. *Swen* was unfortunate; for the inhabitants of the isle of *Rügen*, in alliance with the *Vandals*, destroyed a great part of his fleet by a sudden sally. Terrified with this loss the *Danes* re-

A. D.
1148:

embarked, and, without any farther attempt, returned home; upon which the civil discord was again revived between the rival princes. *Swen*, by his late defeat, was now inferior in strength to his enemy; which deficiency he determined to compensate by all the precautions suggested by the art of war. He set about fortifying *Roschild* in the strongest manner, and *Canute* resolved to impede his work, as much as possible, and maintain his superiority. Accordingly he passed into *Zealand*, attacked the city, took the governor, who commanded assally of the besieged, and, after putting out his eyes, and plundering the city, he reembarked for *Jutland*, to recruit his army and prepare for giving battle to *Swen*.

In a short time he returned, and meeting his rival at *Tidderster*, a bloody battle was fought, that terminated in the advantage of *Swen*. Now *Canute* was not only forced to abandon *Zealand*, but before his return to *Jutland*, was deserted by two of the chief nobility, whose weight and valour proved of the utmost importance to his antagonist. To this loss was added the influence of young *Valdemar*, now of age, who, out of hatred to the son of his father's murderer, declared in favour of *Swen*, and accepted from him the government of *Sleswick*, that had formerly belonged to his noble father. Young *Valdemar*'s natural vigour, the influence he possessed in consequence of the people's affection for his parent, and the forces he drew together, enabled *Swen* to retaliate upon his rival, and, in his turn, to project the invasion of his dominions. *Valdemar* was accordingly provided with a fleet, and ordered to make a descent on *Jutland*; the first expedition he had ever undertaken. His courage and ardour to signalize himself soon infused a spirit of intrepidity in his troops, that made them as desirous of battle as their young leader. The opportunity offered, and *Valdemar* embraced it with a cheerfulness that prognosticated a happy event. *Canute* was totally defeated; his whole army taken, killed, or dispersed, and himself obliged to fly for shelter to his stepfather, *Suerco* king of *Sweden*.

SWEN, being thus freed from all apprehensions about his rival, resumed the war against the *Vandals*, who had become more insolent by the late repulse they had given the *Danes*, and by the civil discord that rent this miserable people. Impetuosity and fire, mixed with a certain dissipation of mind and inconsistency, distinguished the character of *Swen*. This rendered the war in general unsuccessful, though he succeeded in all his attacks upon the barbarians. As he never followed

his stroke, they always again made head, and were as insolent at the end of *Sven's* hostile operations as before.

DURING these transactions, *Canute*, leaving the court of *Sweden*, went to *Poland* to solicit assistance, and from thence to *Saxony*; in both which places he met with fair promises, the usual consolation of the unfortunate; and at length to the archbishop of *Bremen*, who received him into his protection. His prelate, having been deprived of some privileges which he claimed in *Denmark*, vowed revenge, and assisted *Canute* with all his power. He likewise sent trusty persons to sound the inclinations of the *Futbylles*, who all declared they would take arms in favour of their prince, the moment he appeared with a proper force to protect them, while they were foraging their levies. They did not deceive him with false hopes; for the moment he arrived, incredible numbers flocked to his standard; and *Sven*, finding himself inferior in the field, took all necessary precautions for standing a siege in *Wiburg*. *Canute* pitched his camp before the city, laid close siege to it, and in time reduced the garrison to great straits for want of provisions. *Sven* resolved in this emergency, to risque every thing, rather than fall into the hands of his rival. Accordingly, attended by young *Valdemar* and *be-* *demar*, he sallied out in the night upon the enemy's camp, when a brisk action ensued. The besieged fought with the despair of persons who had all at stake, and the besiegers determined not to be disgraced by a handful of men. Both *Sven* and *Valdemar* performed miracles of valour; but especially the young prince, who was present wherever danger and glory called. Fortune seconded their brave efforts; *Canute's* army was intirely defeated, his camp pillaged, the siege raised, and himself forced to fly with a few attendants into *Saxony*.

In the mean time, the *Vandals* had invaded *Finn*, burnt the *Van-* *ing* and destroying the country with all the fury of incensed barbarians; but *Sven*, marching against them, drove them *seated, and* out of the island, after defeating them in a pitched battle. To prevent their future depredations, he granted, with the consent of the nobility, the power of making reprisals to all his subjects, who had sustained losses by their depredations and *privateers*. These privateers at first composed but a small squadron; but their success so encouraged others, that in a short time they became a formidable armament, under the conduct of one *Vithemar*. Their power rendered them no less a grievance to *Denmark* than the *Vandals* themselves; for wherever they met with a ship fit for their purpose, they thought

themselves sufficiently justified in seizing upon her, if they first paid down her value to the owner. Other abuses had likewise crept in, which rendered it necessary for *Swen* to compile a certain set of laws to regulate their conduct. What these were, history does not inform us: we are only told, that they proved extremely beneficial and salutary; notwithstanding which it was long before the sea-port towns resumed their ancient splendor, and trade recovered its wonted vigour.

A third
attempt by
Canute.

CANUTE in the mean time was not idle: after using every art to induce the *Saxons* to support him, he went to *Emodek*, where he met with some encouragement, from the eager desire with which he found the people possessed of recovering their usual liberty, as they imagined they should, in reward of the services they proposed doing *Canute*, should he be so happy as to be reinstated in the throne. A small army was soon raised; but there wanted fleet to transport it into *Sleswick*. A few ships were therefore obtained from that dutchy, and every thing threatened the nation with a new civil war. Nor was *Swen* less diligent in taking the proper measures to suppress this insurrection. He levied troops with such expedition, and marched them, with *Valdemar* at their head, with so much celerity, that *Canute* was attacked, and the rebellion suppressed, before it was believed that *Swen* could have intelligence of the rising; and thus the unhappy prince was once more driven into exile. After *Swen* had punished with death the ringleaders, imposed a fine upon the rest, and settled the good order of the country, he returned to *Denmark*.

Canute
once more
driven into
exile.

He engages
the emperor
in his ser-
vice.

CANUTE resolved upon one more effort; and accordingly went to the court of the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*, craving his assistance, and promising, if he succeeded, to hold *Denmark* as a fief of the empire: an argument which weighed so powerfully with *Barbarossa*, that he cited *Swen* to appear before him. *Meursius* says, that he sent a polite compliment, desiring that the king of *Denmark* would favour him with a meeting at *Stadtberg*, then called *Marberg*, in order to renew the ancient amity between their predecessors; assuring him, at the same time, that only affairs of importance prevented him from going more than half way. This embassy was extremely agreeable to *Swen*, as it flattered his pride, and raised his self-importance. Without hesitation he embraced the proposal, and set out on the journey, attended by *Valdemar*, contrary to the advice of the senate and most prudent personages of the nation. On his arrival at *Stadtberg* he was magnificently re-

ceived at the first Congress; but, in the second meeting, *Frederic* began to accuse him of having driven the lawful heir to the crown of *Denmark* out of the kingdom, and usurped his throne. Then the emperor proposed, that he should hold his crown upon the same terms offered by *Canute*, or run the hazard of his vengeance. He told him, that, if he accepted the first, it should be his endeavour to prevail on *Canute* to lay down his arms, and renounce all pretensions, accepting of *Zealand* as an equivalent, which he should hold for his life: on the contrary, should he prove refractory, he threatened to wrest him (*Sven*) immediately of the sovereignty, and confer it on his rival. *Sven* perceiving now, when too late, the snare into which he had fallen, desired that the matter might be debated before the imperial council, or a diet of the princes of the empire, each of the parties choosing an advocate, upon whom he should rest his cause. This proposition seemed so equitable, that *Barbarossa*, ashamed to refuse it, desired he would fix upon his advocate. Accordingly *Sven* chose *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*; and *Canute* made choice of the archbishop of *Bremen*. The cause was debated with great warmth, and *Leo* was near carrying the point for his client, when *Barbarossa* put an end to the argument, by decreeing, that they should hold an equal share of the sovereignty, as colleagues; a determination with which *Sven* was forced to appear satisfied, though the injustice of it was flagrant and notorious to all the world. In consequence, he was permitted to return to *Denmark*; but had no sooner arrived at the capital, than, assembling his nobles, he wrote a letter to the emperor, by their advice; in which he upbraided him for his perfidy, and violation of the laws of nations and public faith. He told him, that his consent to his unjust verdict being extorted, he was determined not to abide by a sentence so partial and iniquitous; and that as he had not only obtained the crown by the election and free choice of his faithful people, but likewise held it by right of conquest, it was his resolution not to participate his authority with the man he had so frequently vanquished; and either to live a king, or die in maintaining his right and crown.

Treachery of the emperor.

The dispute between Swen and Canute referred to a diet of the empire; but Swen refuses to stand by the emperor's verdict.

AFTER this he entered upon a treaty of marriage with the house of *Saxony*, in order the more strongly to unite families already linked together by friendship, neighbourhood, and mutual good offices; but this connexion, says *Grammaticus*, was the base of his reputation, and the ruin of the kingdom. *Sven* began to emulate the luxurious and expensive manners

of the Saxons. The simple homely coarse dress of *Denmark*, was changed for the more superb and costly ornaments of the neighbouring country. The minds of the nobility were enamoured with foppery, their estates ruined with pomp and ostentation, and the public treasury exhausted by frivolous show and mere gaudy external grandeur. With dress and equipage, every other article of life was changed for a more expensive method; and the manly valour of their ancestors laid aside for a refined delicacy, better becoming women than a nation respected only for its valour, hardiness, and rough boldness. *Saxony* was in those days to *Denmark* what another nation celebrated for the politeness of its manners, is at present to our own. The low condition of the treasury introduced a train of bare-faced corruptions. Honours and preferments were bestowed, for a certain price, on the mean and unworthy. Merit was estimated by wealth, and court-favour bestowed only upon those who could administer for a time to its prodigality. Religion fell into discredit, with this decline of the practice of morality: and it is indeed observable, that they are ever inseparable, whatever stress some enthusiasts may lay upon the merits of an implicit faith, in which, according to them, consists true religion^a.

IN this condition stood the kingdom on the eve of a war with *Sweden*, from which the pope's nuncio did all in his power to divert *Swen*. The motives for it were, a gross affront put on the nation by the brutal conduct of *John* the son of *Suerco* king of *Sweden*. This young prince had violently carried off the wife of the duke of *Halland*, ravished her in the most savage manner, and then dismissed her with all possible marks of ignominy. What the reasons were for so brutal a conduct we are not told; but certain it is, that the whole kingdom of *Denmark* was fired with the desire of revenging so barefaced an injury; for however corrupted the minds of the nobility might be, the nation in general was not lost to a sense of public honour.

Swen invaded Sweden.

IN the beginning of the winter *Swen* led his army into *Finland*, where it was supplied with all necessaries by the voluntary contribution of the inhabitants, who cheerfully offered a part of their substance to avoid being plundered of the whole, and have their country laid in ashes by the fury of the *Danish* soldiers. Crossing the gulph he made a descent on the coasts of *Swetlan*; and the inhabitants flying for shelter into the mountains, were soon reduced by the pinching cold and hunger to hazard a battle, in which they were de-

^a SAXO, l. xiv. MEURS. l. iv.

feated;

feated; after which they submitted at discretion. Such was the consternation into which his arrival had thrown the whole kingdom, that he would have found it an easy conquest, but that the inclemency of the weather rendered it impossible for him to keep the field, and the badness of the roads, shut up by the hard frosts, prevented his penetrating into the country to any distance from the sea-coast.

SWEN was scarce returned to *Denmark* with his army, when an insurrection in *Schonen* required his presence. Not chusing to exert force where gentle measures might prove equally efficacious, he demanded a cessation of hostilities, and a truce, until he could hear the grievance. As soon as the proper securities were passed, the king, attended with a few of his officers, went over to the rebels, and harangued to very little effect, for they grew more insolent by his lenity, attributing to fear what was really the result of his indulgence and clemency. Presently he saw himself surrounded by armed men, and his life in imminent danger; but finding that all attempts to escape would be vain, he again waved his hand, as a signal that he wanted to be heard, but before he had spoke a syllable, they began pelting him with stones; upon which *Tocho*, a man of quality in his train, called out to them to forbear; for he himself would take it upon him to redress their grievances, and, if the king should oppose it, would be the first man to lead them on to his destruction. Perfectly satisfied with this assurance, the tumult ceased, the mob dispersed, and every man returned peaceably to his own home, to the infinite satisfaction of the king, who was brought into very critical circumstances by these headstrong peasants.

As soon as the king was set free, he shewed his resentment of this imprudent attack upon his life, by destroying the whole country, which he burnt to the ground, reducing the unhappy natives to the most extreme misery. He permitted the soldiers to indulge themselves in every kind of excess, and to commit the most shocking barbarities: a conduct not to be justified, even by the cause of his resentment. But his usage of *Tocho*, who had been the immediate instrument of his safety, admits of no apology or palliation: it was the basest ingratitude, and what alone sufficiently stigmatizes his memory to the latest posterity. This honest courtier, moved with the distresses of the deplorable sufferers, and with seeing innocence involved indiscriminately in the ruin of the guilty, ventured to intercede for them; a piece of humanity which the king construed into treachery, for which he ordered him

Swen al-

most mur-

dered by

an insur-

rection of

the pea-

sants in

Denmark.

Swen's in-

gratitude.

to be put to death, as a person who had connived at and fomented the rebellion^a.

Valdemar
espouses the
cause of
Canute.

THIS last action was so unpopular, that all men began to sever from their affection, and even *Valdemar* himself publicly espoused the cause of *Canute*, rather than see a wrong-headed tyrant sporting with the lives and felicity of his subjects. *Canute*, the more strongly to attach a prince of such qualities to his interest, prevailed on *Suerco* king of *Sweden* to give him his daughter *Sophia* to wife, who was likewise sister by the same venter to *Canute*. As *Valdemar* did not seem very inclinable to the match, as the lady possessed no dowry in *Denmark*, *Canute* willingly made over to him a third of all he should acquire, if fortune proved favourable. The terms were accepted, and the marriage concluded, by means of which these two princes were connected in the same cause, by treaty, affinity, and interest, the most powerful of all ties^b.

They in-
vade Den-
mark.

THIS affair being concluded, they both returned to *Zealand*; and *Canute*, leaving *Valdemar* to make preparations there, went himself to *Futland*. *Swen*, having intelligence of these proceedings, tried every measure to recal to his interest young *Valdemar*, to whose courage, prudence, and popularity, he was no stranger. For this purpose he went to him at *Ringstadt*, and expostulated with him on his breach of trust, and the perfidy of uniting himself with *Suerco*, the avowed enemy of *Denmark*. He then produced a forged anonymous letter wrote to him, with a view of dissuading *Valdemar* from engagements replete with dissimulation and villainy, contrived for his ruin. *Valdemar's* apprehension was quick, and immediately penetrated into the artifice of the king. Upon which he gently upbraided him for contriving so mean a piece of cunning, vindicated his own conduct, and lamented the measures which had forced him for the public good to relinquish his engagements to his majesty, concluding with a short recapitulation of his own services and the return they met with. *Swen*, full of resentment at the young prince's freedom of speech, ordered him to be surrounded by the soldiers, and carried off prisoner; but this they refused out of respect to *Valdemar*; upon which the king returned in a fury to *Roschild*, and the prince joined his associate in *Futland*.

Swen's
treachery.

HIS relation of this transaction to *Canute*, had such an effect on the *Futlanders*, that they all called out for arms to revenge the indignity; but *Valdemar*, whose courage was equalled

^a MEURS. *ibid*.

^b PONTAN. l. v.

by his prudence and patriotism, endeavoured to assuage their passions, by representing the horrors of a civil war, in terms so pathetic, that they left the conduct of their affairs wholly to him. It was his intention to compromise their differences, and procure a partition of the sovereignty without shedding the blood of the subjects. Accordingly he met a second time, each being attended with a number of troops, and the issue was, that Denmark should be divided between *Swen*, *Canute*, and *Valdemar*; but we are not acquainted with the provinces assigned to each, as the *Futlanders* and *Sleswickers* insisted upon being governed by *Valdemar*.

PUBLIC tranquillity being established upon this footing, *Vandals* *Swen* attacked the *Vandals*, who during the late troubles had made a descent on *Zealand*, and penetrated to the gates of *Denmark* *Roschild*. They had also invaded *Funen*, *Falstria*, *Laaland*, and the smaller islands, which they entirely reduced, carrying off a prodigious booty. There was no security of property on any of the coasts of *Denmark*, while these freebooters roved about the sea at pleasure, and carried terror and desolation wherever they came. *Swen* checked them for a time, by a slight defeat they met with; but finding every part of his dominions insulted, he called in *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, to his assistance, promising him a subsidy of fifteen hundred pounds of pure gold, if he would co-operate in suppressing the barbarians. *Henry* first demanded the money, which being paid with great difficulty, he intirely neglected his engagements, and applied himself wholly to promote pomp, luxury, and pleasure at his court, at that time the most brilliant in *Europe*. The people were so enraged at *Swen*, that they wished for the opportunity of deposing him. They exclaimed that he had dishonoured the nation, by purchasing with immense sums of gold that tranquillity their ancestors used to demand by arms.

SWEN, imagining that the disaffection of his subjects was fomented by *Valdemar* and *Canute*, neglected the *Vandal* war, in order to have his revenge on them. He could have but little dependence upon the force of arms, and therefore chose to have recourse to dissimulation and treachery, as the least dangerous method. Intending a visit to *Conrade*, his father-in-law, who resided in *Saxony*, he proposed to *Valdemar* to accompany him as far as *Sleswick*, the government of which he had obtained. *Valdemar*, though he knew the treachery of his disposition, yet generously accepted the pro-

Valdemar
escapes the
snare.

posal, believing that no man would be so dishonourable as to be guilty of so flagrant a breach of hospitality and faith. On their arrival at *Stult*, *Swen* sent to *Conrad* to give him notice of his purpose, and desiring he would take measures to secure the person of *Valdemar*; but *Conrad*, honourably declined the business, saying, that he had rather himself, his son-in-law, and daughter, should suffer the most ignominious and excruciating death, than commit an action which would render them unworthy to live. *Valdemar*, escaping through the integrity of *Conrad*, went immediately to *Cansute* in *Futland*; and, finding there was no reliance on the promises of *Swen*, began to levy forces. It was now that he first assumed the badges of majesty, and not until he was forced to it in self-defence. *Swen*, hearing of their preparations, began to enter upon measures to subdue them by force: perceiving, however, that the affections of the people were wholly alienated, he retired first with his wife and son to *Falstre*, and then to *Saxony*, contrary to the advice of all his friends.

Swen ab-
dicates the
throne.

CANUTE and *Valdemar*, who were yet unacquainted with the king's flight, transported their army into *Zealand*, where, meeting with no resistance, they assumed the same sovereignty they had done in *Futland*, and received the allegiance of the people. In the same manner they obtained possession of the rest of the kingdom, while *Swen* lived an exile with his father-in-law in *Saxony*; after whose death he went to the court of duke *Henry*, and made him the most liberal offers, if he would assist to re-establish him in his throne.

Endea-
vours to re-
cover it by
means of
the Saxons

IN this manner three years elapsed from his first abdication; but now *Henry*, excited either by his large promises, or emulous of the honour of restoring an unhappy exile, gave orders to the *Vandals*, who obeyed his authority, to equip a prodigious fleet, and invade *Denmark*; himself determining to march at the head of a *Saxon* army, and body of auxiliaries, sent by the archbishop of *Bremen*, by land. *Hathwick* likewise, in hopes of recovering a paternal estate which he claimed in *Denmark*, joined him in person, attended by a considerable body of troops. *Swen* was to pay him a sum of money when the army should advance to *Dancwark*, the strong wall raised across the neck of land that separates *Sleswick* from *Denmark Proper*. Accordingly *Henry* marched through *Holstein*, without offering any injury to the inhabitants. On his arrival at *Dancwark* he found it strongly garrisoned, and the officer determined to dispute his progress; but, imagining that money would effect what force could not, he offered the *Dane* a

* GRAM, *ibid.*

bribe

State place it on the same month in the year following. He was a prince of a character very opposite to his father's, and would have filled the throne with great reputation, and felicity to his subjects, but for the unhappy civil wars which attended such a number of claimants.

VALDEMAR got in a small boat to *Futland*, and immediately on his arrival assembled a diet of the states at *Wiborg*, stating before the whole people the late transaction at *Roskilde*: he shewed them the wound he received in the thigh, while he was struggling with the villain *Thistleff*, who had descended from the rank of a nobleman to the character of an assassin. At sight of the wound the whole assembly cried out with one voice for revenge, and offered their lives and fortunes to bring to condign punishment *Swen*, the most perfidious of all men: upon which *Valdemar* thanked them for their attachment, and assuring them that he would take up arms, not so much with a desire to avenge his own private injury, as the public insult, dismissed the diet.

Now *Denmark* was again thrown into the utmost confusion, before the people had well breathed from the hardships of the late civil war. Nothing was to be seen but the tumult of war, or heard but the din of arms. *Valdemar* well knew that *Swen* would not stop with this abortive attempt upon his life; he therefore made all possible preparations to oppose him. On the other hand, *Swen* used all his endeavours to reduce *Zealand*, and the other dominions of the deceased *Canute*, which he suddenly besieged with his fleet, cutting off all intercourse between the islands, in hopes of obliging them to surrender up *Valdemar*, who, he doubted not, lay concealed in some of the remote skirts of the islands. The more effectually to prevent his escape, he ordered all the boats and vessels on the coasts to be perforated at the bottom and sunk. Afterwards he had all the fens, woods, and caves, diligently searched, but without meeting with *Valdemar*, who was now at the head of a powerful army, ready to march and punish his perfidy. *Swen* had even the presumption to order proclamation to be made, that *Canute* and *Valdemar*, in defiance to all the rights of hospitality, had laid a snare for his life; but this palpable and notorious falsity served only to render him more odious to the people, already too well acquainted with his character.

FINDING that *Valdemar* had escaped to *Futland*, he made a descent on that coast, but found it so well defended that he was forced to retreat. Next year he was invaded in his turn;

^a MEURS, l. iv.
l. xiv.

^b PONTAN. l. v.

^c SAXO GRAM.

Swen de- first his fleet was defeated, afterwards *Funen* taken, and then
 seated and the two armies coming to a general action, he was defeated
 slain. and slain in the pursuit, endeavouring to conceal himself
 amidst the rushes which bordered a lake, near *Granthed*, the
 place where this victory was obtained. Among the Danish
 was *Thitleff*, who could not escape the soldiers' vengeance,
 was executed upon the spot, as punishment for the
 villainy of his attempt: basely to murder two princes, for
 lime merit.

He condemned all the plots and machinations of *Swen* in the
 month of *October* in the year 1157, by means of which *Val-*
demar came to the possession of the crown of *Denmark*,
 after the kingdom had been continually involved in civil wars
 for upwards of 194 years. It would be unnecessary to run up
 the character of *Swen* after what has been related. Sufficient
 it is, that he was possessed of talents which might have re-
 tuated felicity to himself, had he known how to apply them.
 A fickle disposition, a false heart, and a head bent on con-
 trivances and secret plots, in which he employed the most in-
 famous tools, characterize him from every other prince who
 had sat on the throne of *Denmark*, and transmit his memory
 to posterity with such indelible stains of dishonour as time
 can never efface (A).

VALDEMAR.

Valde- *VALDEMAR*, now ascending the throne of all *Denmark*,
mar I. began his reign with several acts of clemency to his enemies,
82d king. and among them *Magnus*, natural son to the late king *Eric*,
 one of the strongest adherents of *Swen*. Those only he pu-
 nished who committed actions worthy of death, had they
 been his friends. He blamed no man for acting according to
 principle and inclination, provided he fought like a generous
 enemy; it was vice, without regard to party, that was the
 scourge of his displeasure.

Valdemar
grants an
amnesty.

He next turned his attention to the Barbarians, who had
 never ceased, from the first rise of the civil war, to harass the

* SAXO GRAM. l. xv. PONTAN. l. vi.

(A) *Meurfius* relates, that his name was held in such detesta-
 tion, that the diet came to a
 resolution never to elect a king
 of his name, and all future
 kings have, for that reason,
 been careful to avoid it in bap-
 tizing their children (1). By
 his wife *Adelbeida*, daughter of
Conrad, he left a son, an only
 child, whose name we are not
 told (2).

(1) *Meurf.* l. v. p. 97.

(2) *Saxo, ibid.*

coasts and shipping of Denmark. He prepared a fleet to invade the *Vandals*; but the expedition was laid aside by the advice of the senate, and on account of the scarcity of provisions.

In this as in the former reign sharp disputes arose among the clergy about the see of *Roschild*, now vacant by the death of *Meurhus* falsely called *Aper*. These feuds excited the emulation of the bishops, who despising the king's authority insolently attacked and beat his procurator. The king *Valdemar* entered the city, at the head of a body of troops, and would have severely punished their temerity; had they not made their submission, and voluntarily mulcted themselves in a large sum of money. After this he ordered four of the principal clergy, the most celebrated for learning and piety, to be chosen candidates, among whom was *Abfalon*, his old friend and school-fellow. One of these was to be elected by ballot; and upon a scrutiny it appeared, to the great satisfaction of *Valdemar*, that *Abfalon* was raised to universal assent to this high dignity.

HAVING thus, by his prudence, terminated the ecclesiastical disputes which had often, particularly in the former reign, been carried to an open rupture, he resumed his intention of punishing the *Vandals*. Just as he was preparing to invade them, they anticipated him, by making a descent on the small *Danish* islands, from whence they were quickly driven. After this they spread themselves over the coasts of *Jutland*, and over-run the island *Falster*, before a proper number of troops could be got together to oppose them. At length a fleet of eight ships was sent out under the conduct of *Abfalon*, bishop of *Roschild*; or, according to *Grammaticus*, under the king in person, who reconnoitred the enemy in the harbour of *Lunden*, and found their armament greatly superior to his own, and consisting of two hundred and sixty stout ships. This made him defer fighting until a reinforcement arrived, before which time his fleet was dispersed by a storm. The same misfortune happened to the second fleet he equipped, *Valdemar* narrowly escaping the fury of the waves. Towards the end of the year, however, he came to a battle with the enemy, and totally defeated them, being greatly assisted by *Perislove*, son to *Nicotes*, prince of the *Vandals*, who embracing Christianity, sought refuge with *Valdemar*, and was by him made governor of the small isles^b. This victory was obtained off *Vandals Rügen*, which island the king plundered and destroyed (B). *defeated.*

RE-

^b MEURS. l. v.

(B) This island is situated in *merania*, and at present does not exceed nine leagues in length, the Baltic, on the coast of Po-

A. D. 1161. RETURNING home laden with spoils, in a fleet established than
 fleet and renew the war, he was followed by ovation of the
 bassadors, who supplicated peace with such intemperance, *Valdemar*
wood king, laying aside his just resentment, gave *Saxony* and the
 Their unbridled insolence; however, drew back from the
 that vengeance next year from which their loss had
 saved them at this time. It would appear that a
 tion of arms was granted by *Valdemar* to *Stammar*
 that the *Vandals* sent back *Domboro*, their former ambassador
 to conclude the treaty, and demand hostages for its deliv-
 erance; his directions being besides, to accept of none
 such as were honourable. *Domboro* first applied to *Al-
 slon*, who he presented to the king's ear, and told him, that
 the first article of his instructions was to demand hostages; to
 which *Alslon* replied, that the *Danes* were not accustomed
 to grant such terms to their inferiors whom they had van-
 quished. He then acquainted the king with the purport of
 the embassy, with which he was so offended, that he ordered
Domboro to quit his dominions, without giving him any an-
 swer.

A. D. 1162. IMMEDIATELY he prepared for war; but his fleet was so
 long wind-bound, that, fearing the consequences of a long
 delay, he endeavoured to prevail on *Henry of Saxony*, to
 chastise the *Vandals*. Induced by a large subsidy, and the
 hopes of extending his dominions, *Henry* accepted the pro-
 posal, and agreed to attack the enemy by land, while the
 king should distress them by sea. In consequence, the *Vandals*
 were reduced to great extremities, having lost a battle which
 they hazarded with the *Saxons*, and their king, who was slain
 fighting with great intrepidity, amidst heaps of his slaughtered
 enemies, and disdaining to turn his back, though he was de-
 serted by all his army besides a few faithful guards, his head
 was fixed on a pole by the *Saxon* soldiers, carried triumphantly
 to their duke, and sent by him to the king just at the time
 when he was at supper with *Perisslove*, the son of the deceased.
 That prince, after he had paid the tribute due to nature, shed
 tears over the head of his parent, said with more than stoical
 hardness, "that he thanked God for thus punishing impiety,"
 disclaimed the brave *Niclot* for his father, and dis-

The king
of the Van-
dals slain.

Unnatural
conduct of
his son.

length, though it is confidently asserted, that its dimensions were formerly larger, being joined with the little island of *Ruden*, now separated by an arm of the sea. It formerly had the strong town of *Arcona* for its capital, ruined in the year 1168 by *Valdemar*, as we shall see (1).

(1) Vid. Baudrand Voc.

duced many of the barbarian by his want of filial affection returned to his own strongly and wisely implanted in the human mind. In a short stay he again himself seemed displeased at this over-
 city of *Prætor*, well gently rebuked the young prince for his
 of natural feeling, and ordered the
 with the honours due to the valour of the

During the contest between the *Vandals*
 engage the *Swedish* fleet, which they surrounded in
 This attack, whither they had been driven by a storm.
 and *Nathan* fought to great disadvantage, their large ships
 of the *Swedish* fleet; but, animated by the presence of their
 king, and encouraged by his example, they were only repulsed
 the enemy; but obtained a complete victory. This, with *vandal*
 two other defeats they sustained, compelled them to sue for
 peace. In the same object manner they had done before; to
 which the king acceded upon the terms he thought fit to im-
 pose, in order that his presence in *Denmark* might appease
 some tumults occasioned by *Eschil*, archbishop of *Lunden*.

DURING the contest between *Alexander* and *Victor*, about
 the papal dignity, the bishop of *Sleswick* dying, one *Occo* was
 substituted by *Victor*, with *Valdemar's* approbation, in his room.
 This promotion was disagreeable to the archbishop *Eschil*, who
 used the cause of *Alexander*, and declared the election void,
 prohibiting *Occo* from the use of fire and water, after having first
 excommunicated him. What increased the prelate's fury was
 the loss of a large sum of money sent to him from *France*,
 which he imagined had been seized by the king's order, at the
 instigation of *Occo*. This made him send a haughty message
 to *Abfalon*, desiring him to acquaint *Valdemar*, either to re-
 turn the treasure or prepare for war. *Abfalon* was shocked
 with the insolence of this message, and declined informing the
 king of the express terms used by the proud priest, though he
 told him enough to raise his indignation, and make him
 threaten to punish the archbishop. *Eschil*, upon reconsidering
 the manner began to apprehend the effects of the royal ven-
 geance, and sought an opportunity of appeasing it, without
 diminishing his own dignity. With this view he withdrew to
 a remote part of the country, from whence he proposed to ac-
 commodate the breach: but *Valdemar* collecting a body of
 troops, laid siege to *Lethra*, a strongly fortified city which *Es-
 chil* had built in the midst of a morass. The siege was te-
 rious, but at length the city was forced to surrender for want
 of provisions, but chiefly by a stratagem which *Valdemar* con-

*Eschil re-
 bels against
 the king.*

trived. *Gerhard*, the governor, had been established there and promised to surrender the place within evocation of the *Eschil* did not come to its relief, and, as a favour, *Valdemar* he put the archbishop's grandson into the *Saxony*; and he immediately acquainted *Eschil* of what had passed. The prelate's answer was to defend the town to the last; and he valued it far above the life of his grandson. During the hostilities recommenced, *Eschil* of his forged a letter, which he makes *Eschil* retract, and order *Gerhard* to give up the city rather than let his life run any hazard. He was more strongly affected by this letter which *Valdemar* had sent to have intercession; he ordered a gibbet to be erected in the walls, in which he threatened to hang up the hostage; the keys were sent to him within an hour; and the governor finding them peremptory, and his master's orders express, complied. Here he left a garrison, and passed over to *Schonen*, reducing all the strong holds within the diocese of *Lunden*.

Eschil's
submissiveness.

THE king's rapid progress obliged the proud *Eschil* to accept peace in the most submissive terms; but upon this mortifying condition, that the archbishop should restore to his majesty all the donations of former kings to the see of *Lunden*; thus the prelate foolishly incurred the displeasure of a prince who always expressed a high regard for the clergy; lessened his own dignity; lost the basis of his power, his strong-holds; and involved his diocese in calamities, which, during his life it never recovered, and for which he was blamed by all degrees of men. Still, however, the prelate continued his machinations against pope *Victor*; nor could he be drawn from his attachment to *Alexander*, though he had like to involve the nation in fresh commotions, and subject his sovereign to the disgrace of being kept a prisoner at the court of the emperor, who had laid a scheme for that purpose.

Secret laid
by *Valde-*
mar.

VALDEMAR, having by his vigour and penetration escaped all the snares placed for him, determined more strongly to fortify his dominions on the German side, and to build stone bastions at *Danewark*, which before consisted entirely of wood. While he was thus employed an embassy came from *Norway*, offering him that crown, provided he would drive out *Erling*, who had invaded the kingdom. *Valdemar*, that he might not rashly embark in a foreign war, took care to sound the sentiments of the people before he made any reply and finding they were strongly affected to him, promise

duced many of them, coming over with an army, he was joy-^{The Nor-}
 returned to his own and traversing the country to *Tousberg*, was in wegiens
 a short stay he as king of *Norway*, in a full assembly of the ^{offer him}
 city of *Trana*, well was observable that not a single bishop of the crown.
 description he was present, notwithstanding their great
 was *Norway*. A scarcity of provisions, however,
 induced him to return to *Denmark*, attended with a great
 he of the *Norwegian* nobles, chose to live in exile,
 the king subject themselves to the indignation of *Erling*.
 under watch still continued, with a small army in *Norway*,
 purchased, taking advantage of the king's retreat, made a
 the sea on *Fuland*, and ruined and brood the *Danish* fleet,
 its at rode an anchor on the coast, returning laden with spoil
 to *Denmark*. It was, indeed, a great oversight in *Valdemar*,
 he did not make it his business, while he was in *Norway*,
 to endeavour to drive out *Erling*, instead of spending his time
 in calling assemblies of the state, which might ever be subject
 to the strongest military power^a.

ERLING was married to *Christina*, co. to *Valdemar*,^{a D.} a
 lady of prudence and valour superior to her sex. She, finding 1163.
 that, if the war was protracted, her husband must necessarily
 sink under the weight of *Valdemar's* power, took the resolu-
 tion of going in person to the king, and endeavouring to
 effect a reconciliation. Having provided herself with a pass, *Erling*
 port, she crossed the seas, and was kindly received by *Valde-* king of
mar, who was pleased with her good sense and merit, and *Norway*
 honoured her with a great many audiences. When she comes out
 believed she had softened his resolution, she detached a mes- to Den-
 senger to *Erling*, who suddenly joined her, and presented submits to
 himself before the king, telling him, "See, *Valdemar*, the *Valdemar*.
 " confidence I place in your generosity, thus to put myself
 " into your hands, even without your word for my security
 " but I know the greatness of your soul, and though your
 " enemy, have no apprehension of being treated as such
 " while I am your guest." To this *Valdemar* replied, "You
 " may safely confide in me it is not my custom to abuse the
 " confidence reposed in my hospitality." Upon which *Ei-*
ling, approaching respectfully, kissed the king's hand, and
 obtained peace, upon condition that he should himself remain
 a hostage in *Denmark*, and *Esbern* be sent to govern the king-
 dom of *Norway* in quality of viceroy for *Valdemar*; who, in
 return, conferred upon *Erling* several dignities and lands of
 considerable value for his support^b.

^a PONTAN l. vi.

^b SAXO GRAM. l. xv.

A. D.
1164.
Alliance
between
Denmark
and Saxo-
ny.

No sooner was the tranquillity of the country established than new insults from the *Vandals* occasioned a re-ignition of the war; and that it might be carried on with vigour, *Valdemar* entered into a fresh alliance with the duke of *Saxony*, and the more firmly to cement their friendship, a marriage was executed between *Canute*, prince of *Denmark*, and *trude*, an infant, the daughter of *Henry Leo*, the king of *Saxony*. The plan of operations was settled, *Henry* sent a body of horse into the enemy's country, while himself followed with his marches at the head of the infantry, the king blockading up the sea-ports, and opposing the *Vandal* navy. An armistice was laid for the *Saxon* horse, in which they were at first defeated, *Guncelin*, a *Saxon* general, rallied them, and renewed the fight with such intrepidity, that the enemy, intent upon plundering, were driven out of the field, and victory wrested from their hands. Notwithstanding this, *Henry* was so much incensed at the reverse his troops had met with, that, entering *Pomerania*, he carried terror and desolation wherever he marched.

Rugen
submits to
Valdemar

On the other hand, *Valdemar* finding the *Vandals* had drawn their forces from the fleet, the better to oppose the *Saxons*, landed his troops, and marched to the city of *Vologast*, or *Wolgast*, the capital of *Swedish Pomerania*, then the country of the *Vandals*, which he found deserted by the inhabitants. They, however, dreaded that he would set fire to the city, and sent ambassadors to assure him of their allegiance, provided he would restrain his soldiers from plundering and destroying their houses. The proposal was accepted, on condition that *Rugen* should pay a tribute, and give hostages that the inhabitants would shut up the mouth of the river *Pene*, which was a nest for pirates; that, dividing the city into three parts, they would obey *Tolislav*, *Casimir*, and *Prislav*, as governors, answerable for their conduct to the king of *Denmark*; and lastly, that the duke of *Saxony* should remain in possession of all his conquests in *Pomerania*.

This treaty of peace did not hold long; for next year the citizens of *Wolgast*, disliking the administration of *Casimir*, entered into a secret alliance with the people of *Rugen*; in which, indeed, *Henry* of *Saxony*, the good ally of *Valdemar*, was a party, and began new depredations upon *Denmark*. *Valdemar* was incensed more at the perfidy of *Henry* than the inconstancy of the *Vandals*. Without delay he invaded *Rugen*; and by the conduct of the faithful *Abfalon*, who, though a bishop, shewed the capacity and courage of a soldier, re-

lured many of them to important places; after which he returned to his own dominions, to refresh his soldiers. After a short stay he again came back, and laid siege to the strong city of *Trana*, well fortified by nature and art. Such were the difficulties he met with from the situation of the place, and the spirit of the besieged, that, breaking up his camp, he retired to the interior parts of the country, which he laid waste. The *Fundah*, terrified at the desolation he made, sent *Henry Leo* for the promised aid; but being put off under various pretences, they once more received the yoke, purchased a peace at a heavy price, and gave hostages for the security of payment. They likewise agreed to abjure idolatry, and embrace the Christian religion; which *Valdemar* made a preliminary article to the treaty.

About this time it was that *Valdemar* laid the foundation of the city of *Dantzic*, so famed for its opulence and freedom. *built.*

At first it was composed of the huts of poor fishermen; but *A. D.* *Valdemar* conferring certain privileges and immunities, it 1165. soon became a flourishing place of trade, and not the least ornament of that glorious reign. Some writers indeed affirm, that this city owes its origin to *Sobislaw*, prince of *Pomerania*; but the *Danish* historians, and the accurate *Stranzius*, with one voice attribute the honour to *Valdemar*.

On the king's return from this expedition, the diet taking into consideration the danger to which the kingdom would be exposed, should any misfortune befall him in the wars, to which he was constantly engaged, humbly proposed, that his son *Canute*, then but four years of age, should be taken as his associate, and consequently his successor in the throne. The king, who was by no means displeased with their request, willingly complied, and *Canute* was accordingly proclaimed king of *Denmark*, conjointly with his father, by universal consent; without we except *Burysius*, young *Canute's* kinsman, who had himself some designs upon the crown, and therefore refused his vote at the election. *Valdemar* put up with the affront for a time, but did not forget it: he saw through the views of *Burysius*, and resolved not only to frustrate them, but to punish the author, as soon as a fit occasion should offer (A).

NEXT

c L. ii. Hist. Saxon.

(A) We must observe, that *Eric of Pomerania* is the only writer who denies that *Canute* was this year made an associate in the government. He affirms, on the contrary, that in the year 1177, or twelve years afterwards, when he was fourteen years

NEXT year great preparations were made on foot for giving such a blow to the Vandal power, as should for a while incapacitate them to disturb the peace of Denmark, if not totally destroy the state. Almost all the inhabitants of *Schonen*, *Jutland*, and *Funen*, fit to bear arms, went forth under the command of *Abfalon*, *Magnus*, son to *Eric Lamb*, and *Chriftoffer*, son to the present king. They entered the enemy's coast, and without mercy set the whole in a flame; but did not enter any action with their main army. Next year the same action was repeated, in which the Danes had the good fortune to destroy part of *Arcong*, the capital, and strongest hold in *Rugen*.

A conspiracy
racy formed
ed against
Valdemar

WHILE *Valdemar* was gathering laurels against foreign enemies, he received a letter from *Henry Duke of Saxony*, acquainting him with the impending danger from domestic foes. *Burifius*, his brother *Ormos*, and *Erling* of *Norway*, had secretly conspired against his life, and concerted a plan for making themselves masters of *Jutland*, which was proved by an intercepted letter from *Norway*. They had engaged several of the nobility in the plot, and had taken their measures so well, that nothing but this early intelligence could have saved *Valdemar*. The king immediately seized upon such of the traitors as were within his reach, and sent *Abfalon* with a fleet to intercept *Erling* and *Ormos* in their return for *Norway*. *Abfalon* obeyed his orders, and defeated their fleet; but had not the good fortune to take *Erling*, who escaped under favour of a dark night. *Burifius* was already a prisoner; and authors differ about the nature of his punishment. *Saxa Grammaticus* says, that he was confined for life in prison; *Eric of Pomerania*, that his eyes were put out; *Albert*, abbot of *Stade*, that he was strangled; and others, that he was smothered under a feather-bed. Nor are they divided about his name, the former writers calling him *Burifius*, but the latter, *Borcus*, placing it among the transactions of the year 1173, though on what authority we are left to conjecture.

A. D.
1167.

ABOUT this time it was, that *Abfalon* built the castle of *Stegelburg*, afterwards called *Exelhusid*, then *Hafnica*, and now the celebrated port and city of *Copenhagen*. The intention of

* Vid. apud PONTAN. Notæ ad Hist.

years of age, he was made lord of so extensive a kingdom of *Halland* and *Schonen*, in dom (1).
order to ease his father of the

(1) Vid. Eric. Pom. apud Mærf. l. v. p. 105.

this

Henry
Leo sue-
for peace.

Valdemar should seize this opportunity of availing his treachery and fickleness, he sent ambassadors to him to apologize for his conduct, and promise measures more steady and consistent for the future. As his eldest daughter, betrothed to young *Canute*, was dead, he offered the younger sister in marriage upon the same terms; requesting, at the same time, an interview at *Bremen* with the Danish monarch, in order to put the last hand to the proposed treaty.

A new al-
liance be-
tween Leo
and Val-
demar
against the
Vandals.

THE princes met, and it was agreed they should join forces against the *Vandals*, *Henry* marching to *Demin*, and *Valdemar* to *Wolgast*. The devastation they made was terrible, and unbecoming Christian princes, were it not absolutely necessary to repress those barbarians by cruel methods, that ought not to be used against a people more civilized, and who fought by regulated laws of war. This conduct had the effect; for the *Vandals*, perceiving nothing but destruction before them, and from so superior a foe, purchased peace with a large sum of money, and gave hostages for the security of the payment.

HAVING finished matters on the side of the *Vandals*, *Valdemar* turned his arms against *Norway*; but after many fruitless attempts to bring *Erling* to a battle, he returned home with his fleet. The soldiers had begun to complain of long confinement on board, in search of a fugitive, who eluded all their endeavours; a scarcity of provisions began to prevail in the fleet; and the winter was now approaching, when he would be in danger of being frozen up. Another circumstance which contributed to his return, before he had done any thing decisive, was intelligence that the *Rugians* had again revolted, notwithstanding the low estate to which he had lately reduced them. He now determined fully to extirpate this perfidious and obstinate people, and for that purpose formed an alliance with *Bogislaus*, prince of *Pomerania*. After ravaging different parts of the island, he sat down before *Arcona*, the suburbs of which had been destroyed in the former war. Nature never, perhaps, formed a stronger situation than this place, itself standing on a high promontory, with the east, north, and south sides defended by steep and lofty precipices, inaccessible to men; and the west by a wall fifty feet high, proportionably thick, and secured by a deep and broad ditch. Undismayed by the difficulty, he set about besieging it, and carried on his operations with such skill and perseverance, that the garrison was forced to surrender upon the conditions he thought fit to impose. One in particular was, that the *Rugians* should destroy a temple they had erected to *St. Vitis*, and deliver up the vast treasure of this tutelary god, which he had amassed by a tax on the consciences of his

Arcona
besieged
and taken.

votaries

votaries. They likewise agreed to embrace Christianity; to Vandalize restore the *Danish* prisoners without ransom; to pay forty reduced. silver yokes for oxen, by way of yearly tribute; and to enter soldiers in the service of *Denmark*, when called upon, in the same manner as the other subjects of the crown^a.

The princes of *Esmerania* were of opinion, that *Tetislaw*, prince of *Rugen*, ought to have been divested of his sovereignty, and that authority translated to themselves, in reward for their services. They were disgusted at *Valdemar's* moderation, which they deemed an injury done to them, and therefore resolved to withdraw from his alliance: a measure which gave no disturbance to the *Danish* monarch, who had now accomplished his business.

THE beginning of this year was employed in acts of piety A. D. to his father's memory. He sent an ambassador to *Rome*, to 1169. have him canonized; and on the day of his return, with the pope's assent, he convoked the people at *Ringbille*, and solemnly proclaimed his son *Canute* an associate in the throne, and successor: an event which has greatly perplexed historians, with respect to the chronology, as we have already seen. His next care was the firm establishment of Christianity in *Rugen*, to which place a number of the clergy was sent to instruct those rude barbarians in the truths of the gospel; and the superintendency of the whole was committed to *Abjalon*, his favourite prelate^b.

THESE acts of piety were considerably disturbed by the Cour- piracies of the *Essthonians* and *Courlanders*, against whom he landers sent a fleet under the conduct of *Abjalon*, strictly enjoining subdued. him to beware of their snares and ambushes. *Abjalon* however was entrapped, and a great part of his army, which he had disembarked, cut off. This loss he soon retaliated upon the enemy, whom he blocked up in port; and at length, bringing them to an action, totally vanquished.

SOON after this transaction, the succession was strengthened by the birth of a second prince, whom the king called after his own name; and, to augment the general joy, ambassadors arrived from *Erling* to sue for peace, and obtain leave that he might come to *Denmark*, and have an interview with *Valdemar*. His petition was granted, *Esbern* sent in his room to *Norway*, and *Erling* admitted to a conference with the king. At first he was received so coldly, that he began to despair of obtaining his ends. Next day, however, renewing the conference, his majesty changed his behaviour, and graciously received him again into favour on these conditions, which may

^a SAXO GRAM. l. xvi. ^b POMTAN. l. ii. MEURS. l. v.

A. D.
1170,
Conditions
of the
treaty.

seem hard. 1st, That *Valdemar*, the new-born prince, youngest son to *Valdemar*, should be educated at the expense of *Norway*, and enjoy the title of duke of that country; 2dly, That this young prince should succeed to the throne of *Norway*, provided that he (*Erling*) and his son *Magnus*, died without male issue. 3dly, That *Erling* should serve in *Valdemar*'s wars as a vassal of *Denmark*, and have his ships ready to put to sea on the first notice. 4thly, and lastly, That not only *Erling*, but all the nobility of *Norway*, should ratify and confirm these conditions by oath, and a written instrument, signed with their hands, and sealed with the great seal of the kingdom, as well as the private seals of individuals (A).

Design
formed by
the Van-
dals
against
Valdemar

PEACE being concluded in this quarter, the king found it necessary to repel some fresh insults, committed by the restless and barbarous *Vandals*, who could neither support war nor peace. While the king and his general *Abalon* were taking their towns, and ravaging their country, a design was concerted by *Casimir*, *Henry Leo*, and *Bogislaus*, for giving a decisive blow to the Danish power, by surrounding the king, and obliging him to surrender with his whole army at discretion. Their design was discovered and frustrated by *Valdemar*'s resolution, and the prudence of *Abalon*, who had raised himself a number of enemies, by the share he possessed of the royal confidence. They now accused this brave prelate of having betrayed them to the enemy; but the king knew his master, and was too discerning not to penetrate through the thin veil of public dissimulation. Committing, therefore, the whole care of extricating the *Danes* out of this difficulty to the bishop, the king returned to his capital. *Abalon* took such precautions, and made so good a disposition, that *Casimir* found himself reduced to the necessity of retreating, and fighting upon unequal terms. He chose the former; the *Danes* were delivered, and the character of *Abalon* raised above envy. In a word, so glorious was this expedition, that the power of *Casimir* and *Bogislaus* was intirely broke; the designs of the sickle but ambitious *Henry Leo* frustrated; most of the towns in *Pomerania* obliged to give hostages for their future quiet behaviour; and the *Vandal* princes so exhausted and reduced, as to oblige them to seek protection in *Saxony*.

The Van-
dals de-
feated.

(A) It is difficult to ascertain with exactness the date of this transaction. *Pontanus* in one place seems to refer it to the year 1172; but he afterwards

acknowledges, that his account is taken from an old chronicle, which places it in the year 1176, or four years after the first attempt (1).

(1) *Pont. l. vi. p. 256.*

of this king received in *Denmark*, *Valdemar* made another descent on *Pomerania*, and laid siege to *Stetin*, then the best fortified city in all that country. With such vigour did he carry on his attack, that *Wratislaus*, the governor and kinsman to *Casimir* and *Bugislaus*, was driven to extremities, and forced to capitulate (A).

A. D.
1172.

A POTEMERARY writer, cited by modern historians, says, that *Valdemar* made but little progress in his approaches, and must have raised the siege, had not the garrison been distressed by famine. This produced a conference between the king and *Wratislaus*; they were struck with each other's qualities, and entered into a strict friendship, after which the king had bestowed the city upon the governor as his own property, and he, in return, promised fealty to the crown of *Denmark*.

VALDEMAR was wholly employed in settling the affairs of *Pomerania*, and the *Vandal* country, till the year 1177, which produced a conference between him and *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, for adjusting their mutual rights and claims. Authors however are not agreed about the nature or end of this congress: we are only told, that in consequence of it, another expedition was undertaken against the *Vandals*, in which *Abfalon* gathered fresh laurels, *Valdemar* great addition of glory, and the whole kingdom of *Denmark* see increase of wealth, by the prodigious quantity of rich booty brought home. But we know not, whether this expedition was entered upon in consequence of an agreement between *Valdemar* and *Henry*, or whether the latter bore any part in it. Certain it is, that next year, *Henry* sent his guardians of the young duke *Henry*, leaving soldiers in *Saxony*, in order to make war upon *Denmark*. His usual good fortune attended *Abfalon*; the enemy were defeated, and the *Danes* again permitted to enjoy the fruits of this victory.

A. D.
1177.

BUT the repose consequent on these advantages were soon again disturbed by fresh commotions in the dutchy of *Bremen*, and other parts of the circle of *Lower Saxony*. The Saxons highly resented the late disgrace of their countrymen, and, fired with the desire of revenge, assembled in a tumultuous manner in order to march against *Abfalon*; but being met by the fugitives, who escaped from the late defeat, their courage

(A) As our only guides thro' the period of the *Danish* history, subsequent to *Valdemar's* reign, are *Pontanus* and *Meurfus*, who is here a mere copier, it may be sufficient that we refer the reader to the last book of *Saxo Grammaticus*, the sixth, seventh, and eighth books of *Pontanus*, and the third book of the second part of *Meurfus*, without quoting every particular page.

was somewhat repressed by the relation they received of the extraordinary prowess of *Abfalon's* army, and the good conduct of the general. *Olimar*, a *Vandal* prince, on whom the command was bestowed, finding that all his endeavours would only serve to hasten his own ruin, went over to *Valdemar*, and obtained peace from that generous conqueror.

A. D. 1178. Conference between *Valdemar* and *Henry Leo*, now emperor by his conquests in *Bavaria*. *Henry* proposed this meeting, in order to settle the differences between them, and thereby secure his frontiers against the incursions of the *Danes*, during his necessary attendance at the diet, and the emperor's court. The banks of the *Eyder*, a river emptying itself into the *Baltic*, between the dutchies of *Sleswick* and *Holslein*, was the place fixed on for the congress; but such was *Henry's* pride, that he refused crossing the bridge, or going to the opposite side where the king was. *Valdemar* only smiled at the ridiculous dignity, and went his way over the bridge to meet this haughty sovereign prince. Here matters were adjusted to their mutual satisfaction, *Valdemar* yielding nothing of no consequence in order to obtain others of real benefit, conducting himself throughout the whole congress with the ability of a statesman, and the moderation of a great king and conqueror.

SUBSEQUENT to this treaty concluded between *Denmark* and *Saxony*, were a variety of incursions, tumults, and rebellions, among the fickle, unsteady, and predatory *Vandals*, who were neither able to oppose the power of *Valdemar*, or to rest satisfied under his dominion, though he created the rights of conquest with all possible mildness and humanity. The recital however of such unimportant and uninteresting events would be tedious to the reader. Suffice it, that they were constantly defeated, constantly suing for peace, and no less constant in taking up arms again upon every opportunity. In a word, nothing seemed capable of securing *Denmark* on this side, but the total extirpation of so perfidious, barbarous, and warlike a people. This scheme had often been resolved upon by *Valdemar*, at the instigation of his faithful councillor *Abfalon*; he had frequently made large strides towards its final execution; but some fresh difficulties intervened, or the clemency of his disposition was always wrought on by the supplications of the vanquished.

A conspiracy discovered. DURING the *Vandal* war, a conspiracy set on foot by *Magnus*, son to *Eric the Lamb*, was happily discovered. This young prince had sided with *Swen*; and being made prisoner in the last battle, was set at liberty and kindly pardoned by *Valdemar*, at a time when he expected the most severe punishment.

informed, sensible of this instance of goodness, he joined with *Canute* and *Charles*, nephews to *Eschil*, in a plot to de-
 stroy the king. Some of the conspirators, who were gone to
Holm upon business, chanced to lodge an evening in the hut
 of an old hermit, by whom they were kindly accommodated.
 After they were seated they began to talk upon the important
 subject in hand; and among other things their astonish-
 ment, that the king should, for so long a time, escape the
 machinations of *Canute*, *Charles*, *Magnus*, and other conspi-
 rators. Also, had vowed his destruction. The hermit, sepa-
 rated from the strangers only by a wicker partition, overheard
 their discourse, and next morning communicated it to the
 abbot, with his request that it might be instantly transmitted
 to *Valdemar*. By means of this accident, *Valdemar* was in-
 formed of his danger, and by such unaccountable and trivial
 circumstances are the most important discoveries and hazar-
 dous designs, frequently laid open through the wisdom of Pro-
 vidence, who pursues her great scheme in a manner inscruta-
 ble to men. *Valdemar* immediately consulted with *Abjalon* the
 means of avoiding the impending storm; and for this pur-
 pose it was agreed, that the guard should be doubled with as
 much expedition and privacy as possible, and every other mea-
 sure taken that could enforce the king's security; yet, without
 disturbing the public tranquility, or using violence upon the
 conspirators, until more ample proofs could be procured. It
 was not long before some letters wrote by *Magnus* were inter-
 cepted. In these a full account of the conspiracy was con-
 tained; and *Valdemar* openly producing them in the assembly
 of the states, confronted him with his own hand and seal. At
 first he pretended to deny the hand-writing, affirming it to be
 an impudent forgery; but such circumstantial proofs appeared,
 that in the utmost confusion he fell upon his knees before the
 king, confessed the whole, excused himself by saying that he
 had been led away by the subtle policy and ambition of *Charles*
 and *Canute*, and concluded with the strongest assurances of
 loyalty and fidelity, if his majesty would be pleased graciously
 to pardon this past offence. The good and merciful king,
 moved with his repentance, granted his request, and imposed
 no other punishment on his ingratitude and treachery, than
 forbidding him the court for a certain time. *Christiern*, son to
Duen, who likewise enlisted himself with the conspirators,
 was pardoned, on condition that he would immediately leave
 the kingdom.

WHEN the assembly broke up, *Eschil* and the relations of
Canute and *Charles*, made all possible interest with the king to
 pass an act of oblivion, in which all the conspirators, without

The endeavours of the nobility to get an act of amnesty passed. exception, should be included. They had even means to engage *Abfalon* in this request; but *Valdemar* was inexorable, thinking it necessary to make some example, and believing very justly, that too much lenity and indulgence would only tempt them to a repetition of their crime, especially as they saw themselves supported by so powerful an interest.

Magnus makes fresh attempts.

Eschil was so chagrined with his acceptance, that he resigned his mitre, and retired to a private convent in France. The event proved the wisdom and prudence of the king's opinion. *Magnus* was no sooner at liberty, than he began a secret correspondence with *Charles* and *Cnutus*, in order to make a second attempt on *Valdemar*'s life. The effect of this correspondence was taken up, the plot discovered, and *Magnus* seized and closely imprisoned: but before his trial, fresh war broke out with the *Vandals*.

A. D.
1179.

WE are told that the occasion of this war was their fixing upon the portion of a daughter of *Denmark*, which was sent by the ambassadors of *Henry Leo* into *Saxony*. From hence would appear, that a treaty of marriage had been executed between the families of *Denmark* and *Saxony*, though we are informed expressly of no such marriage. On the contrary, all the *Danish* writers we have seen mention, that a daughter of *Valdemar*'s had married towards the close of the year 1178, a prince, whose name is not known, which seems the more extraordinary, as *Grammaticus* wrote his history either in this or the following reign, and might, on that account, be supposed perfectly informed of so public a transaction. Be that as it will, *Valdemar* entered into an alliance with *Saxony* against the *Vandals*. The inhabitants of *Rugen* were, on this occasion, ordered to take up arms, as their services it was thought would greatly promote the designs of the allies, from their perfect knowledge of the country. As soon as the troops could be assembled, and transports got ready, the *Vandals* were assailed on one side by the king, who destroyed the strong fortress in *Wollin*; and by *Henry Leo*, who attacked *Demin*. The siege of this place he carried on with great assiduity, but little progress, and at last was forced totally to abandon it. The king, on his side, was more successful; for after destroying *Wollin* he laid siege to *Coscoa*, and having reduced it to extremities, burnt the town to ashes. Then laying the surrounding country under heavy contributions, he pushed his march to *Wolgast*, which he besieged so vigorously, that the inhabitants were glad to be relieved from the distress to which he reduced them, by paying a large sum of money, and restoring to him prodigious magazines of plunder, that had been deposited there by the pirates.

An alliance between Saxony and Denmark against the Vandals.

Safe exploits *Valdemar* returned to *Denmark*; but having received some fresh insults, he determined to punish the Danes with still more severity, and accordingly sent a fleet and army against them, under the conduct of his son *Canute*, *Absalon*, and *Frederic* bishop of *Sleswick*. The young prince, for the first time, appeared in the field to be initiated in the art of war by the experienced and successful *Absalon*. *Frederic* perished in a storm before he had any opportunity of serving his master, or exercising his prowess: but notwithstanding this loss, *Canute* and *Absalon* pursued their course with such assiduity and diligence, that they surprised many of the enemy in their camps, who expected not so sudden a visit. They laid waste the country, set fire to a number of towns and villages, besieged *Wolgast*, and forced the brothers *Casimir* and *Bugislavus*, to sue for peace, and purchase it upon terms very advantageous to *Denmark*. Besides repaying the marriage portion of which the ambassadors had been robbed, they agreed to lay down in money, the sum of two thousand talents, together with presents of an hundred pounds of silver, to *Canute* and *Absalon*. Having thus finished the war in one campaign, the generals returned to *Denmark*, and were graciously received by *Valdemar*, with very extraordinary marks of approbation and favour.

Young Canute takes the command of the army.

THEY resided but a few days at court, enjoying their repose, when the affairs of the state again called them into the field. The rebels *Canute* and *Charles*, who had fled to the governor of *Gothland*, had by his means, and their interest with the people, got together a considerable body of troops, with which they invaded *Holland*. Here they expected to be joined by crowds of the peasants; but finding themselves disappointed, and the whole country firm in its allegiance to the king, they retired to a large wood that forms a frontier to *Gothland* and *Holland*. Here they hazarded a battle, in which they were defeated, and the rebel army totally ruined, suffering the just punishment inflicted by heaven upon conspirators, so tenacious of unreasonable principles, a vicious ambition, and disaffection to one of the best of princes.

The rebels defeated.

NEXT year *Henry Leo*, who was put under the ban of the empire by *Frederic Barbarossa*, took shelter with *Valdemar*, and was treated with the distinction due to his rank. His pride was now humbled, and he readily crossed the bridge over the *Eyder*, which, but two years before, he had refused to do out of punctilio and a scrupulous regard to his dignity. *Valdemar*, to whose generous disposition misfortune was the surest recommendation, promised him all the assistance in his power, without absolutely breaking with the emperor; but the re-

quests of Henry were of so extraordinary a nature, that he found it impossible to comply with them, without doing violence to the people and clergy, whom he governed and was bound to protect.

A revolt in WHILE this transaction was on the carpet, a revolt appeared *Schonen.* in *Schonen*; to appease which the king immediately dispatched *Absalon*. The people of *Schonen* were obstinate and inexorable; they believed themselves, and would hear of no terms but a positive compliance with their remonstrances, and redress of their grievances; upon which *Absalon* returned to *Zealand*, and laid their complaints before the king, the primate, or rather council of the nobility. Although *Absalon* was perhaps the most concerned of any, yet, from a noble spirit of disinterestedness, he pleaded strongly, that the first article of their remonstrance should be attended. For-reigners, and among the rest himself, had long enjoyed the lucrative posts and places belonging to this province, while the natives were excluded, and the principal nobility of *Schonen* forced to live in indolence on their estates, without any share in the administration. This was a grievance insupportable to a free spirited people, and similar to some complaints we have lately heard from a neighbouring country. *Meursius* indeed affirms, contrary to *Grammaticus*, that *Absalon* stickled hard for the royal prerogative of chusing whatever officers the king thought fit, knowing that thereby he was promoting his own interest. But the first opinion is not only more consistent with the character of this patriot minister, and with the event, but is attested by the best contemporary writers of *Danish* affairs. *Absalon's* sentiments were, however, over-ruled by a majority, and, instead of redressing the grievances of the disaffected, a letter filled with promises, soothing, and cajolings, on the one hand, and dreadful menaces on the other, was sent to the malcontents. This more and more incensed a people already irritated, and inflamed them to such a degree that they broke out into open acts of rebellion. They refused to pay the usual taxes, and particularly the bishop's tythes, and restored to the inferior clergy their ancient privilege of marriage. The stroke was levelled at the bishops, and particularly at *Absalon*, the primate of all *Schonen*. They insisted that the superior clergy were only an unnecessary load upon the people, fattening upon the spoils of the land, while their flocks were left to find heaven in their own way, or by the assistance of the inferior clergy, who were not rewarded in proportion to their services, or, in such a manner as to render their situation easy and independent.

they were not to be wrought on by gentle means, *Valdemar* resolved upon using force. The troops were assembled at *Helsingburgh*, he van led by the king in person, and the rest by *Abfalon*. In their march the latter was grossly insulted by a mob of fishermen, who flocked together in a tumultuous manner, and presumptuously flung stones at the good prelate, even while he commanded a strong body of troops. His majesty was enraged at so bold an insult, and determined to punish the offenders with the utmost severity; but was dissuaded by the moderate and prudent *Abfalon*, to let it pass, in the opinion of that noble spirit which characterized this prelate. He then again exerted all his influence with the king to息 their complaints. He insisted, that people so tenacious of their freedom, must be bold and intrepid, and of consequence the best supports of the regal authority duly administered; in a word, he used such prevailing arguments, that *Valdemar* determined to avoid bloodshed. All those persons who were obnoxious to the malcontents were removed from their places; *Abfalon* resigned his bishopric, and accepted of one greatly inferior in power and profit, and the province was in a fair way to be settled, when some of the more turbulent, who found their own interest in the public disturbance, spirited up the people still to refuse payment of the bishop's tythes, or, in other words, insisted upon the abolition of this order of ecclesiastics. *Abfalon* himself now lost all patience, and, with the king's leave, laid the insurgents under severe interdiction. For a while they persisted in their obstinacy, but were at length tired out by the firm conduct of *Abfalon*; and the clergy, whom he had gained over to his interest. The insurrection was not, however, terminated without blood. Two battles were fought, in both of which the malcontents were defeated, and at length reduced to the necessity of obeying, upon the king's terms, which were more reasonable and mild than they could expect. *The tumult suppressed.*

ABOUT this time *Frederic Barbarossa*, resolving to deprive *Henry* duke of *Saxony* of every friend capable of supporting his cause, endeavoured to draw off *Valdemar* from his attachment to him, by some proposals equally honourable and advantageous to *Denmark*. These were a double alliance by marriage; proposing that the king's two daughters should be matched with his two sons, one of whom was to succeed to the imperial diadem, the other being already duke of *Suabia*. The *Danish* nobility easily perceived, that these overtures were made rather from enmity to the duke of *Saxony*, than friendship for *Valdemar*; and the king, joining with them in opinion, professed no great eagerness for the alliance: but his

Conference
between
the emper-
or and
Valdemar

queen interfered, and used all her influence to prevent him to accede to proposals which might render her daughter queen of the Romans and empress of Germany. In compliance with her humour a grand fleet was equipped, and *Valdemar* went to meet *Barbarossa* at *Lubeck*. He was met on the banks of the *Trave* by a great body of the *Piergry* nobility, who conducted him with all imaginable respect to the imperial quarters. Here he was treated by *Barbarossa* with every possible mark of respect: his person and address were the admiration of the Germans, who could not avoid making comparisons between the monarchs, no way to the disadvantage of *Barbarossa*, whose appearance and aspect were the objects of admiration. Visits had passed, business at length was bro't to an end, when *Barbarossa's* demands in point of territory appeared so extravagant, that *Valdemar* and the *Danes* began to question his sincerity. The king positively refused the portion he asked for his eldest son; but at length consented to what was demanded for the duke of *Suabia*: upon which the treaty was concluded, sworn to, and guarantied by *Bela III.* king of *Hungary*.

Valdemar
invested
with the
duchy of
Holstein.

MATTERS being thus finished, the king went on board the fleet that waited for him, with intention to sail the first wind; but next morning he was surprised by a visit from the emperor in person, escorted only by a few of the nobility. Immediately the two princes retired from company, and *Barbarossa* earnestly requested the king, that he would permit him to bestow the dignity of dukes of *Pomerania* on *Casimir* and *Bugislaus*, in order the more easily to reduce *Henry Leo* to his obedience. *Valdemar* did not deny this favour; and accordingly those two princes were installed in the usual manner, the king assisting at the ceremony. Before the king of *Denmark's* departure his eldest daughter was betrothed, with the emperor's approbation, to *Sigefred*, landgrave of *Thuringia*; and soon after the nuptials were celebrated at *Sleswick* (A). On this occasion it was, that *Barbarossa* invested *Valdemar* with the title of duke of *Holstein*, and annexed the country in perpetuity to the crown of *Denmark*.

IN the beginning of the following spring *Valdemar* receiving advice, that the *Vandals* began to fortify some places, that had

(A) *Thuringia* is a country it is divided among a great number of different sovereigns and princes, as the houses of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Hesse*, *Saxe-Weimar*, *Mentz*, &c. (1).

(1) Vid. Baudrand sub voce. p. 947.

he ordered at the last peace, ordered *Abfalon* and his son to levy an army, and proceed against them; but the *Wendens* refused to fight themselves under such generals, despising the prince on account of his youth, and hating the minister, for no other reason than that the king loved him, and that his influence was great; though he studied popularity, and was considered the mediator between the king and the people. *Valdemar* was incensed at their refusal; and determined, notwithstanding his ill state of health, to command the army in person. The ill usage of his subjects increased his temper, and in a few days confined him to his bed. He would not relinquish his design. At length, by the tears and entreaties of his nobility, he was prevailed on to commit the war to his generals, and his own person to the care of his physicians at *Wortenburgh*.

Valdemar falls sick.

WHILE the fleet was detained in port by contrary winds, the *Futlanders* began to mutiny, to complain of the scarcity of provisions, and insisted upon a release from the service. *Homer*, bishop of *Ripen*, a man greatly esteemed for his character and eloquence, harangued them for a long time to little purpose; and at length ordered one of the ringleaders to be seized and bound. Instead of quieting, this increased the tumult to such a degree, that the officers were constrained to dismiss the soldiers, and permit them to return home. *Valdemar* observed them from his window dispersed over the fields, judged the cause, and was so afflicted, that his distemper increased, and his life was despaired of. The art of all his physicians was foiled; upon which the nobility prevailed on him to call in the assistance of a certain abbot, an empiric, whose impudence and boasting had raised him to a high degree of credit. His fatal nostrum was administered, and the king breathed his last, while he was left alone to take that repose which the quack insisted would restore his health.

THUS died *Valdemar*, a prince respected more than any of his predecessors for the qualities of his mind and person, at the age of forty-eight, and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, from the death of his associate. His piety, justice, prudence, and clemency, rendered him no less the idol, than his bravery, conduct, and success, the admiration of his people and of neighbouring states. His disposition was equally fitted for war and peace; but the latter he chose to cultivate, and never entered upon the former but to support the honour and dignity of his crown. His conquests were less brilliant, but more useful and necessary than those of former kings. He subdued *Rugen*, annexed it to his crown, and confirmed the islanders in the true principles of religion, the Christian faith. He overcame

His death and character.

cant *Wraithlam*, duke of *Stetin*, and made himself head of *Denmark*. *Henry Leo*, duke of *Saxony*, a powerful, brave, and fickle prince, he thrice obliged to the most abject manner. Twice he defeated *Erling* and the *Norwegians*, and often overthrew the *Vandals*: but his bravour to the conquered added more to his fame, than the talents by which he became a conqueror. In a word, he was extolled by all cotemporary and posterior writers as the greatest, the wisest, and the best monarch, who has ever filled the *Danish* throne^a.

^a SAXO GRAM. l. xv. MEUR

S E C T. VI.

Containing all the public Transactions until the Reign of *Eric V.* surnamed *Plog-Penning*.

C A N U T E VI.

A. D.
1182.
Canute
VI.

AS soon as the remains of *Valdemar* were honourably interred, *Canute*, his son and successor, repaired to *Hutland* to hold an assembly of the states, in order to redress those grievances which occasioned the late tumults. In his father's life-time he had been declared the immediate heir, with all the solemnities of a coronation, so that he now entered upon the prerogatives of majesty without form or ceremony.

A new revolt in
Schonen.

THE province of *Schonen* still persisted in its disaffection, and was now on the king's death grown more insolent and licentious. The malcontents were spirited up to fresh attempts by some artful persons, who encouraged them to wipe off the disgrace of the late defeats they had sustained. *Abfalon*, the faithful minister of *Valdemar*, applied all the remedies in his power to bring them to a sense of their duty; but in vain. Nothing is more blindly obstinate and provokingly insolent than a mob, and this the bishop found; for his good offices were returned with abuse, and the grossest insults. On pretence of defending their liberties, they moved the assembly to another place, and met all in arms, as if they were marching against an enemy. *Abfalon* retired to *Zealand*; and now the faction, having no one to restrain them whose authority they dreaded, or whose character they respected, broke out into the most ungovernable and riotous behaviour. They set fire to the houses of the nobility, seized upon all the place-

of the court, and committed the most daring rebellion. Observing that their faction pre-
 order, and could have no stability without laws of *chuse a*
 they elected one *Harold* their general; a man *king.*
 descended from the royal stem, was deficient in
 a king and leader. Elated with his new
 and the title of king, set up the royal
 and had *peasants* daily flocking to him.
 NOTWITHSTANDING this rage of disaffection, which had
 be *peasants* of the common people, the nobility, gentry,
 NEARLY remained steady in their loyalty, and by their
 counsel *Harold* drew together a body of forces to oppose
 any *ardour* expressed by both sides to come
 to an engagement is inconceivable. Passion and prejudice,
 void of all reason and principle, actuated both; and the
 closer their connections of neighbourhood and friendship were
 the more violent was their animosity now. A battle
 was fought with such blind fury, as deprived them of the
 power of destroying each other; and after half a day spent in
 the most tumultuous and irregular fight ever known, where
 hurts and bruises were given instead of mortal wounds, *Harold* *The rebels*
 was defeated, the rebels dispersed, and the royalists left mas- *defeated.*
 ters of the field, with the glory of a bloodless victory.

BUT the malcontents soon recovered their spirits after this
 repulse, and began a second time to make head, though de-
 serted by *Harold*, who, in a cowardly manner, had fled into
Sweden. The approach however of *Abfalon*, with a body of
 forces, soon reduced them to order: upon which he called an
 assembly, revived several laws that had fallen into neglect,
 obliged the peasants publicly to abjure *Harold*, whom they
 proclaimed king, and restored the former tranquillity of the
 province. The malcontents would indeed have been more
 severely handled by *Canute*, who now entered the province,
 and proposed giving the district of *Frosterret* to be plundered
 by the soldiers, had not *Abfalon* interposed in their favour.

NEXT year *Canute* received a solemn ambassy from the em-
 peror *Frederic Barbarossa*, complimenting him upon his ac-
 cession, and desiring the continuance of that alliance which
 subsisted during his father's reign between the Imperial and
Danish courts. The intention, however, of all these specious
 professions of friendship, was no other than to obtain some
 concessions in favour of the *Vandals*, and so persuade *Canute*
 to attend the aulic council in person, as a vassal of the em-
 pire. His majesty, penetrating into *Barbarossa's* views, re-
 turned a modest refusal to these requests: upon which the
 emperor sent a reply filled with manaces, and commanding
 him,

A. D.

1183.

The infi-
dious con-
duct of
Barba-
rossa.

He excites
the Van-
dals to a
war with
Canute.

him, in a haughty strain of authority, to obey; threats having no effect, he sent *Sigefred*, and his wife, who was *Canute's* sister, to *Roschild*, in order to move him, but in vain; *Canute*, by *Absalon's* advice, remained firm in his resolution to preserve the independence of his kingdom in his own hands. He determined to have his revenge, *Barbarossa* spirited up *Bugislaus*, prince of the *Vandals*, since the death of *Emir*, he began a war with *Denmark*, promising him supplies of men and money. But the *Vandal* prince, dreading the consequences of an open war with so potent a king, was unwilling to disobey the emperor, began to quarrel with *Farimar* his uncle, then governor of *Romania*, the occasion of the quarrel was *Canute*. Disappointed in this attempt, he was obliged to quarrel with him. *Farimar* immediately dispatched an ambassador to acquaint the king with these transactions, and *Bugislaus*, pretending that nothing could be more agreeable to him than submitting the dispute to the decision of *Canute* at a general diet, sent ambassadors to court to plead his cause. While he was amusing *Canute* with negotiations, he privately raised a great army, and equipped so powerful a fleet, that he sent to acquaint *Barbarossa*, that now he had it in his power to oblige *Canute* to submit to the terms his imperial majesty should think fit to prescribe. But his treachery and boasting soon received the just punishment, through the vigilance of *Absalon*, that skilful and hardened veteran. No sooner was the minister made acquainted with *Bugislaus's* proceedings than he published an edict, obliging all men within the *Danish* islands, who had attained a certain age, to assemble under arms at an appointed rendezvous. The king was absent in *Futland*, and the emergency of the occasion would not admit of the delay which would necessarily attend waiting for his instructions. A fleet was equipped with amazing expedition, the troops were embarked, and under sail in quest of the enemy, before *Bugislaus* imagined that his intention was discovered. *Absalon* had dispersed directions among the officers of the fleet, regulating the manner of engaging, and exhorting them to perform their duty, and maintain the conservation of their country, by defeating once more those barbarians they had so often vanquished. His instructions were obeyed; he came upon *Bugislaus* while he lay at anchor, at some distance from *Rugen*, feasting, carousing, and waiting for the emperor's orders in what manner to dispose of *Denmark*. He dreamt not of *Absalon's* approach, and was attacked, defeated, and dispersed before he had time to recollect himself, to issue out one single order, or make the smallest shew of resistance.

Absalon
defeats the
Vandal
prince.

BARBAROSSA was so disappointed in his high expectation that he gave up all thoughts of reducing *Canute* to the obedience of his will, and receiving the investiture from the hands of the emperor; for this *Pontanus* was the principal object which *Barbarossa* had in view. Nor did *Alfon* content himself with this victory: he sent his general, *Alfon*, to attack and took *Wolgast*, *Wollin*, and several other towns and cities, which he gave up to be plundered by his soldiers.

Notwithstanding the king in person marched into the *Vandal* country, and laid waste several provinces, without sparing any humanness, as if in the midst of profound darkness and resources of despair. Inflamed with the desire of revenge, the troops desired to be led from *Grotzwin* into *Pomerania*, disregarding all the difficulties of a march through a barbarous and mountainous country, while satiating their avarice was the object. But provisions failing, and the infantry being quite spent with fatigue, the king brought back the army to *Wollin*, where, in a brisk skirmish, he defeated *Bugislaus*, and had near taken him prisoner, at the very time he was laying in ambush for the *Danes*. This action, according to *Pontanus*, happened near the city *Gamin* in the *Upper Saxony*, in consequence of which *Canute* laid siege to it, but was prevented from pursuing it, by the intreaties and supplications of the priests and other religious persons, who had come out of the city to deprecate his wrath.

A. D.
1185.

The country of the Vandals subdued.

BUGISLAUS perceiving nothing but ruin and destruction *Bugislaus* around him, went in person to *Farimar* and *Abfalon*, to beseech for their intercession with the king to procure him a peace; but *Abfalon* imagining his professions were not sincere, replied, that the soldiers were not yet sufficiently rewarded with plunder for the fatigues they had undergone, nor the *Vandals* punished enough for their perfidy. This answer determined *Bugislaus* to obtain peace upon any terms, which at length was granted, on condition that he would pay a prodigious sum of money specified, as a fine for his ill conduct, and indemnification for the expences of the war; and that he would hold his title of duke at the hands of the king of *Denmark*, and acknowledge himself a vassal of that crown. This treaty he confirmed by hostages; after which he was sumptuously entertained by *Abfalon*. Before his departure he performed homage to the king, and prostrated himself before him on the ground, protesting, that he held all his dominions by the bounty and clemency of *Canute*, and was willing to surrender them at his pleasure. This was a voluntary act of humiliation,

A. D. 1186. them at his pleasure. This was a voluntary act of submission, which *Canute*, from a spirit of generosity, endeavored to prevent, but in vain. *Bugislaus* was a mean and insolent in prosperity, and the king equally moderate to the vanquished. Thus the hands of *Valdemar* were so much toil, treasure, and blood, were totally subdued by his son, and their crown lengthened to the crown of *Denmark*. *Bugislaus*, during his life, was firm to his engagements, and on his death-bed recommended it to the guardians of his children, to be recommended by *Canute*, in the partition of his dominions.

A. D. 1187. BEFORE the king returned to *Reschen*, a great afflux of clergy from all parts of *Europe*, and from *Germany*, with the king's consent, convoked to this part of a general synod, and among other ordinations passed one that the same form of divine service should be used in all the churches within the *Danish* dominions, the same psalmody and chantings performed; and for this purpose certain forms of prayer and public worship were drawn up, in which *Abfalon* was assisted by a great number of other learned bishops and divines (A).

A. D. 1188. ABOUT the beginning of the following year *Bugislaus* died, and his dukedom was divided between his sons *Casimir* and *Bugislaus*. A fresh contest likewise arose between *Canute* and the emperor *Frederic Barbarossa*. The emperor sent an embassy to invite the king to the celebration of the nuptials of his sister and the duke of *Suabia*, and to demand the remainder of her portion which *Valdemar* had promised, but hitherto remained unpaid. *Canute* suspecting some treachery, and collecting the snares laid by *Barbarossa* for his father, the late enemy he had raised by his intrigues against himself, and his severe conduct to the duke of *Saxony*, answered the ambassadors, that as to what related to the nuptials, he should be glad they were celebrated with all possible pomp: but that he must not go upon such an occasion out of his own dominions. As to the portion, it was unusual, he said, to pay the whole be-

(A) *Saxo Grammaticus*, a truly classical, eloquent, and entertaining historian, concludes his history with the transactions of this year. No writer has so strongly characterized the ancient manners of this people, as *Saxo*, who has carefully preserved all their traditions, fa-

ble, and the very genius of the times, in his beautiful translations of the songs and narratives of the *Danish* bards (the only historians of the earlier ages) and the martial achievements of those glorious barbarians, who were the conquerors of a great part of *Europe*.

fore

fore confutation; and he therefore hoped the emperor would excuse his not complying with a demand so extraordinary and unreasonable. *Barossa* was enraged at this contempt of his authority, and sent back the princess, *Canute's* sister, with her portion and virginity, attended however with a *German* after she had lived seven years at the imperial court.

Next year the crusade was preached up in *Germany*; and the emperor, seized with the spirit of holy achievements, determined upon an expedition to the Holy Land, in order to recover *Palestine* out of the hands of *Saladin* and the infidels. To prevent any disturbances during his absence, he found it necessary to settle the differences between him and the courts of *Denmark* and *Saxony*. *Henry Leo* was recalled from banishment, and restored to a part of his dominions; but we do not find any account of the negotiations between him and *Canute*; only it is said in general terms, that the emperor and king terminated all their differences.

A. D.
1189.

Henry Leo recalled from banishment.

From henceforward until the end of the year 1192, *Denmark* enjoyed profound peace, notwithstanding the disturbances raised by the ambition of *Henry Leo*, in *Holstein*, and the neighbouring continent. Now at length the public repose was broke by the contests between *Valdemar*, bishop of *Sleswick*, and the king. This prelate was the son of *Canute*, slain by *Eugen* at the public entertainment he made for him and the late king *Valdemar*, at *Roschild*. He now claimed not only his patrimony, but a share in the regal authority, as the son of *Canute*, the grandson of *Magnus*, and great grandson of king *Nicholas*. Perceiving that all his arguments were vain, and his backed with power, he applied for assistance to *Adolphus* earl of *Holstein*, *Bernard* duke of *Saxony*, and *Otho* marquis of *Brandenburg*, all of whom agreed to attack *Canute* by land, while the bishop invaded his coasts by means of a fleet. To render his measures more secure, the prelate went in person to *Norway*, and with magnificent promises engaged the king, or, as others affirm, his *Hacquin* in his cause, obtaining from him thirty ships of war, well equipped, and every way fitted to put to sea.

A. D.
1192.

Disputes between the king and the bishop of Sleswick

Before *Valdemar* entered upon action, he was told it would be for his interest to make an overture of referring his cause to the king, and a general diet of the states. Hence it was not doubted but rather than hazard the loss of all his dominions, *Canute* would consent to a partition of his kingdom; or, at least, agree to give the bishop some honourable and lucrative government. These monitors, besides, hinted the inconsistency of his being at the same time a king and a bishop.

The bishop
is seized
and impris-
oned.

bishop. *Valdemar* imprudently lent an ear to their admo-
nitions, referred his cause to the diet, and was in the mean
time seized and imprisoned, where he continued for the space
of fourteen years, until he was discharged in the reign
by king *Valdemar II.* Thus ended the term of his captivity, that
threatened destruction to *Canute*; though some writers
may credit *Pontanus*, relate, that the bishop was taken prisoner in a sea fight off the coast of *Norway*. His allies, ignorant of the prelate's fate, marched in a hostile manner to the
frontiers of *Denmark*; and, pitching their camp on the banks
of the river *Eyder*, waited the arrival of *Canute*, says *Pontanus*;
though we rather imagine they were expected to confer
on the operations with the bishop. After they had waited for
several days, forage and provisions growing scarce, they de-
termined to return home; all besides *Adolphus*, who entered
the *Danish* territories, and laid the country waste to *Sleswick*.
But the news that his allies had actually retreated, that the bishop
was made prisoner, and, above all, a repulse he met with from the king's forces, obliged him to purchase
peace, at a great expence, to prevent their cutting off his re-
treat.

A. D.
1193.
Canute's
sister mar-
ries *Philip II.*
of *France*.

She is
divorced.

THIS year *Philip II.* of *France*, sent ambassadors to *Canute*,
to demand in marriage his beautiful sister *Ingeburga*, called
by French writers *Gelberga*. The proposals were accepted,
four thousand marks in pure silver paid down for her portion,
and a fleet equipped to conduct her with all possible pomp
into *France*, where the nuptials were celebrated, and *Inge-
burga* proclaimed queen, in the year 1194; and, as other
writers relate, in 1195. This princess the king divorced the
following year, under a variety of pretences which it would be
unnecessary to recite in this place; and, among others, on ac-
count of a foetid breath, which he pleaded, from some of the
Byzantine writers, was a sufficient cause. Her brother *Canute*
applied to the pope, insisting, that *Philip* should part with the
wife he had married since his separation from his sister, and
take back the injured and repudiated *Ingeburga*, who was
confined in a strong castle (A). But the *Danish* historians
mention nothing concerning the event of this application to
his holiness.

(A) One reason given by the pope was at least ten steps re-
moted; *Philip* for repudiating *Ingeburga*, moved; and besides, that there
was their near consanguinity, had been a breach in the right
though by the genealogical line, about three generations
before of *Pontanus* it appears, that before (1).

(1) *Pontan. l. vi. p. 289.*

This year *Canute* ordered a muster to be made of all the fit to bear arms in his dominions, and each province to its proportion of shipping, every way equipped to put to sea, enter upon action. The whole force of the *Danish* of Denmark, from the estimate given by *Syntanus*, to have hundred and seventy ships of war, besides the supplied by vassals, tributary states, and allies. When as powerful armaments as ready to put to sea, then *Canute* declared his intention of attacking once more the *Vandals* and *Russians*, who had abjured Christianity, and restored their idols and false gods, after having so long received the light of the gospel. *Wagast*, *Stens*, and other towns and cities, opened their gates to a force they found themselves unable to resist; and thus the enemy were reduced to obedience as soon as *Canute* appeared.

A. D.

1195.

The power

mark.

NEXT year he made an expedition to *Livonia*, with a view to spread Christianity among these northern barbarians, who yet remained in the ignorance and obscurity of paganism. Some attempts to effect this had been made by *Valdemar* and others of his predecessors; but for want of proper regulations among the missionaries, they all proved abortive. This is the reason assigned by the *Danish* writers for this expedition; though we think it probable that *Canute* had in view the putting a stop to the conquests of the *Teutonic* knights (an order established a few years before) who had almost subdued the whole country, without regard to the right which the kings of *Denmark* claimed over several of the more northern provinces. Concerning the event of this affair, the *Danish* historians are silent.

A. D.

1196.

ABOUT the year 1198, *Otho* marquis of *Brandenburg* made an incursion into *Pomerania*, and seized upon several castles and fortresses, which he claimed as his property. *Canute*, on the contrary, believed them to be his right, and accordingly determined to regain them by force of arms. Other reasons likewise concurred in lighting up this war, and among the rest a grudge, which *Canute* bore the marquis on account of the late assistance he had given to *Valdemar*, bishop of *Slisburg*. A fleet was equipped, and the command given to *Peter* bishop of *Roschild*, and his brother *Torbern*. They were ordered to enter the river *Warnow*, while the king took up his residence in the island of *Maa*, to observe their operations, and wait the event. Here they were joined by the *Pomeranians*, *Vandals*, and *Mecklenburgers*, the subjects or allies of *Canute*; notwithstanding which the bishop was defeated, made prisoner, and the *Danish* army obliged to fly with precipitation to their ships. *Torbern* was killed in the battle, and

A. D.

1198.

Warrel be-

twan Ca-

nute and

Otho of

Branden-

burg.

the bishop kept for two years a close prisoner, escaping at last by the connivance of the marquis, who was unwilling at the expence of maintaining a captive of such distinction.

GROWN more bold by his good fortune, the king entering into an alliance with *Adolphus* earl of *Holstein*, made incursions into *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburg*, and the country of the *Vandals*. He laid waste a great part of the government of *Farmaric*, and proposed entering the territory of *Rügen*, and invading the island of that name; but not till approaching winter stopped his progress.

Canute obliges the son, and entering *Holstein*, laid the territories of *Adolphus* waste. He was too securely encamped for the enemy to venture upon attacking him; and without passing beyond the *Alster*, he obliged *Adolphus* to sue for peace. After this the king returned to *Denmark*, to be present at the last blessings of his queen's mother, who died in his absence.

A. D. 1199.

Young *Valdemar* defeats *Adolphus*, and makes a successful campaign.

THE spring of the year 1199, was ushered in by a breach of the late peace. *Adolphus*, disliking the conditions imposed upon him, had again recourse to arms, and the king committed the care of the war to his brother *Valdemar*. The young prince now first appeared at the head of an army, and by his conduct gave strong prognostics of his future greatness. With inferior forces he met *Adolphus*, engaged and defeated him, with a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, *Adolphus* himself very narrowly escaping out of the field. At all the *Holsteiners* were either killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. *Adolphus* took shelter in *Hamburg*, where he was immediately invested by the conqueror, and taken, the unfortunate duke escaping at a postern gate. *Valdemar* pursued his victory, and in a short time made himself master of all the fortified towns in *Holstein*, over-ran and totally subdued the principality of *Swerin*, took *Lubec*, after a brisk siege, and, in a word, annexed a great part of the *German* continent to the dominions of *Denmark*, without meeting with one repulse during the glorious course of the two campaigns.

WHILE *Valdemar* was traversing these countries, *Adolphus* found means to repossess himself of *Hamburg*; upon which the *Danish* prince immediately crossed the *Elbe*, and a second time laid siege to this city, which had not then attained to that height of power and splendour to which it afterwards arrived. The siege was carried on with such vigour, that the citizens, distressed for provisions, were obliged to capitulate. This brought on a conference between *Valdemar* and *Adolphus*, who waited on the prince in his camp. As soon as the inhabitants of *Dithmarsh*, then serving under *Valdemar*, were informed

formed that *Adolphus* was in the camp, they rushed sword in hand to his tent, in order to revenge the ravages he had committed in their country. Their fury was such, that *Valdemar* and his guards could hardly restrain them from putting him instantly to death. At this meeting it was agreed, that the cities of *Hamburg* and *Lubeck* should receive *Danish* garrisons, and be put wholly into the hands of *Valdemar*, he stipulating on his part, that the citizens should remain in the possession of all their liberties, immunities, and property. But *Adolphus* soon attempted to break his engagements, upon which he was seized and committed to the forests of *Seburg*, where the bishop *Valdemar* was kept a prisoner.

THIS year died the brave, the honest, and the pious *Abfa* A. D. 1201.
archbishop of *Lunden*, the faithful servant of the crown, Death and
and patron of the people; the scourge of his country's foes, character
the protector of letters, the encourager of learned men, the
rewarder of merit, and, in a word, the greatest ornament of
Denmark. Posterity owes to him this peculiar obligation, lon.
that he first persuaded *Saxo Grammaticus* to undertake his history, and generously countenanced and supported him while he was engaged in that work, which will transmit the memory of both with honour to the most distant ages. *Andreas Swen*, chancellor of *Denmark*, succeeded him in the archbishopric. According to some authors, *Saxo Grammaticus* died about the same time, and a few months after his patron; though, from the manner in which he speaks of *Valdemar I.* in his preface, addressed to the new archbishop, we have reason to think he lived only a few years after that prince's accession to the throne.

WALDEMAR, having greatly enlarged the *Danish* boundaries by the total reduction of *Holstein*, *Stormar*, the districts of *Lubeck* and *Hamburg*, the country properly and antiently called *Nordalbingia*, but now included under the general name of *Holstein*, and within the limits of that duchy, together with several other principalities, duchies, and earldoms, was advised to strengthen his alliances and the royal line by marriage. He chose *Ingel*, sister to *Otho* duke of *Brunswick*; and the nuptials were celebrated at *Hamburg* with great magnificence, king *Canute* attending in person, and preiding at the entertainment. *Valdemar* had, for some years, enjoyed the government of *Sleswick*; and now his power was considerably encreased by his conquests, all which *Canute* annexed to the duchy of *Sleswick*. The king returned to *Denmark*, and

Death and soon after was seized with a malady which carried him off in a few days, and so suddenly that some persons suspected *Canute* was poisoned, though by whose means remains a secret. He is celebrated as a prince of great clemency, moderation, extremely chaste and temperate, but a most valiant warrior. The conquests made during his reign are to be attributed to *Abfalon* and *aldemar*; but we cannot but commend the judgment of *Canute*, in choosing such ministers and generals, and taking so entire a confidence in them; notwithstanding the obloquy and detraction of their numerous and powerful enemies. *Canute* is said to have passed very wholesome and necessary laws during his reign, particularly one with respect to murder, by which it was ordained, that only the personal effects of the murderer should be confiscated, his real estate descending to his heirs and relations, that the innocent might not be involved in the punishment of the guilty.

L D E M A R II.

Valde-
mar II.
A. D.
1203.

IMMEDIATELY on the death of *Canute* his brother, *Valdemar* was elected with all the badges of regal authority, and unanimously chosen to succeed to the throne of *Denmark*. Upon the first advice of the king's illness he set out for *Roschild*, and arrived there before he breathed his last, though he was then speechless. *Valdemar* was received by the nobility and commons with the utmost joy. He was the son and veil, image of their favourite king *Valdemar*. His military exploits had gained him great reputation, and augmented the wealth and power of his country; and his private conduct had secured to him the esteem and affections of all to whom he was personally known.

WITH these advantages *Valdemar* entered upon the government of a kingdom, to preside over which he was equally entitled by birth and merit. The usual oath of allegiance was taken by the whole kingdom, with uncommon alacrity; no excepting the newly-conquered provinces. He began his reign with enacting, by the consent of a general assembly, a set of salutary laws, which the reader will find specified in *Pontanus* and the *Saxon Chronicle*.

NEXT he entered upon a treaty with *Adolphus* duke of *Holstein*, then his prisoner, by which it was stipulated, that *Adolphus* should be set at liberty, provided he renounced all claim to the duchy of *Sleswig* and the citadels of *Hamburg* and *Laxenburg*; for we find that this last still remained in the hands of his adherents. By what means they got possession

—Valdemar
of this sense
very salutary laws.

After it received a Danish garrison, we are not informed ; the fact, however, is asserted by Pontanus¹.

VALDEMAR passing then into *Schonen*, held a diet, and enacted a number of laws for the good regulation of the

kingdom. It was that bishop *Valdemar* was released, after A. D. 1206. imprisonment of fourteen years, on condition that he would never sit for a year in any part of the Danish dominions ; a sentence, which was soon mitigated, the intercession of the queen, the bishop, and several of the nobility. He even was obtained, through the influence of his friend, the means of being chosen bishop of *Bremen*, in the room of *Hartwic*, lately deceased. This election caused great disturbances in *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, and wherever the jurisdiction of this see extended ; but the steady prudence of *Valdemar* surmounted all difficulties, annulled the election, and got *Buber* chosen archbishop.

THIS year produced insurrections and tumults among that people called *Sujons*, inhabiting part of *Sweden Proper*, and *Bothnia*, which communicated, and was of war not only to *Denmark*, but almost to all the parts of the North. *Swercher*, at present, swayed that country in consequence of an agreement, that the posterity of the kings *Eric* and *Charles* should alternately reign. But *Charles's* issue getting possession, they either proscribed or slew all the children of *Canute*, son to *Eric*, except *Eric* the youngest, called after his grandfather. This prince fled into *Norway*, and there concealed himself during the persecution carried on against his family ; but making strong friends among the nobility and people, he now returned home, and laid claim to the crown. He succeeded so happily in alienating the affections of the people from *Swercher*, that he was already at the head of a strong party. *Swercher*, perceiving the danger, left no stone unturned to draw *Valdemar* into his quarrel. He made large promises, used supplications, sent presents, and at length prevailed so far, that *Valdemar* sent a strong body of *Danes* and *Swedes* to his assistance (A), under the conduct of *Peter*, surnamed the Elder, bishop of *Roschild*, who had been unfor-

L. vi. 297.

(A) His first queen *Ingeburga* *mia.* The nuptials were celebrated without issue, *Valdemar* at *Lubeck* in the year 1205. soon after married *Dagmar*. *P. viii.* means he became connected to the king of *Bohemia* (1).

(1) Pontan. l. vi.

The Danish auxiliaries defeated.

fortunate in a battle against the *Vandals*. Joining forces with *Swercher*, they gave battle to *Eric*, and after an obstinate conflict were totally defeated, with prodigious slaughter of a great number of officers and soldiers which the *Danes* lost. It was great, that this was the most complete victory and the most terrible battle which had ever been fought in these parts.

SIVERCHER collected thirteen scattered troops, made head for some time against *Eric*, but his *Ernst* and *Engen* came to a decisive encounter; *Ernst* was more unfortunate than the former, for here his army was overthrown, and himself killed. Upon this *Eric* assumed the regal authority, and *Valdemar* did not refuse to dispute it, imagining that he had already been sufficiently punished for maintaining the unjust cause of an usurper and murderer. In this war it was supposed, that not less than fifteen thousand *Danes*, besides *Bobemians*, perished.

A. D.
1209.

Lubec
burnt to
the ground.

VALDEMAR applied himself now to the fortifying his frontiers on the continent, and improving the new acquired dominions on that side. He demolished *Wittenburg*, and greatly enlarged *Lubec*: after which he threw a fine bridge from north to south over the *Elbe*. But, in the midst of these employments, *Lubec* was intirely burnt down by accident, only five houses escaping the flames; and this part of the town went, in the day of *Pontanus*, by the name of the *Five Houses*.

A. D.
1210.

NEXT year *Valdemar* went upon an expedition against some pagan nations, inhabiting the banks of the *Vistula*, with a view to establish the Christian religion in those barbarous parts. What success he met with we know not; but he was soon recalled, to be present at the birth of his eldest son *Valdemar*, who was born this year, and at the nuptials of his sister with king *Eric*, whom but a little before he held as an enemy to the kingdom.

Stralsund
founded.

A. D.
1211.

ABOUT this time was laid the foundation of the city of *Stralsund* in *Pomerania Royal*, opposite to the isle of *Rugen*. *Valdemar* intended it both as a fortress and commercial town: nor were his expectations disappointed; for it became frequented by the *Saxons*, and other nations, that it soon rose to eminence. An attempt was made the following year by *Casimir* and *Bogislaus* to destroy it; but they were repulsed by *Jarimar* and the inhabitants of *Rugen*, assisted by a body of *Danes*. This year the queen, after being delivered of another prince named *Canute*, died, loudly lamented and sincerely regretted, both by the king and people. In memory of her the castle of *Droningholm* was built, that name importing the *Queen's Island*.

IN the year 1213, *Valdemar* determined upon an expedition A. D. 1213.
 against the *Pomeranians*, and with that view arrived in *Demin*,
 a model of which he rebuilt, and fortified in the strongest
 manner. At the same time *Valdemar* sent ambassadors to congratulate
 the emperor *Frederick* upon his accession, and procure
 his investiture of the country lately conquered in *Ger-*
many. This the emperor complied with. *Valdemar* prudently
 chose to pay rather than have his rights contested, though it
 was what his father positively refused to *Barbarossa*. His
 request was granted; a formal instrument, confirming him in
 his right, was made out; and the ambassadors dismissed, after
 many distinctions conferred on them.

IN the mean time the *Danish* forces and fleet were making
 some progress on the coast of *Pomerania*. After laying waste
 a great part of the country, *Stettin* was besieged in form, and
 taken, together with a number of other cities, towns, and
 fortresses. Upon this occasion the earl of *Saxony* paid homage
 to *Valdemar*, and took an oath, that, when so required
 it, he should always have a body of forces, and a march at
 his command.

ARCHBISHOP of *Bremen* dying, *Ger-* A. D. 1214.
hard of Snaburgh was put in by the pope in his room. This
 election being disagreeable to the people, they sent to bishop
Valdemar to assure him, that, if he could procure a proper
 and sufficient force to support him, they were ready to receive
 him as their archbishop, and would even join him with all
 the power they could raise, to expel *Gerhard*. Immediately
 on this notice the bishop applied himself to *Otho*, marquis of
Brandenburg, then highly offended with king *Valdemar*, be-
 cause his fleet had lately taken some forts which he claimed as
 his right. In consequence of this he lent bishop *Valdemar* a
 numerous corps of auxiliaries. He was likewise assisted by
Otho, deposed from the imperial throne by the pope, and de-
 sirous of seeking his revenge in this opposition. *Henry Pala-*
tine joined in the confederacy, and was the chief instrument
 in the success of *Valdemar* in the see of *Bremen*, and deposing *Ger-*
hard.

THE pope and king *Valdemar* were fired with resentment
 at this transaction. The one anathematized, and the other
 resolved to punish *Valdemar* and the confederates by more ef-
 fectual means. Equipping a fleet with all possible expedition,
 he entered the *Elbe*, and laid siege to *Stade*; the citizens
 having, contrary to their oath of allegiance, received bishop
Valdemar. *Henry Palatine*, brother to the emperor *Otho*, lay
 at some distance with a considerable corps, with which he

annoyed the besiegers, and relieved by all possible means the garrison.

A. D.
1215.

OTHLO, the deposed emperor, believing that now or never per opportunity offered of invading *Denmark*, forgot his obligations to king *Valdemar*, and sent his army to *Hamburg*, to which he laid siege, in conjunction with his brother *Henry*. Preceding the approach of king *Valdemar* and the emperor *Fredrick*, the former having with him an army of sixty, or, as others relate, of twenty thousand men. Othlo leaving a strong garrison in *Hamburg*, quitted it with his army in a precipitate manner, not chusing to come to an action with *Valdemar* and perceiving himself deserted by the German princes, retreated to his claim to the imperial diadem, and retired into a private station, in which he died about three years after.

A. D.
1216.
Valdemar
invades
the Lower
Saxony.

THE winter before *Valdemar* had made any great progress; but only *Stade* received his troops: but early in the spring he invaded the *Lower Saxony*, and subdued all the country adjoining to *Henry Palatine*. Next he marched against *Hildesheim*, which he closely invested, while the garrison resolved upon making a vigorous resistance. A few works were raised to annoy the besiegers; but the courage and obstinacy of the garrison and burghers were at length subdued by the perseverance of *Valdemar*, and the consequent famine, which obliged them to surrender at discretion after the loss of all their principal officers, and incredible hardships sustained.

A. D.
1217.

RETURNING then to *Denmark*, he held a general diet at the island of *Samsø*, at which his son *Valdemar* was unanimously chosen successor to the throne. Thence he passed into *Jutland*, where the general diet was no less unanimous in granting him whatever he required, and, to crown the felicity of the year, his third queen *Berengaria* brought him a young son, whom they baptized by the name of *Eric*.

A. D.
1218.

THE following year this young prince was crowned and proclaimed king, by the name of *Valdemar III.* to obviate disputes about the succession. The coronation was performed at *Sleswick*, in presence of a vast multitude of people of all ranks, who flocked from every quarter of the kingdom to behold the solemnity.

Valde-
mar's ex-
pedition to
Livonia.

ABOUT this time *Valdemar* received advice, that the *Livonians*, assisted by the *Muscovites*, *Lithuanians*, and other northern barbarous nations, had driven from their habitations all those who had embraced Christianity, and taken an oath of allegiance to the crown of *Denmark*. Fitting out a powerful

al fleet, he immediately set sail for that country, with a resolution to punish this infraction of the treaty subsisting between the two nations. He was no sooner landed in *Livonia*, than his troops were seized with a panic, at the sight of such a perfect army of savages as they saw assembled on the mountains. It is said that, looking himself was somewhat dismayed, and the unusual and him up, a spectacle as a prodigious army, close to his troops, and more terrible than anything wild beasts than the human species; but, encouraged by the bishops of *Lunden* and *Aarhusen*, who assured him of victory while he was fighting the cause of *Christ*, he made a short speech to the soldiers, ordered public prayers to be read between the ranks, and then marched with intrepidity against the enemy. After a warm conflict the *Danish* standard was lost; a circumstance that dispirited the troops, and made them give way; until heaven, says *Pontanus*, was pleased to send down another standard. Upon this they rallied, attacked the confederate barbarians with astonishing resolution, and notwithstanding the multitude of their prodigious numbers, overthrew them with incredible slaughter. The historians of these times, and after them *Pontanus*, recite a variety of marvellous circumstances which attended this battle. Among others, they relate that *Andrew* bishop of *Lunden* retired during the action to an adjacent hill, where, with uplifted hands he poured forth prayers to the Almighty for *Valdemar's* success. While his hands were held up to heaven, and the fervour of prayer continued, the enemy constantly gave way; but on the least remission of the bishop's devotion, they in their turn pushed the *Danes*; both armies fluctuating backward and forward, like the waves, says our historian, on the sea-shore, according to the prelate's fervour and zeal in petitioning the Supreme Being.

THIS signal victory was obtained near the fortress of *Valdemar*, so called from *Valdemar*, in memory of this glorious event, by which the gospel was once more restored among this rude and ignorant people (A).

How potent and flourishing the kingdom of *Denmark* was at this time, appears from a kind of estimate of the revenues arising from the tributary provinces, or those countries con-

^b PONTAN. l. vi. p. 329.

(A) We will not spend time with *Pontanus* in examining into the truth of the celestial standard, and the effects of the bishop's prayers: these are the

traditions of ignorance, and pious frauds of the churchmen, which it would be unnecessary to expose in this more enlightened age.

quered

An estimate of the revenue and force of Denmark.

quered by *Valdemar*, and of the standing forces of the whole kingdom. This curious account *Potanus* extracted from *Witfeld*, a writer of these days, who copied it exactly from a parchment register kept by *Nicholas Bilde*, a sort of steward of *Valdemar*. From the provinces were sent in twenty-five last of oats, twenty-four last of rye, and half the quantity of wheat; together with thirteen talents of cheese and butter, nine of honey, twenty-three hundred sheep, two hundred hogs, and three hundred marks of coined money. This was the certain revenue; to which was added a considerable sum from advantageous circumstances, such as fines, forfeitures, taxes on law-suits and pleadings, with a variety of other contingencies; the whole amounting to an hundred thousand marks a day, or twenty-three millions seven hundred and thirty thousand per ann. a sum scarce credible in these days, and which obliges us to think, that we have either taken the mark at too high a value, or that *Witfeld's* register greatly exaggerates the account.

WITH this revenue were kept for constant service fourteen hundred great and small ships for the king's use, each of which, as a man-of-war, carried one hundred and twenty-one soldiers, and the total of standing forces, besides garrisons, amounted to one hundred and sixty-nine thousand four hundred fighting men. Such was the prodigious wealth and power of this kingdom in the reign of *Valdemar II.* if we are to credit the accounts of contemporaneous writers; and yet we must observe, that at this time it was greatly fallen from its former splendor, when the crowns of *England*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, were annexed to that of *Denmark* (B).

A. D.
1223.

FROM the year 1218 to the present year, nothing memorable happened, besides a remarkable comet, which our author calls a malignant star, that foreboded many calamities to the North, in which quarter it appeared. The rise of these is variously related: *Crantzius* says, that *Henry* earl of *Swerin*, whom we have called *Henry Palatine*, desirous of effecting a perfect reconciliation with *Valdemar*, obtained a passport, and went to wait on the king at *Roschild*; that *Valdemar*, on terms which he deemed too hard and unreasonable, he took the resolution of putting him to death, or spiriting him off, for which purpose he had kept a vessel, ready to hoist sail at a

^c POTAN. l. vi. p. 306.

(B) This estimate was made in the year 1221, and is of so extraordinary a nature, that we cannot expect the reader's im-

plicit faith in it, though we think it so curious as to deserve a place in our history.

minute's

minute's warning; that his majesty, being one day hunting, met on his return by *Henry*, whom he invited to his tent, seated in the fields, for a rural refreshment, which opportunity the treacherous guest seized of carrying him away, gagged him behind, putting him on board ship, and sailing strait to *many* and lastly, that, first exposing this great prince to public derision, he shut him up prisoner in the castle of

Valdemar
treache-
rously car-
ried into
captivity.

WITFELD assigns a different cause for *Henry's* resentment. He says, that *Henry*, going on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, left his beautiful wife and children under the protection and care of *Valdemar*. The king, now a widower, was struck with the personal qualities of *Henry's* wife, and accordingly debauched her: however, *Pontanus* assigns a variety of reasons why greater credit is due to the former relation. In this confinement the great *Valdemar* continued for three years, according to the most authentic documents of these times; though, from a monody quoted by *Pontanus*, his imprisonment would seem to have lasted for upwards of eight years. All this time *Denmark* was in the most distracted situation. *Valdemar* was equally beloved and esteemed by his subjects, who would have released him by force, if they not apprehended the cruelty of *Henry*, should such measures be followed. The highest ransoms were offered for his liberty; but that treacherous prince was inexorable. At length the bishops, nobility, and people, joined with one voice in petitioning the intercession of the emperor *Frederick II.* A diet of the imperial states met of consequence; and *Valdemar* might have been set at liberty, if he could have been brought to relinquish his late conquests. But to this he would give no ear; his life, he said, was only valuable while it was useful to his people; and should he consent to part with conquests which had cost so much blood and treasure, his subjects would have little reason to wish for his liberty at the price of such an indignity to the crown of *Denmark*. At length, however, this noble obstinacy was overcome by the intreaties of his subjects and children, who represented the calamitous state of the kingdom; the opportunity offered to ambition and treason; the losses consequent on the vacancy of the throne, infinitely more pernicious to the people than the severest terms the enemy could impose; with a variety of other arguments, which operated on the mind of this great prince, because they had the appearance of public good. The terms were hard, but they were the best that could be procured. *Valdemar* was set at liberty for a prodigious ransom in money, for relinquishing *Holstein, Swerin, Hamburgh, and the other towns and fortresses*

The condi-
tions of his
release.

treffes on either side the *Elbe*; and lastly, for swearing solemnly to maintain this compulsive contract, and never enter on any measures to punish *Henry*, or any of the princes who had so treacherously combined against him. A. D. 1226. The treaty was signed on the twenty-fifth of March, 1226, according to *Pontanus*; after which the king returned home disconsolate, enraged, but more than ever beloved by his subjects, who now became better acquainted with the nobility of his virtues, by this trial of adversity.

PREVIOUS to the king's release, the lords and those subjects which he had conquered before and since the late king's death, were busied in recovering their rights, which they had completely effected before they ventured to set him at liberty. *Albert* earl of *Orlemund*, *Valdemar's* lieutenant in these parts, endeavoured to subvert them, and for that purpose raised a number of forces, with which he gave battle to the enemy, but with a fortune no way proportioned to his zeal and fidelity. After this victory they easily recovered the whole country they had lost, and obtained an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants.

SUCH was the situation of the *Danish* provinces in *Germany* at this time. *Valdemar's* misfortunes were a great advantage to the *beckers*, first with the imaginary freedom which the neighbouring states had recovered, entered upon a secret negotiation with the emperor *Frederick*, about throwing off the *Danish* yoke. Their measures were taken so prudently, that the citadel was seized, and the *Danish* garrison made prisoners, before they had the least intimation of the insurrection of the citizens, who assembled under pretence of choosing new magistrates on the usual day. In order to protect them against the consequences of this revolt, they had just signed a treaty of alliance with *Albert* of *Saxony*, and all the neighbouring princes, who engaged in this confederacy at the instance of the emperor, then upon bad terms with *Valdemar*, and eager to extend the influence of the imperial crown. All these circumstances, together with the disputed election of *Nicholas Stigoth*, chosen bishop of *Roschild*, much against *Valdemar's* inclination, determined him to look about for means to disengage himself from these ties and incumbrances, so irksome to a prince of his spirit. The method in which he had been spirited away into captivity was infamous; the conditions upon which he was released, oppressive; the oath he had taken not to seek revenge, altogether compulsive; the revolt of the *Lubeckers*, a fresh provocation; and this election of the bishop of *Roschild*, a flagrant indignity and open defiance of his authority. Without having recourse to what was thought the supreme

preme power, invested by the Almighty in the pope, to solve from oaths and engagements, it would be no difficult matter to acquit *Valdemar* upon the principles of reason, for a breach of a contract so iniquitous and shameful. This at least may be said, that if compliance was excusable for an infraction of a solemn treaty, confirmed by oath, *Valdemar's* conduct may certainly admit of some palliation. He applied to the pope, was absolved from his engagements, raised a great army, and entered *Holstein* with all the apparatus of a prince fighting injured. Seizing upon *Idshoa*, and other places in this lutchy, he gave them up to be plundered by the soldiers, and then laid them in ashes. Leading his army back to *Bornholm*, he was met by the bishop of *Lubeck*, the archbishop of *Bremen*, *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, the duke of *Holstein*, the earls of *Swerin*, *Oldenburg*, and *Mecklenburg*, with several other *German* princes, at the head of a prodigious army. A battle was fought with incredible fury, and with such terrible slaughter on both sides, that the shields and helmets of the soldiers, to use an expression of our author, floated in blood. The event was long doubtful, until *Valdemar*, unhappily received a wound in the eye, which forced him to leave the field. His troops being defeated, without the presence of their monarch, gave way, and at last a total rout ensued, chiefly owing to a strong reinforcement of fresh troops, which the *Lotheckers* brought up to support the enemy. *Valdemar* is defeated.

In this unfortunate engagement *Valdemar* lost an eye; his best troops were destroyed, and his most experienced generals killed or taken prisoners; but he was not dismayed. On the contrary, he returned to *Denmark*, collected his scattered army, and began making new levies with so much vigour, that by next spring he took the field with a more formidable power than before. Both armies encamped on the opposite sides of the *Elbe*; but the remembrance of the last battle made them equally dread a fresh trial of courage. *Valdemar* laid siege again to *Idshoa*; but the enemy's approach obliged him to relinquish it. He then entered the country of *Dithmarsh*, which he laid waste, and rendered a perfect desert. Returning then through the *Northern Holstein*, he set fire to the whole country, and retired to *Denmark*, with intention to augment his power, and end the war by some decisive stroke.

DURING his absence, *Albert* of *Saxony* seized upon *Ratz-Lawenburg* and *Molna*, and laid siege to *Lawenburg*, which the garburgarrison defended with such obstinacy, that duke *Albert* was rendered to forced to enter upon a negotiation with them. He proposed, therefore, setting *Albert* earl of *Orlemund* at liberty, who was for many years detained a prisoner in *Swerin*, provided they would

A. D.
1228.

His son
Valdemar
killed by an
accident.

would surrender the town; but the brave garrison would accept of no terms without the consent of their king; and for that purpose sent to *Valdemar* for instructions. The king was eager to procure the release of earl *Albert*; he was likewise apprehensive that the garrison could not hold out until he was in a condition to relieve them. It was therefore his advice that they should capitulate on the best terms in their power. Accordingly *Lawenburg* was surrendered, the garrison marched out with military honours, and *Albert of Orlmund* was set at liberty, after a long imprisonment, in which he was treated with the most cruel severity (A).

AFTER this transaction *Valdemar* would seem to have dropt all intention of pursuing revenge. For the two succeeding years, we find no warlike preparations going on; nor yet was there any treaty put on foot for a general peace. It is possible that the unfortunate death of his son *Valdemar*, not accidentally at a party of hunting, might have broke his resolutions; and, indeed, this is the cause ascribed by historians for his indolence, though it did not happen until the year 1231.

As soon as the public grief was in some measure subsided for the death of a prince so amiable as the young *Valdemar*, a diet assembled for fixing the succession. *Eric*, the second son, was chosen by unanimous consent, and his coronation performed with the same solemnities observed in that of his brother. Immediately upon this provision was made for all the other male children, by assigning them certain governments, with a kind of supreme authority. *Abel*, the second son, was created duke of *Southern Jutland*, and *Canute*, the third son, held *Bleking* with the same titles and authority. No sooner was *Abel* invested with the ensigns of his place, than he began assiduously to cultivate the friendship of *Adolphus* duke of *Holstein*, by marrying his daughter, without any regard to the injuries he had done his father, and the quarrel subsisting between them. Ambition was the motive for this alliance: he resented the preference given to his brother *Eric*, and resolved to

(A) To this *Albert* it was that the king had given the government of *Hamburg*, which city he sold to the inhabitants when he found himself deserted by the *Danes*, and hard pressed by the duke of *Holstein*. This event they call the era of their liberty, though with little reason, as *Hamburg* has since been forced to acknowledge the sovereignty of the dukes of *Holstein*. Besides, it may be urged, that *Albert* had no right to dispose of a city of which he was only governor (1).

(1) *Pont.* l. vi.

strengthen his own interest, with a view to claim the crown at his father's decease. *Eric* and his friends were aware of his designs, and, in order to counteract them, proposals of marriage were made to a daughter of the duke of *Saxony*, to whom *Eric* was married in the year 1237 (A). Either marriage was displeasing to *Valdemar*, the fathers of both ladies having long been his bitterest enemies; and he prognosticated the effects which must necessarily attend alliances so unnatural. Hatred, however, to the *Lubeckers* made him enter into a treaty with *Adolphus*, who had quarrelled with them. The king not only reinforced him with a strong body of land-forces, but likewise sent a fleet up the *Trave*, blocked up the mouth of the river with strong chains and booms to prevent any succours being sent into the city, and engaged *Adolphus* to lay close siege to it by land, while his fleet invested it on the side of the river. The particulars of this siege we know not, only that the *Lubeckers*, finding themselves hard pressed for want of provisions, were busied in altering the channel of the river, when a large fleet of their merchantmen arriving seasonably with a fair wind, broke the chains, supplied the garrison, and was probably the occasion of raising the siege; although the *Danish* historians ascribe it to some other views, upon which *Valdemar* and *Adolphus* retired. What these designs were we are not told; though we are left room to conjecture, that a war which happened between *Denmark* and *Norway* about this time, was the occasion of *Valdemar*'s withdrawing his forces. But of this war we neither know the cause, the particulars, or the event.

KING *Eric*, in his *Annals of Denmark*, takes notice of a great war carried on by *Valdemar* this year in *Livonia*, in which a prodigious army of *Muscovites* was defeated, a number of towns taken, and almost the whole country subdued under the dominion of the crown of *Denmark*. The royal writer is, however, so concise in his relations, that we know little more than that there was a war, which terminated fortunately to *Valdemar*.

HAVING put an end to these foreign tumults, which had drained the kingdom of men and money, the king now applied himself to the framing of laws, encouraging industry,

(A) The abbot of *Stade* calls king *Eric*'s Chronicle, which this lady a daughter of the most be deemed the most undoubted authority, asserts that duke of *Anhalt*. Some other writers say, she was daughter she was daughter to *Albert* of to the duke of *Lunenburg*; but *Saxony* (1).

(1) *Pontan.* p. 318.

*A new
body of
laws com-
piled.*

and easing the subject from the weight of the heavy taxes necessarily imposed to support the honour of the crown, and the indignities put on the whole kingdom. For this purpose a general diet was held at *Verdenburg*, and a new body of laws framed out of the imperial, civil, and canon laws, each of which had before been used in different parts of the kingdom. Upon this occasion were settled the rights of the prince and people, and all circumstances criminal, civil, and ecclesiastical; so that from this time we may date the origin of that constitution, which subsisted until the great revolution in the year 1665. It must be esteemed very extraordinary, considering the importance of this body of laws, that no writer has preserved a copy of them, or even related their contents in a summary way; and that they should have satisfied themselves with acquainting posterity that they were wise, wholesome, and a greater ornament to *Valdemar* than all the noble transactions of his reign. Such is the manner in which they skim over the most remarkable and important events in the annals of this country, probably for no other reason than the trouble which would attend consulting the original archives.

*A. D.
1240.
Valde-
mar's
death and
character.*

VALDEMAR had now attained an advanced age. He had seen his kingdom raised to the highest pitch of glory and power, through his own merit; he had seen it sink into the deepest distress, from an accident which only affected his person; but that fully demonstrated of what importance his virtues were to the good of the nation; and now he saw it again restored to peace, tranquillity, good order, and felicity, by means of his prudence, discretion, and moderation. Thus satiated with esteem, glory, and worldly grandeur, this great prince resigned his last breath in the month of *April*, 1241, leaving his unhappy people a prey to the ambitious and unnatural contentions of his children.

S E C T. VII.

*Containing the Transactions of Denmark down to
the Year 1337.*

ERIC V. surnamed PLOG-PENNING.

*Eric V.
surnamed
Plog-Pen-
ning.* NO sooner were the last obsequies paid to the memory of the late glorious monarch, than his son *Eric*, some years before chosen his successor, mounted the throne at the age of twenty-five. *Canute*, his brother, by the same father, was at this

this time governor and duke of *Bleking*: he soon possessed *The origin* *Zealand*, and in time acquired the power and title of duke of *of the civil* *Falstria*. *Abel*, his full brother, was duke of *Sleswick* and all *divisions* *South Jutland*, and *Christopher* of *Falstria*. Besides these pro-*in Den-* *vinces*, each of the brothers had their separate fortunes as-*mark*. signed them, independent of each other; a regulation the most erroneous of *Valdemar's* reign, though intended for the mutual good of all his children, among whom he endeavoured to share his affection equally. Each possessing a sovereign independency, a rivalry ensued. It made room for intrigue; and all the engines of ambition, which soon suppressed every emotion of brotherly love. *Abel*, even in his father's lifetime, wholly estranged himself from his family, and united closely with his wife's friends, the most inveterate foes of his own blood.

WHAT first gave occasion for an open rupture was a de- *War com-* *sign* *Eric* set on foot to recover all that country north of the *menced*. *Elbe*, so unjustly extorted from his father in exchange for his *A. D.* *Liberty*. *Holstein* was comprehended in this district; and, *1242*. *Abel*, being not only the son-in-law of *Adolphus IV.* of *Hol-* *stein*, but the guardian of his children, since that prince's tre-*at* *reat* into a *monastery*, thought himself obliged, in honour and interest, to defend their rights. With this view he struck up an alliance with the archbishop of *Bremen*, and other an-*ient* *foes* to his father. He refused all the equitable propo-*sals* *sions* offered by *Eric*; and, by the spring of the year 1242, brought matters to such a crisis, that they were ripe for an open rupture. *Crantzjusz*, indeed, contrary to the testimony of all other writers, seems to lay the blame on *Eric*; for he ascribes the subsequent war to the violence used against the *Lubeckers*, who were fishing on the coasts of *Zealand*, whither they were carried prisoners, and detained. To revenge this insult, he relates, that *Abel* fitted out a squadron, with which he attacked *Haffnia* (now *Copenhagen*), and, after demolishing it, retired with a great booty. *Pontanus*, however, with more reason, attributes the whole to the ambition of *Abel*, and the instigation of his wife's friends: an account perfectly consistent with the characters of both princes; for nothing could be more moderate, just, and prudent, than the whole conduct of *Eric*, or more the reverse of this than the measures of the hot-headed *Abel*.

ERIC, finding his brother deaf to all his remonstrances, raised an army, equipped a fleet, and landed his men near the promontory of *Eldenez*. Nor was *Abel* less vigilant; for here he met him with a power not inferior. Both armies were ready to come to an action, had not some mutual friends

A peace concluded between Eric and Abel. interposed, and by their good offices happily effected a compromise for that time, on this condition, that the young princes of *Holslein* should be brought home from *Paris*, and the management of their own affairs committed to them. All the allies on either side were comprehended in this treaty, and the fore, which had for years disunited the different parts of *Valdemar's* kingdom, was suddenly skinned over by the art of state-empirics, who had neither honesty nor ability to probe it to the bottom, and remove the original cause of the disorder.

A. D. 1244. *War renewed between the brothers.* THE young princes of *Holslein* being now returned home, to the great joy of their subjects, the guardianship was taken out of *Abel's* hands; yet, though this bone of contention between him and *Eric* was taken away, there occurred another handle of dispute. *Eric* demanded homage for the duchy of *Sleswick*, which *Abel* positively refused, claiming it as an independent sovereignty. Hostilities commenced upon this, and perpetual incursions were made into each other's territories. *Sleswick* was invaded by the elder brother, and the younger retaliated by making descents on the *Danish* islands: but before the end of the year this irregular and piratical war was terminated by the interposition of some mediators, who were well disposed to both parties.

The Lubeckers make descents on Denmark. It was about the close of the year 1246, that *Eric* resolved to revenge the insults which the *Lubeckers* had committed against his father and himself. As they were not comprehended in the late treaty between him and *Abel*, he gave no formal declaration of his intention; but ordered their ships to be seized wherever they were found, and sent a squadron up the *Trave* to block up the city, and ruin their commerce. These merchants, in their turn, made descents on the coasts of *Denmark*; and having the address to engage the princes of *Holslein* and archbishop of *Bremen* in their quarrel, brought *Eric* to think of a peace before any decisive blow was struck, that wise monarch not chusing to involve himself in another quarrel with the *German* princes.

No sooner had he terminated this quarrel than the dispute with *Abel* was renewed. *Canute* and *Christopher*, the two younger brethren, joined with *Abel* in refusing homage to *Eric*, and he, in his turn, insisting upon it, both sides had recourse to arms. *Abel* first commenced hostilities by making a descent in *Fionia*, burning *Othonia*, the capital of the island, and seizing upon *Saneburg*, which he claimed as his right, and accordingly garrisoned with a strong body of troops. *Eric* arriving soon after with his army before the place, took it, laying the whole in ashes. Afterwards making a descent in *Falslria*, and the dominions of *Christopher*, he obliged him to

acknow-

acknowledge his sovereignty. This advantage was succeeded by another; for he took *Canute* prisoner, and confined him in the castle of *Stigen*, from whence he was delivered by the *Lubeck* fleet, which took and destroyed the fortress.

ABEL and his associates carried on the war by sea with great vigour; while the king, calling in the *Vandals* as auxiliaries, entered *Holstein*, took *Oldensho*, and obtained a vast booty: *Canute* and *Christopher* seized upon all *South Jutland*; and then investing the city of *Ripen*, soon became masters both of it and the citadel, making *Lisibil* the bishop with all his children prisoners. *Eric*, on the other hand, got possession of *Laaland*, *Falstria*, and all the other territories of *Christopher*, who broke his engagements with the king; to which he added *Blesing* and *Canute's* dutchy of *Schenen*, annexing them all to his crown. Thus the war was pursued with great animosity, but without any decisive blow, for the whole year.

At the close of the campaign a truce was agreed upon, and some mutual overtures were made towards an accommodation; but the truce was short, and all endeavours to work a reconciliation ineffectual. The young princes had alienated the affections of a great part of the nobility, clergy, and people from the king. His name then the more indifferent to a peace, and added new fuel to the flames of war; so that, early in the next spring, it was renewed with redoubled vigour. *Denmark* was rent with civil divisions and external enemies. The *Danish* harassed the coasts with their shipping; and *Eric* had his revenge by means of the *Vandals*, who ravaged *Holstein*, until they were defeated by *Abel*. However, the most signal advantage was gained by the king in person, who gave battle to his brother *Canute*, defeated, and made him prisoner. Afterwards he suddenly attacked *Flenzburg*, at that time a very opulent mart, set fire to the town, and laid it and all the neighbouring country in ashes. He had now got two of his brothers in confinement; a success which only increased the number of his enemies, and irritated the nobility against him. This determined him to set *Christopher* at liberty, on no other condition than that he should pay him homage, and acknowledge his sovereignty. *Christopher* readily accepted the terms, was released, and became his brother's vassal. He even attended him in a sudden irruption he made into *Holstein*, while the diet of that dutchy sat; from whence, after burning the town, he carried a great number of the nobility prisoners into *Denmark*, all of whom were ransomed at a high price.

A. D.
1248.

NEXT he defeated the *Lubeck* fleet in the *Sound*, after taking *The* *Lubeck* four of their ships, and destroying an equal number. At this fleet de-

time he had given instructions to *Henry Meldorp*, governor seated of

The king
defeats his
brothers

of *Rendsburg*, to seize the first opportunity of *Abel's* absence to make an irruption into *Sleswick*. His orders were punctually executed, and some of the chief cities and fortresses taken by surprise. *Eschil*, the bishop, was likewise punished, by the loss of some valuable effects, for having changed sides, and taken part with *Abel*, through the influence of the archbishop of *Bremen*. In a word, all *Sleswick* was subdued, almost as soon as entered, by means of the active and vigilant *Henry*, reputed one of the best officers in the service of *Denmark*.

THIS series of good fortune did not long continue. *Abel*, the two princes of *Holflein*, and the archbishop of *Bremen*, took vigorous measures for the recovery of *Sleswick*. A numerous army was raised, the *Danes* driven out, and almost all *Jutland* laid waste; however, the enemy were forced to retreat with precipitation, on advice that *Eric* was marching with an army of *Zealanders* to attack them.

IN the mean time *Gerhard*, the archbishop of *Bremen*, and in his room was chosen *Hildebold*, a prelate who did not so sanguinely embrace the cause of *Abel*. There were not wanting some friendly mediators among the *German* princes connected by marriage to the rival brothers, who wished to see this unnatural war, so ruinous to the subject, ended in an amicable manner. *John* marquis of *Brandenburg*, married to *Sophia* the king's sister, the duke of *Lunenburg*, and *Albert* of *Saxony* interposed themselves in a particular manner: but *Eric* was obstinate in demanding homage, and *Abel* no less positive in refusing it, so that the war went on in spite of all endeavours to terminate it by the most friendly remonstrances.

Treaty of
peace con-
cluded.

AT length *Sophia*, the marchioness of *Brandenburg*, at that time far advanced in her pregnancy, undertook a journey to *Denmark*, hoping by her presence to work on the minds of her brothers: but she was taken with the pains of labour at *Flenzburg*, where she miscarried and died in a few days. This circumstance, with the wise conduct of the bishop of *Lunden*, at last terminated their differences upon the following terms. *Abel* had the title of duke independent, but paid homage for *South Jutland*. *Canute* was restored to his dominions, which he was to hold upon a feudal tenure. Each side was to indemnify the losses sustained by the other. All the allies of either side were comprehended in this treaty; and lastly, the king and *Abel* ratified it not only by a written agreement, a solemn oath, but by twenty hostages mutually exchanged. Moreover it was stipulated, that whatever party should be guilty of the slightest infraction of so solemn a convention,

the

the hostages should have the free liberty of joining themselves to the opposite side. Towards the close of the year the treaty was solemnly signed, sealed, and executed; upon which all Denmark rung with joy, and the most riotous expressions of public satisfaction took place of the misery and wretchedness that every where prevailed.

NEXT year a diet was held at *Roschild*, in which the king, in a laboured harangue, expressed his eager desire of propagating the Christian faith among the barbarous nations of the North, and the expediency of reclaiming all the former possessions of Denmark in *Livonia*, and along the frontiers of *Russia*, which had been lost amidst the late civil commotions. *Origin of* The diet giving their assent to his proposal of undertaking an *expedition* thither, he then laid before them the exhausted *condition* of the treasury, and the necessity there was for raising the proper supplies by an additional tax. This was a certain sum to be paid by each plough, under the name of *Plojchat*; or, as *Eric* the historian calls it, *Ploch*, or *Plog-Penning*, by which term the king was afterwards furnished.

A. D.
1249.

WHEN the king's instructions for collecting this unusual tax in *Schonen* arrived, all the people murmured, and threatened to take up arms if any violence was offered in levying a tax which they thought oppressive and iniquitous. Matters ran so high, that *Eric* believing his presence was necessary, went thither, and began to harangue the people in the mildest terms; but their indignation ran so high, that he was forced to withdraw himself precipitately to *Helsenburg*. Thither the malcontents pursued him, laid siege to the citadel, and would have taken their king prisoner, had he not prudently escaped in the night at a postern-gate. As soon as the king returned to *Zealand* the tumult subsided, but still the tax was unpaid. *Eric* enraged, not only at their refusal in the present emergency of the state, but at the late insult offered to his person, raised an army, and marched to *Schonen*. Nor were the malcontents backward in their warlike preparations; for they met him in the field, gave battle to their king, and were overthrown, and forced to pay the tax they had so obstinately refused.

The inhabitants of Schonen revolt.

HAVING settled the affairs of the kingdom, and made the necessary preparations, *Eric* set sail for *Livonia*, where he was extremely successful in all his operations, though we find no particular account of them. We are told he was suddenly called back by some disputes which had arisen concerning the execution of the late treaty with *Ahel*. The dukes of *Holstein* demanded the town of *Rensburg*, agreeable to the article, that all parties should enjoy their former rights. This

War between Eric and the prince of Holstein. town was situated in their dominions ; but *Eric* claimed it in right of conquest and possession, prior to this last war. All the negotiations set on foot were fruitless ; and the *Hobseiners* united themselves to the bishops of *Bremen* and *Paderborn*, determined to maintain their cause by force of arms. *Meldorp* commanded the garrison for the king, the enemy marched to lay siege to it, and *Eric* raised forces to relieve, with an expedition, this brave officer. On his arrival at *Dannewark*, that strong frontier, he bethought him of a visit to his brother *Abel*, who had taken no part in this quarrel, in order to prevail on him to use his influence with the allies to come to a reasonable composition, telling him that he was quite weary of war, and shocked at the late effusion of Christian blood. The king was well received, *Abel* promised his utmost endeavours should not be wanting ; but the demon of ambition had got possession of his heart. He had laid a plan for the destruction of his brother, who was spirited off in a boat, murdered at sea, and his body thrown overboard, a prey to ravenous fishes. This horrible act was perpetrated by the hands, and originally schemed by the villainous heart of *Gudmund*, a prelate banished *Denmark* on account of his vices ; but nothing can palliate the conduct of *Abel*, whose ungovernable ambition had stimulated him to a breach of the first duties of humanity, and urged him to the most ungenerous violation of the rights of hospitality, as well as the cruel and shocking crime of fratricide.

A. D. 1250. In this manner died *Eric*, a prince whose failings were totally obscured by his excellent qualities both of the head and heart. He had the greatest probity of soul, as well as the truest piety, without any tincture of the superstition of the times. His reign would have been happy to his people, and glorious to himself, but for that single error in the great *Valdemar's* conduct, which enabled the younger brothers to claim an independency on the elder. Without great military talents his courage and good sense gained him the reputation of an able general. His politics were sound, but clear ; they were dictated by honesty and sound judgment, without any of those dark windings, and that unfathomable mysteriousness, which have falsely acquired the reputation of deep policy, for no other reason than that they equally confound and perplex the contriver and the world. In a word, *Eric* was generous, sincere, brave, and liberal, strenuous to maintain the dignity of his crown, but unambitious of extending his prerogative beyond the measures of equity and prudence. This however may be denied by those who ascribe to ambition the desire he had of reducing his brethren under his sovereignty. We think

think otherwise. The provinces assigned to them had always been dependent on the crown: it is probable that *Valdemar* meant they should still continue so; if not, certain it is, that he had no power to make this partition without the consent of the states; and yet we find it confirmed by no other authority than his last will.

ABEL endeavoured to screen his own guilt by promulgating a report, that *Eric* had perished at sea by the vessel's foundering. For a time this story met with credit, although there were not wanting persons who suspected his treachery. In a short time, all was discovered by the mangled body of the king, which was thrown by the waves on the shore, taken up by some monks, and privately deposited in the monastery of *St. Laurence*. Before his death *Gudmund* had extorted from him a confession of the place where he had deposited his private treasure; but, on examination, nothing besides a few jewels and rich garments were found.

A B E L.

ERIC dying without issue male, the states assembled for the election of a sovereign, and though they detested *Abel* on account of the unnatural crime he had committed, yet they chose him king for conveniency, and to avoid the civil wars which would necessarily ensue from setting him aside. By this means they indisputably reunited the duchy of *Sleswick* to the crown; they run no hazards from the power of *Abel*, who would probably have joined himself to his late allies, had his claim been overlooked; they annexed *Sweneburg* and *Schelfscore*, the hereditary patrimony of *Auel*, to the Danish dominions, and gained many other advantages, all of which, in our opinion, were more than counterbalanced by the crimes of the new monarch; but the diet thought otherwise. As yet indeed the murder was not clearly proved upon him; for the royal body had not appeared till after the election. He had, by ambassadors, modestly pleaded his right, and defended his own character with such arguments as weighed with a majority: he declared, that the vessel had been overtaken by the great number of people which had entered her in a tumultuous manner, with a view of doing the king honour by a splendid retinue; but this relation was not only contradictory to the report he had ordered to be published, but inconsistent with itself, as the king alone, of all the passengers, was missing. However, he granted extraordinary immunities and distributed presents among the bishops and inferior clergy, by whose influence chiefly he gained his point. In a word, he was crowned in less than two months after his brother's death, having first solemnly

solemnly sworn that he had no concern in it; but that *Eric* was killed by some soldiers at the instigation of private enemies. It is strange that so respectable and wise an assembly should be capable of putting themselves under the authority of a person, whose equivocation and different accounts were the strongest proofs of his guilt, and who, to the universal crime of parricide, superadded that of perjury and subornation; for he had procured twenty noblemen to join with him in the oath.

*Abel is
stung by
his own
conscience.*

ABEL had not long enjoyed the diadem, but his conscience began to torment him. In examining *Eric's* will, he found that the deceased prince had resolved upon abdicating the crown and retiring to a monastery; and that he had appointed him his successor, provided the consent of the diet could be obtained. He likewise found a legacy to himself, intimate forgiveness of all that was past, and the most affectionate expressions of regard for all his brothers, and in particular These circumstances pierced his breast like daggers, called to his remembrance the virtues of his brother, and rendered him, though the greatest, yet the most miserable person in *Denmark*, because he was the most guilty.

BEFORE his accession to the throne he had sent his eldest son *Valdemar* to be educated in *France*; he now recalled him to invest him in the duchy of *Sleswick*, though his brother *Christopher* had applied for that dignity. In passing thro' the bishopric of *Cologne*, the young prince was seized by order of that prelate, and detained for four years in prison. For this act of violence we find no cause ascribed, besides the detestation in which the bishop held the whole family, since the murder of *Eric*.

A. D.
1251.

THE *Polish* writers relate a war that happened this year between *Boleslaw* king of *Poland* and *Abel*. *Peter Dowin*, son to *William*, who was private treasurer to *Eric*, had fled from *Denmark* upon that prince's death, with all the treasure, to prevent its falling into the hands of the parricide. *Peter* was a man of singular talents, insinuating, polite, eloquent, and virtuous; he had so ingratiated himself with *Boleslaw*, that he attained very high honours in *Poland*, and became the favourite of the king and court. He had learned the language, was so winning in his address, and had so shaped himself to the manners of the country, that all men rejoiced at his elevation, though a foreigner. When he found his influence established, he related the cause of his flight to *Boleslaw* the king, and artfully led on that generous prince to a war which might at the same time punish the crime of *Abel*, and extend the limits of his own dominions. Ac-

*War be-
tween Po-
land and
Denmark.*

Accordingly

Accordingly a powerful armament was equipped, with which *Boleslaw*, accompanied by *Peter* and *Eric's* treasure, sailed into *Denmark*, where he was joyfully received by all ranks of people, as his proclamation assured them his sole intention was to avenge the murder of *Eric*. After all, however, he accomplished nothing; for having put the treasure into the hands of the diet, he returned to *Poland*, leaving the *Danes* to the choice of a king. This story is related by *Cromer* and *Herbut*, two *Polish* historians; but wholly omitted by the *Danish* writers, and probably with good reason, as it seems fraught with absurdity and anachronism, as appears by comparing the years when *Boleslaw* and *Abel* reigned.

TOWARDS the close of this year a diet was held, in which it was enacted, that *Canute* and *Christopher* should remain in the full possession of the dominions left them by *Valdemar*; that a general tax should be raised for the payment of the crown debts contracted in the last war, and for redeeming the castles and forts, pledged to neighbouring princes, in order to raise money.

DURING the late wars between *Eric* and *Abel*, some disputes arose between *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, about certain frontiers, which the circumstances of the state would not then permit *Eric* to adjust. Now a congress of plenipotentiaries of the three nations was fixed, to settle the matter in an amicable manner, and instructions were given to the *Danish* ambassadors by the diet, and not by the king, a thing not usual; whence we may conclude, that the general assembly of the states assumed to themselves more power in this than they had done in former reigns; and that the hatred of the people to *Abel* laid him under certain restrictions unknown to his predecessors.

It was at this diet that *Abel*, finding the treasury quite exhausted, assigned lands to *Henry Meldorp*, in lieu of a large sum of money due upon arrears. This transaction occasioned some disputes between them which terminated in blood; although the circumstances that attended it are very obscurely related by all the writers we have seen. *Crantzius* assigns a different cause for this quarrel, affirming that the *Emdeners*, and the inhabitants of *Rendsburg*, *Frederickstadt*, *Tonningen*, and those towns and countries situated between *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, refusing to pay the new aid tax, so irritated the king, that levying an army he engaged and defeated them; but the *Abel* rebels making head the next day, attacked the king in his seated camp, and after an obstinate conflict routed his army, and slain.

His character.

He slew him, determined not to be conquered in the field, on *St. Peter's-Day*, in the year 1252. It was some days before his body could be found among the prodigious carnage that was made, to which his single arm greatly contributed. As soon as known, the royal corpse was taken up and carried to *Sleswick*, where it was buried with the magnificence rather to his birth than to his virtues. *Abel*, it must be acknowledged, was brave, and possessed many of the other qualities of a great monarch; but ambition was the prevailing passion of his heart. This had suppressed all the dictates of humanity, and the strongest natural affections, so that he breathed his last gloriously, left his memory stained with the horrid crimes of fratricide, perjury, and subornation, and died admired for his virtues, detested for his vices, dreaded for his power, but unlamented by all who had any regard for honour, humanity, and truth.

C H R I S T O P H E R I.

Christopher I.

ABEL left two sons; the eldest of whom, *Valdemar* by name, was still a prisoner at *Cologne*. *Matilda*, his mother, and now queen-dowager, used all her endeavours to have him elected, though a captive, and she made a very considerable party in the diet in his favour. However, it was resolved by a majority to bestow the crown on *Christopher*, brother to the late king, in order to avoid the disturbances which his power might probably occasion. In a word, the same reasons influenced them in the present election, which had prevailed in the former, without the objections that lay against *Abel*, as the diet to *Christopher's* character was unstained by any crimes of a deep dye. Indeed, the people were somewhat prejudiced, though unjustly, against the innocent *Valdemar*, on account of the guilt of his father. They looked upon him as a branch of the same stem, which consequently must inherit its qualities.

BEFORE his accession *Christopher* had married *Margretta Sabiria*, daughter to the duke of *Pomerania*. He began his reign with granting all its wonted privileges and immunities to the diocese of *Lunden*, though we are no where told how it came to be deprived of them; and ordained besides, that none of the suffragans of this see should pay taxes to the crown, or be obliged to quarter soldiers.

IN the beginning of the following year he took upon him the guardianship of *Abel's* children, and demanded an oath of allegiance from *Henry Meldorp*, who held the towns of *Sweneburg* and *Schelfscore*, part of the patrimony of *Abel*. They had been pledged to *Henry*, and being a man of great spirit
anc

and warlike abilities, he insisted upon holding them in his own right, until they should be redeemed by the payment of the money he had lent upon them. This dispute terminated in blows, *Christopher* was defeated, and many of his nobility slain. Rendered more bold by his victory, *Henry* laid all the adjacent country under contribution; but hearing that *Christopher* was marching towards him with a very powerful army, to which he could only oppose a handful of men, he took ship and retired out of the kingdom. *Christopher* laid siege to the two chief cities in dispute, took and razed them to the ground, after putting the garrisons to the sword.

War between
Christopher
and
Meldorp.

The king is
defeated.

THIS transaction was soon followed by a quarrel with the princes of *Holstein*. *Christopher* went over to *South Jutland* to receive an oath from the people, as the guardian of his nephews. The *Holsteiners*, believing he had some other design, requested, by ambassadors, that he would restore their dominions to his nephews, who were now of age to manage their own affairs, and put the duchy of *Sleswick* into the hands of some disinterested person, in trust for the lawful heir. This the king refused, affirming that it was a fief of the crown, and was always conferred on one of the king's children. They persisted, and he was obstinate. At length matters came to acrimony, and the sword must determine the contest; for such is the method princes have ever chosen to decide claims of equity.

War com-
mences be-
tween
Christo-

But before hostilities commenced *Christopher* called a diet, and had the address to procure a decree, whereby *Abel's* children were excluded the succession, and the crown settled upon his own issue male, provided he left any behind him. Immediately he equipped a fleet, and attacked *Sanderburg*, the walls and fortifications of which he demolished. In the mean time *Hacquin*, king of *Norway*, whether in alliance with the princes of *Holstein*, or whether he seized this opportunity of revenging some injury received from *Christopher*, we are not told; but he invaded *Halland* with a great fleet, laid the country waste, and committed terrible ravages wherever he went, leaving at last his life in the country as an atonement to the unhappy people, for the losses they sustained by his cruelty.

the princes
of *Hol-*
stein.

Particu-
lars of this
war.

ALL this while *Christopher* opposed, in person, the *Holsteiners*, joined by the *Brandenburgers*, *Lubeckers*, several *Vandal* cities, and *Henry Meldorp*, who was greatly instrumental in forming this confederacy. The allies made their first attack on *Sleswick*, whence they carried off the bishop and a number of the nobility. The shores of *Schonen* swarmed, and were continually harassed with the *Lubeck* and *Vandal* pirates, where,

at

- A. D. 1253. at last, they met with a squadron of the king's ships, and fought a bloody and drawn battle. *Meldorp* invaded *Zealand*; he attacked the island of *Moena*, and there forced the strong castle *Stega*. Passing from thence into *Falstria*, he subdued *Nicoping*. Nothing could be more vigorous and active than the operations of the confederates during this campaign. *Christopher* was idle; but he was distracted amidst the variety of his enemies, and unable to oppose himself to them all. Seasonably for him some of the *German* princes offered their mediation, and a peace was concluded on the following terms, viz. That *Christopher* should restore to his nephews the duchy of *Sleswick* at a certain time appointed, and put them in immediate possession of their patrimony in *Denmark*: That they should sign the decree passed at the diet of *Neoburg*, whereby they were excluded the succession, resigning all their rights to *Christopher* and his issue: That *Christopher* should indemnify them for their losses by the war. Other articles were added to which both parties subscribed; the duke of *Pomerania* and the *Vandal* princes being appointed guarantees of the performance of the treaty.
- A. D. 1254. *Peace concluded.*

A dispute between *Christopher* and the bishop of *Lunden*.

CHRISTOPHER had scarce breathed after this war, before he was engaged in another quarrel. The archbishop of *Lunden* dying, *Erland* bishop of *Roschild* was chosen to succeed him, without the king's consent or knowledge. It was then customary, that no bishop could be removed from his see, or any way promoted, without such election was ratified by the king. They were likewise obliged to serve in the wars, except the contrary was permitted through the special grace of the sovereign. *Erland*, however, secure of the pope's protection, not only disregarded these forms, but totally changed the ecclesiastical laws and statutes of *Schonen* for new ones of his own. *Christopher* was so incensed at this haughty conduct, that he fitted out a fleet against him, entered the river *Sley*, invested *Gasenburg*, and demolished its fortifications. Finding his schemes thwarted by *Matilda*, the queen-dowager, he determined to secure her interest, by settling *South Jutland* upon her; but this *Erland* prevented, by marrying her to the duke of *Swedeland*, though she was actually betrothed to the bishop of *Othon*.

A detail of this quarrel, and the bishop's conduct.

- A. D. 1255. We hear no more of the quarrel between the king and the archbishop; for *Valdemar* being now set at liberty, by the intercession of his uncle *John*, required all *Christopher's* attention to adjust matters between them. This was effected by resigning to him the duchy of *Sleswick*, which was done by the king's delivering him a standard in the usual form, and receiving from him an oath of allegiance, and the ceremonies of vassalage.

THIS year *Christopher* sent ambassadors to *Rome*, to congratulate pope *Alexander* on his accession to the papal dignity, and to procure from him a confirmation of the sovereignty of the *Vandal* country, granted to his father *Valdemar* by the emperor *Frederick*. His request was granted; but the clergy, especially in *Erland*, instigated the common people, and they refused to submit his authority. They went farther, and even committed ravages on the *Danish* frontiers, seizing towns, demolishing forts, and burning villages. The incensed king gave them battle, and defeated them with great slaughter; but was prevented from punishing them as they deserved, by the menaces of the archbishop of *Lunden* and bishop of *Roschild*, who applied to the pope to retract the grant he had lately made, in case the king refused to make up matters with the insurgents.

A. D.
1256.

ERLAND, archbishop of *Lunden*, exerted more than a papal authority in *Schonen*. He abrogated laws, formed statutes, and passed decrees at pleasure, to the great discontent of the king and people. *Christopher* having summoned a diet of the people at *Neoburg*, *Erland*, as a mark of disrespect, convoked at the same time a synod of the clergy, to prevent the bishops from attending the king's summons. He had even the presumption to desire the king would adjourn the diet until the business of the synod was first ended. *Christopher* received this message with disdain; and persisting in his design of holding a diet, *Erland* passed a decree, in defiance of his authority, which set the clerical function above sovereignty itself, and shewed how necessary it was to clip the wings of that sacerdotal pride and ambition, which rendered the ministers of *Christ* the pests of society, and the disturbers of the public tranquillity.

CHRISTOPHER, determining to humble this headstrong prelate, assembled another diet at *Vartenburg*, at which were present the dukes of *Pomerania*, *Rugen*, and other great vassals of the crown, prevented by the hard frost from attending the last diet. Here he drew up an indictment against *Erland*, containing the following charges. 1st, That without the royal assent, or even knowledge, he had usurped the archbishopric, and even presumed to ordain other bishops by his own sole authority. 2d, That after swearing allegiance to himself and son, he refused to crown either, and interdicted those persons who had performed the duty. 3d, That he had forbid the bishops, under pain of excommunication, from serving in the wars at the king's express command; though, by the laws of the land, they were bound to do this as well as the laity. 4th, That by unseasonably convoking a synod,

Christo-
pher's
charge
against
Erland.

in

in contempt of the royal authority, he had occasioned great loss to the nation by procrastinating public business. 5th, That in this synod he had passed certain decrees, which he got ratified by the pope, diametrically opposite to the laws of the kingdom, and extremely destructive of the public weal. To these articles of indictment were added several other heads, equally grievous. The haughty prelate was now forced to stoop and bend his proud neck to sovereignty. He petitioned the prince of *Pomerania* to intercede with the king, but *Christopher* was deaf to all extenuations of crimes so heinous. He insisted on the archbishop's answering to every separate article of the charge: however, time was granted, and the prelate respite until the next diet.

A. D.
1257.

NEXT year the quarrel was dropt, without any apparent reason, just as the diet had met; and soon after resumed upon account of the archbishop's excommunicating a certain lady of quality, without assigning just reason for such a conduct. After solemnly citing *Erland* before his tribunal, the end of this dispute was depriving the archbishopric of *Lunden* of all the extraordinary privileges and immunities conferred on it by former kings of *Denmark*, and reducing it to the condition of other dioceses, over which it was raised by the king's favour to *Eschil*, the former bishop.

NOR was the prelate enough humbled with this indignity. He had brought over to espouse his quarrel the bishops of *Oithon*, *Roschild*, and *Ripen*, with other dignified personages of the church, as well as the duke of *Pomerania*. Relying upon their powerful interest, he grew more insolent, demanded several privileges which former archbishops had never claimed, and was just on the brink of renewing the contest with redoubled warmth, when *Valdemar* of *Sleswick*'s death for a time diverted the king's attention to other objects.

Quarrel
between
Eric and
Christo-
pher.

IN the letters patent, by which *Valdemar* held *Sleswick*, no mention was made of his heirs: his brother *Eric* demanded it, however, as his right; and the king claimed it as his, saying, that the letters patent plainly intended it should fall back to the crown, by their making no provision for the natural heirs. Thus a fresh war was kindled: *Eric* raised forces; but the king marched against him with an army so powerful, as forced him to relinquish the defence of *Sleswick*, which fell an easy prey to the king. Having placed garrisons in all the castles, he returned to *Denmark*; and calling an assembly at *Oithon*, had his son *Eric* not only declared his successor, but crowned with all the usual solemnities. This rather was the intention of *Christopher*, and the assembly; but the archbishop of *Lunden* not only refused to perform the solemnity, but prohibited

hibited all the other bishops of the kingdom, under pain of interdiction from fire and water, as well as from administering the sacrament. Upon this the diet was removed to *Haffnia*, where *Eric* was crowned by the nobility, and consecrated by the hands of a private clergyman, who despised the menaces of the archbishop, when it interfered with the duties which he owed to his king and country. A. D. 1258. *The pride of Erland.*

THIS solemnity being over, the king informed the diet, that he had certain advice of the ill offices doing him at *Lunden* by the archbishop of *Lunden*, who had persuaded the pope, that *Abel's* children were excluded contrary to the general sense of the people, and by the king's single authority: that *Erland* had entered into a written engagement with the bishops and *Abel's* children, that he would support them against all the king's force in maintaining their right to the crown: that he had represented the king as an enemy to the ecclesiastical order, who had embraced all opportunities of oppressing them: finally, that *Erland* had compelled the dowager *Matilda* to give her hand to the duke of *Swedeland*, after she was betrothed to the bishop of *Othon*. Upon maturely weighing all the particulars of this charge, it appeared to the diet, that there was no security for the safety of the king's person and government, unless the archbishop and some other sacerdotal incendiaries were taken into custody. Accordingly the archbishop, his archdeacon, and the bishop of *Ripen*, were seized; the bishops of *Othon* and *Roschild* escaping upon the first alarm. Immediately the whole kingdom was interdicted, agreeable to the resolution of the last synod, in case violence was offered to a bishop. The king wrote to the pope, representing to him the haughty conduct of the archbishop, the injustice and absurdity of a prelate's assuming to himself a share in the royal prerogative, and the hardship that he should have it in his power to interdict a whole people on account of his resentment to one man. *The king writes to the pope.*

THESE remonstrances were no sooner dispatched to *Rome*, than he ordered all priests within the kingdom, and persons exercising the sacerdotal function, to administer the communion, under the penalty of losing their tythes and stipends. In the mean time the bishops of *Roschild* and *Othon* were busied in levying forces, having engaged in their alliance the duke of *Pomerania*, the princes of *Holslein*, and *Jarmerci* prince of *Rugen*. *Christopher* made preparations to weather this storm, by entering into a treaty with *Hacquin* king of *Norway*, and *Birger* duke of *Swedeland*, married to the dowager *Matilda*. Matters were drawing fast to a crisis; and open hostilities must have soon commenced, had not *Christopher's* death, and the

Christo-
pher's
death and
character.

A. D.
1259.

the prudent conduct of *Margaretta*, his widow, put an end to the warlike proceedings. With respect to the cause of this prince's death, there are various relations. Some think he died a natural but sudden death; while others, with more probability, insinuate that he was murdered by the contrivance of *Arnefast*, bishop of *Arpius*, and promoted to that see by *Erland* against the king's will. Others attribute the action to the same bishop; but render the means still more infamous, affirming, that he poisoned the bread which he administered to the king in performing the eucharist: a villainy so enormous as to merit little credit, did not history produce other instances of the same nature.

As to *Christopher*, he was rather a deserving than a happy prince. He found the treasury exhausted on his accession, the people violently incensed against the late king, yet a strong faction in favour of his children; and it was his misfortune to involve himself further, though unavoidably, by entering into disputes with the clergy. At his death he left things in much the same situation he found them; the treasury exhausted, and the nation split into two powerful factions.

E R I C VII.

Eric VII.

Margaret,
regent of
Denmark.

Quarrels
between
the crown
and the
clergy.

CHRISTOPHER's death made room for his eldest son *Eric*. As the young king had not yet attained at full age, his mother *Margaret*, a lady of prudence, virtue, and piety, took into her hands the reins of government. Her administration began with troubles, occasioned by the pope's letters to *Farmerci*, prince of *Rugen*, inviting him to attempt releasing the archbishop of *Lunden*. Notwithstanding *Farmerci* was a vassal of the crown, at the pope's desire he made a sudden descent on *Zealand*, and was met there by a tumultuous army, which *Margaret* had raised of a sudden to oppose him. A battle ensued, and the *Danes* were defeated, leaving ten thousand men dead on the field. The bishop of *Roschild* renewed the interdiction, and forbid Christian burial to those brave fellows, who had lost their lives in the cause of their young king. All the country was laid waste, and *Haffnia* taken and plundered. Not content with laying *Zealand* waste, *Farmerci* passed to *Bornholm*, and investing the strong castle of *Hammehuse*, took it, put the garrison to the sword, and subdued the whole island.

In the mean time *Margaret*, with her son *Eric*, took shelter in *Fionia*, where, and in *North Jutland*, levies were making to renew the war with all possible diligence. Happily for them the fierce *Farmerci* was slain while he was plundering a monastery.

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125

Matilda, an incensed nun having stabbed him in the groin with a knife. Being rid of this enemy, *Margaret* settled the difference about his wife's fortune with the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and by this means gained him over to her interest.

TOWARDS the beginning of this year *Eric* was a second time crowned at a public diet, having now attained the age of eleven years. It was the opinion of the diet that the archbishop should be set at liberty, and reinstated in his diocese; but this the refractory prelate refused, insisting that all should be laid before the pope. However, being now at liberty, he went into *Sweden*, from whence he sent the most virulent letters against the king to *Rome*. *Margaret* and *Eric*, desirous of a reconciliation with the church, replaced all the other bishops in their respective sees; but, incensed at *Erland*, they were no less obstinate than the archbishop. At the same time pope *Aliander* dying, *Urban IV.* was elected in his room; to gain favour with whom ambassadors were sent by *Eric* to congratulate his accession, and obviate all the accusations which probably would be laid against him by his rebellious clergy.

A. D.
1260

BEFORE these disputes were terminated, *Matilda*, widow of *Young Eric*, wife to the duke of *Swedeland*, instigated her sons *Eric* to claim the duchy of *Sleswick*, to which he was the nearest heir, his brother *Valdemar* dying without issue. The wick- habitants were well disposed towards him, the princes of *Holslein* preferred him as a neighbour to the powerful king of *Denmark*, and determined to support him; other princes likewise countenanced and furnished him forces, which, with those he had raised, composed a considerable army. King *Eric* and his mother *Margaretta* led an army against him, *Findan-Ivan* commanding under them. A battle was fought near *Lopeid* with great fury, a prodigious number was slain on both sides, and the *Holsleiners* were beginning to fall back in disorder, when *Findan-Ivan*, won by the enemy's gold, treacherously drew off the *Danish* troops, suffered himself to be taken, and his king defeated and made prisoner with his mother.

A. D.
1261

AFTER this *Eric* took possession of *Sleswick* without resistance, the king was sent prisoner to *Alsen*, the queen and the bishop of *Sleswick*, who likewise fell into the enemy's hands, were closely confined at *Hamburgh*, and the latter loaded with chains by order of *Erland*, archbishop of *Lunden*. This prelate, upon the news of *Margaretta's* defeat, returned from *Sweden*, and now grew insolent without controul. The sound policy of *Margaretta* rendered her confinement short: she wrought matters so with *Albert* of *Brunswick*, that he interested

The king
and queen
are taken
prisoners

They are
released.

himself in her release; and she no sooner obtained her liberty than she diligently applied for the king's and the bishop's enlargement, which was, in a short time, effected by means of a high ransom, and a promise to marry his sister to *Albert of Brandenburg*, as soon as she arrived at a proper age.

A. D.
1265.

THE king and *Margaretta* were now at liberty to revenge the injuries *Erland* had done them during their confinement. They accordingly drew up a heavy charge against him, which they sent to pope *Urban*, beseeching, that, to establish the tranquility of the kingdom, he would withdraw him from the diocese of *Lunden*. *Urban* granted their request, and wrote a severe letter to that purpose to *Erland*; but his holiness died before his orders took place; and in order to ingratiate himself with *Clement VI.* the succeeding pope, the archbishop proposed making a tour to *Rome*. Soon after the pope sent his legate to *Denmark*: he was graciously received by king *Eric*; promised fair, but in a short time took part with the archbishop; summoned the king and queen-mother to appear before him at *Sleswick*, which they refusing, he set sail for *Lubec*, and was followed thither by all the bishops of *Denmark*. From *Lubec* this spiritual tyrant thundered out his impotent anathemas, interdicting the king and queen-mother, together with all the nobility of the court; after which he departed for *Rome*, attended by *Erland*. How this dispute with *Erland* and the pope's legate terminated, we know not, as we find no farther mention made of it during *Eric's* reign (A).

The pope's
legate ex-
communi-
cates the
king and
queen.

A. D.
1270:
*Eric sends
an army to
Livonia,
and defeats
the barba-
rians.*

FROM this time *Denmark* enjoyed a profound peace, until the year 1270. *Eric* was busied in framing new laws, giving directions for the strict execution of the old, replenishing his exhausted treasury, and recruiting by every possible means the almost wasted constitution and spent strength of the kingdom, when the *Muscovites*, *Lithuanians*, and *Semigallians*, made a sudden irruption into the province of *Estonia*, or that part of *Livonia* subject to the crown of *Denmark*, and conquered by the predecessors of *Eric*. They had over-run great part of the country, and reduced the inhabitants to

(A) *Pontanus* indeed observes, that *Eric*, in order to make up matters with the holy see, made some concessions to the archbishop, and paid him besides a sum of money: that the prelate returning from the council

of *Lyons*, in the year 1274, died at *Rugen*, and thus rid the king of his greatest enemy: and lastly, that after this the interdiction was taken off, the pope being desirous of pursuing the war against the *Saracens* (1).

(1) *Pont.* l. vii. p. 366.

great

great distress, before *Matthias* with the *Danish* fleet came up. On his arrival he landed his troops, fought and defeated the enemy; but pursuing them with too great eagerness, he was slain in the chase; a loss that greatly damped the joy of the victory.

To this transaction succeeded a war with *Eric* of *Sleswick*, War be- occasioned by a variety of circumstances. The king could not digest the manner in which that dutchy had been wrested from him, tho' in fact it was but a poor equivalent for the crown of *Denmark*. He had received complaints from the inhabitants of several grievances which *Eric* refused to redress. This prince had likewise refused to appear before the king's tribunal when cited as a vassal; and a dispute arose between them about *Alsen* and other neighbouring islands in the *Baltick*. *Eric* commenced hostilities, by entering the dutchy with a powerful army, and seizing upon the fortress of *Tunder*, which he Thence he marched to *Handerslaw* and made himself master of both cities, and indeed of almost the whole dutchy, without any considerable opposition.

ERIC and his wife dying about this time, the king took upon himself the guardianship of his three sons, *Abel*, *Eric*, and *Valdemar*, all minors, and constituted *John Witting* governor of *Sleswick*. This was cause of fresh troubles; for the princes of *Holstein*, cousins to the deceased *Eric*, believing this charge ought by right to devolve upon them, resolved to claim it by force of arms. They crossed the *Eyder* with an army to attack the king, who, unwilling to enter upon another war, gave the government of the dutchy to the eldest son of *Eric*, and thus compromised matters.

This year *Eric* entered into an alliance with *Magnus* duke of *Nicoping*, who had fled from *Sweden* to crave his assistance against *Valdemar*. This prince had usurped the whole dominion, allowing nothing to the younger brother. *Magnus* hastened back with the *Danish* reinforcement, and soon compelled *Valdemar* to rest satisfied with an equal share of dominion: but a quarrel soon arose between the king and *Magnus*, who having now gained his ends, refused to pay the sum stipulated for the assistance afforded by *Eric*. Nay more, he began to commence hostilities, and entered *Schonen* with an army, after he had publicly broke off the late treaty. Here he laid waste a great part of the country; but was at length stopped in his cruel and ungrateful progress by *Uffe*, whom the king had sent to oppose him. A battle ensued, *Magnus* was repulsed, and forced to quit the province with disgrace.

A. D.

1277.

Affairs of Sweden.

The History of Denmark.

grace. Farther to revenge the insult, *Eric* sent privately to *Valdemar*, that if he would hold his crown of *Denmark*, he would restore him to the full dominion of his kingdom. His proposals were readily accepted, *Valdemar* raised an army, and was joined by a strong body of *Danes*; but both were defeated, a prodigious number slain, and *Valdemar*, escaping with difficulty out of the field, was forced to seek shelter in *Denmark*. This victory was obtained by *Charles Uffe*, general to *Magnus*, and one of the best officers of *Sweden*.

VALDEMAR made but a short stay in *Denmark*; for as soon as forces were raised he entered *Gothland*, plundering and laying waste all before him, as if he had been in an enemy's country; nor did *Magnus* oppose him, as he intended to procure a peace by resigning this province to *Valdemar*. With this view he sent to *Eric*, to acquaint him that he was ready to pay the promised subsidy, provided he withdrew his troops; which *Eric* accepting, a peace was concluded.

A. D. 1278. *A rupture between Denmark and Norway.* ABOUT the beginning of this year a war broke out between *Denmark* and *Norway*, owing to *Eric's* withholding the portion of *Ingeburg*, daughter to *Eric VI.* and wife to *Magnus* king of *Norway*. *Magnus* arriving with a great fleet in *Schonen*, landed his troops at *Scanora*, where he was met and defeated by the *Danish* army, leaving five thousand of his men dead on the field of battle. Thus repulsed, he returned with all expedition to *Norway*, and *Eric* hearing that the sons of the king of *Sweden* had served in the army of *Magnus*, led his troops to waste *Gothland*, which he plundered and laid desolate in revenge. *Magnus* of *Sweden*, unwilling to break the peace, which had so lately been concluded, proposed an interview with *Eric*, in order to adjust the difference between them. They met on the frontiers of *Gothland*, and *Eric* agreed to indemnify the loss which *Sweden* had sustained from this invasion, by remitting half the subsidy to be paid by *Magnus*. On the other hand, the castle of *Lodofia* was pledged to him in security of the payment of the remaining moiety; and thus the two princes were again reconciled, to the great joy of both kingdoms.

A. D. 1280. *A detail of the war.* HAVING now some little respite from foreign wars, he held a diet at *Neoburgh*, in order to redress some grievances of which the people loudly complained. Of these we know nothing more than that a decree was passed on this occasion, which formed a supplemental part of the laws of *Zealand*. The controversy between him and *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* about *Alsen*, and the other small islands situated round it in the *Baltic*, was submitted to the determination of a board of decemvirs,

The History of Denmark.

demvirs, chosen by both sides. Their verdict was, that *Valdemar* should hold these islands of the king, paying him a certain yearly revenue in acknowledgment.

THE year 1282 was ushered in by a pestilential disease, by which great numbers of men and cattle were swept off, and this was preceded, says our author, by a strange appearance in the air of two dragons fighting; the infallible prognostic of dreadful calamities. Terrible fires happened in different parts of the kingdom, especially in *Lunden*, which destroyed a multitude of houses and churches. To crown the misfortunes of the year, *Margaretta*, the king's mother, died, deeply regretted by all degrees of people, after having, with great discretion and policy, governed the kingdom and herretta. for the space of twenty-three years.

THE death of this excellent princess raised many enemies to *Eric*, whom her prudence had long repressed. *Valdemar* duke of *Sleswick* laid claim to his patrimony, and determining to support his demand by force, united himself to the earl of *Holland*, and *Stiget*, tribune of the *Danish* knights, as we find him termed by our authors, though they do not explain the nature of this office. The earl had indeed the same reasons for beginning a war; and *Eric*, to avoid one, ceded *South Jutland* to *Valdemar*, and *Holland* to the earl, reserving only his own sovereignty: but this did not satisfy them; they still persisted in their resolution to break with the king, to which they were incited by *Hacquin* of *Norway's* resolution to renew the war, which his father *Magnus* had dropt after his repulse in *Schonen*. *Hacquin* began with ravaging the coasts of *Denmark*, burning *Seaga*, a town in *North Jutland*, and grievously distressing the inhabitants of the seashore. *Valdemar* at the same time was raising a storm in the South; and resolving to settle a plan of operations with *Hacquin*, set sail for *Norway*, and was taken on his way by a *Danish* squadron, and carried prisoner to *Elfsinore*. Here he was detained, closely confined for some months, and then set at liberty, at the intercession of some princes, on signing an acknowledgment of his errors, and giving up all his pretensions to *Alsen*, and the other places he had claimed as his right. This instrument was guarantied by the princes who procured his liberty, all of whom took an oath to declare against him, should he infringe any single article of the deed he had now solemnly signed and sealed.

ERIC, having finished this transaction, and patched up a peace with the king of *Norway*, comforted himself with the pleasing hope of enjoying the remainder of his life in tranquillity;

A. D.
1284.

A. D.
1286.

Eric murdered.

quility; but he was treacherously murdered a few weeks after by a band of conspirators, the chief nobility of the kingdom, among whom was *James* earl of *Halland*. The cabal consisted of nine persons, each of them having their particular grudge against the king, whom they accused of intemperance and avarice, the weak apologies of treachery and rebellion. They perpetrated their design as the king was making a progress to *North Jutland* to administer justice, to settle the state of the province, loading him with fifty wounds, while he lay fast asleep in his chamber at an inn in *Warburg*, where he had taken the diversion of hunting for a few days. The murderers were a long time unknown, and might perhaps have ever lain concealed, had not their consciences risen in judgment against them. Imagining there was no security for them in *Denmark*, they fled to *Norway*, by which means the whole plot was discovered, and their names transmitted with ignominy to the latest posterity.

His character.

THUS died *Eric VI.* in the flower of his age, and with the reputation of several virtues, which he obscured by lust and avarice. He had debauched the wives and daughters of several of the nobility, which drew upon him their indignation: and the large sums amassed by his rapaciousness had filled his private coffers, while the public treasury was empty, and the people oppressed with poverty. These vices were, however, more than sufficiently punished by the nature of his death; and it is probable, if he had lived longer, that experience would have in some measure corrected them, on perceiving how odious they were to his subjects.

ERIC VIII. surnamed the PIOUS.

Eric VIII. surnamed the Pious.

ERIC the Pious, surnamed likewise *Menned*, succeeded to the crown of his father *Eric VII.* As he was yet a minor, his mother and the senate governed the kingdom; and *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* was appointed his guardian. The first act of *Eric's* authority was holding a diet at *Schelfscore*, where he proposed means to the diet for revenging his father's death, and punishing the murderers. The conspirators wanted not friends, who gave them immediate intelligence of the resolutions of the assembly: upon which they planned a scheme for seizing the king's person, and taking the supreme government into their own hands. Secret as this plot was kept, *Valdemar* got some intimation of it; and having first removed the king out of danger, he doubled the guards round the city, and took

took such effectual measures as frustrated the conspiracy, and obliged the conspirators to fly the kingdom.

THIS year likewise a strange prodigy, at least what was thought so in those dark ages, appeared in the heavens. Three suns, as resplendent as the meridian sun, were seen altogether, each incircled by a beautiful rainbow; but this is a phenomenon easily accounted for by every person who has made natural philosophy his study. It was then esteemed the harbinger of dreadful calamities.

A SECOND diet was held at *Neoburg*; and here a resolution was taken, that the care of making an inquiry into this horrid plot should be committed to *Otto* of *Brandenburg*, *Inquiry* *Witislav* of *Rugen*, the princes of *Holstein*, and others of the *Danish* nobility, to the number of twenty-seven persons. The committee, upon examining proper evidence, cited *James* earl of *Halland*, *Canute Stigot*, *Nicholas Halanffar*, *Peter Porfi*, *Peter James*, *Nicholas Canute*, *Ago Caccius*, *Ranno Jona*, and *Orvid Benedict*, before them; pronounced them guilty of parricide and high treason, the enemies of the king and kingdom, outlawed by the laws of the land, and their estates confiscated to the crown. A. D. 1287. into the conspiracy. The conspirators are outlawed.

THE conspirators, failing in their last attempt, had taken refuge a second time in *Norway*, where they swore allegiance to the king, at that time on bad terms with *Denmark*, and received from him the castle of *Congeste*, strong by art and nature. They likewise resolved to fortify, in the strongest manner, *Hunelstrals*, *Warburg*, and other places belonging to the earl of *Halland*, against all the attempts of the *Danes*; and thus a war was again commenced between *Denmark* and *Norway*, which continued for the space of nine years, almost to the utter ruin and destruction of both kingdoms. war with Norway.

IN the beginning of the year 1288, *Hacquin* proclaimed war, upon the same pretences which both he and his father had used in the preceding contest. He likewise screened the injustice of his cause under the specious pretext of revenging the injury done to some of the first nobility in *Denmark*, by robbing them of their estates, and banishing them the kingdom, without form of trial, or proof of their guilt. However false this last pretext might be, it gave a better aspect to his cause, and made the *Norwegians*, as well as neighbouring nations, less acquainted with the true state of affairs, applaud his motives. Little was done for this year besides making vigorous preparations; but in the spring of the following year *Hacquin* attacked *Elfsinore*, and burnt it down to the ground. He steered thence to *Haffnia*; but not venturing to land, he turned his course to the islands *Anagria* and *Mona*, which he

A. D. 1288.

laid waste. After this he sent *Contarius Cruter* with a squadron of light frigates to make an attempt on *Scanora*; but this officer returned with the loss of two thirds of his whole fleet.

Detail of
the war.

IN the mean time the outlawed conspirators ravaged the coasts; and *Stigot*, after destroying *Brasburg*, made a descent on *Samsøe*, whence he carried off some plunder. He next went to *Torneburg*, where king *Eric* used frequently to pass a few days, and this place he burnt. From hence he retired to *Falstria*, and, after laying desolate the city *Nicoping*, he invested the citadel. The *Norwegians*, thinking to make an easy prey of a squadron of *Danish* ships lying off the island *Laaland*, were themselves defeated with great loss. This obliged *Stigot* to raise the siege, and retire with all possible expedition to *Huequin*, then at *Amagria*. Here joining forces, they sailed to *Strebecopia*, burnt it, and then returned to *Norway*.

ERIC, willing to spare innocent blood, sent ambassadors with proposals of peace. He offered to pay to *Hacquin* his mother's portion, provided he would separate himself from the parricides, and quit the defence of a cause which a good prince ought to blush for having ever engaged in: but *Hacquin* insisted upon terms for the conspirators, which broke off the negotiation. The queen now brought on a treaty of marriage between the king and *Ingeburga*, princess of *Sweden*, and daughter to king *Magnus*. As soon as the terms were settled the parties were betrothed; and, to connect the families more firmly, she contracted her daughter with the son of *Magnus*, both crowns soliciting for a dispensation at *Rome*.

A. D.
1289,

IN the summer of this year *Hacquin* and the exiles again put to sea, plundered and burnt the towns of *Allburg* and *Swenburg* in *Jutland* and *Fionia*, ravaged part of *Laaland*, and then returned unmolested to *Norway*. But the exiles remained with part of the fleet in the *Baltic*, and fortified *Sproa* and *Hielm*, from whence they proposed harassing the coasts of *Denmark*. Nor did *Hacquin* remain long in indolence. Next year he returned, and made an unsuccessful attempt on *Corfora*. Again he turned his arms against *Holben* and *Nicoping*, both which cities he burnt and destroyed. All this while the exiles were ravaging *Middleford*, and other places of less consideration. *Stigot*, their admiral, had by this time so fortified *Hielm*, that it became a place of great strength, and a safe retreat; for though the island be small, yet its lofty and craggy situation renders it extremely difficult of access.

Stigot's
death.

UNTIL the year 1293 we find nothing material recorded, besides the rebuilding of *Hassnia*, and the death of *Stigot*,
who

who resigned his last breath with a heroism which would have reflected honour on a better life, and in the true *Roman* spirit. Addressing his friends round him, he spoke to them in the following manner: "You see, my friends, what our situation is. We have weathered every storm, by means of the harmony subsisting among us: we have succeeded in every enterprize from the same cause. Now that I am about to part with you for ever, observe this my last request, that you still preserve the same unanimity, and God will prosper your undertakings. Chuse another leader in my room; obey him as you have done me; and let not the ambition of any individual ruin the confederacy, and destroy the column of honour we have been so long erecting. In this consists your whole strength: like this bundle of twigs, while you cleave together, you are incapable of being broken; apart, you are weak, and may be turned, twisted, and snapped at pleasure." With these words he yielded up the ghost, and delivered *Eric* from one of the most formidable of his enemies.

TOWARDS the close of this year a congress was settled, at which *Eric* and *Hacquin* were to preside in person, for the adjusting of their differences. The princes met; but parting without having come to any conclusion, *Hacquin* equipped a fleet, and recommenced hostilities, making a fourth descent on *Denmark*, to the great loss and terror of the inhabitants, great numbers of whom were ruined by it. He took the ships of *Denmark* at sea; some he plundered, others he destroyed; but in general he sent them into his ports, immediately confiscating both ships and cargoes.

A. D.
1293.

NOT long after *Ranna Jona*, another of the conspirators, was taken in *Roschild*, and broke upon the wheel; and the archbishop of *Lunden* was, by the king's order, thrown into prison, together with his archdeacon. This latter escaping, went to *Rome*, and, by his manner of relating things, incensed his holiness violently against the king.

IMMEDIATELY on the back of this, a dispute arose between *Eric* and *Valdemar* duke of *Holstein*, concerning some frontier towns, to which both claimed a right; and the king of *Norway*, believing this a seasonable opportunity for pursuing the war, entered into a league with *Valdemar*, and renewed his depredations on the *Danish* coasts.

A. D.
1298.

WHILE these transactions were going forward, the bishop *The bishop of Lunden* effecting his escape from *Jedburg-castle*, went first to *Lunden* to *Burnholm*, and from thence to *Rome*, where he added fresh fuel to the fire already kindled by his archdeacon. In consequence the whole kingdom was laid under a new interdiction, and

Quarrel
between
Eric and
Christo-
pher.

and the king mulcted to pay the archbishop an immense sum of money, to indemnify his losses and disgrace. *Eric* had sent his brother *Christopher* and his high chancellor to *Rome*, to plead his cause: he now lost it, and blamed his brother, as either corrupt or indolent, which produced a quarrel between them. Whether the affront put upon the king at *Callenburg* was an effect of this difference, or the cause of it, we know not: history only relates, that *Christopher's* garrison in that place shut the gates upon *Eric*, just as he was preparing to enter the city. Highly incensed at the indignity, his majesty returned with a body of forces, in order to punish the offenders. *Christopher* was penitent, or rather he professed his ignorance of the whole; but nothing less than the death of the principal officers in the town could satisfy the king.

A. D.
1299.

THE next year was spent in a series of altercation with the pope's legate and the bishop of *Lunden*. The legate had entered wholly into the interest of the latter, insisting upon terms which the king determined not to grant. He had likewise refused to pay the ^{he} imposed on him by his holiness; and imagining the pope had been deceived by a false representation of the nature of the dispute, he remitted to *Rome* a fresh appeal, and heavy complaints both of the legate and archbishop.

Treaty
with Lu-
bec.

In this situation stood things between his majesty and the pope, when ambassadors arrived at *Roschild* from *Lubeck*, soliciting *Eric* to take upon him the protection of this commercial city, greatly distressed by a number of surrounding enemies, who envied her rapid progress, and cast an eye of desire on the immense wealth she had treasured up. *Eric* accepted the proposals, and a treaty was agreed on, whereby he undertook to defend the *Lubeckers* against all their enemies, in consideration of a subsidy of seven hundred and fifty marks in silver yearly. On the other hand, they were to act as vassals to the king; and to have in pay a certain number of forces, and a fleet ready to be put in motion at the king's call. The *Lubeckers* were in the mean time to trade freely to all the ports of *Denmark*, as long as this treaty remained in force, and the time was limited to the term of eleven years.

A. D.
1300.

THIS year a negotiation for a peace between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway* was set on foot by the duke of *Langland*, who offered his mediation, and renewed the very terms which had been proposed some years before, when the convention was broke off on account of the conspirators, whom the king refused to include. With this view he passed over to *Norway*, and obtained from *Haquin* a promise that he would meet *Eric* at *Corsora*, each attended by a few nobility.

lity, and submit their differences to the arbitration of any fix^d persons to be chosen, three by each party, provided that *Eric's* consent could be gained. *Eric* easily assented to a proposal so equitable, and immediately granted passports to *Hacquin* and his retinue; but he forbid the regicides to be of the number. After the commissioners had taken a solemn oath to be swayed by no private or national motives, they entered upon business; but could come to no determination, and thus the congress broke up without the happy fruits expected from it.

Congress for a peace between Denmark and Norway.

A DIFFERENCE which arose between the knights of the Teutonic order and the bishop of *Riga*, had almost involved the king in a war with that warlike association; but the pope's interposition prevented the effusion of Christian blood^a.

In the year 1302, the king sent the most plaintive and supplicating letters to the pope, intreating, that he would be pleased to remove his heavy curse, under which the kingdom had laboured for some years past, and receive himself and subjects again into the bosom of the church, allowing them the free use of the holy communion, from which they had so long been interdicted. His holiness, moved with his supplications, granted his request; the interdiction was taken off, and the whole kingdom rung with joy, as if some very signal advantage had been obtained. Such was the ascendancy this politic and truly artful spiritual sovereignty had obtained over the minds of princes, rather ignorant than devout, rather superstitious than pious.

The pope removes the interdiction.

THIS year the war between *Norway* and *Denmark* was again renewed. Nothing, indeed, could be more irregular than the operations of both kingdoms; for, although no peace had been concluded, hostilities frequently ceased for a year or two, and then were resumed by making a descent on each other's coasts. *Hacquin* fitted out a fleet, and ravaged the *Warro-Danish* islands; while *Eric* laid siege to *Hunelstrals*, *Warburg*, *newer* and other places on the sea-coast; yet at the same time a convention was sitting for settling a peace. It would seem that *James* earl of *Halland* had attempted the relief of these garrisons; but failing in his attempt, he surrendered all *North Halland* to *Hacquin*, and made it over to him in perpetuity, putting himself and children under that monarch's protection; and making no other terms, than if it should happen that *Hacquin*, by any favourable turn, should ever procure a confirmation of this deed by *Eric*, he would then appoint his eldest son governor of the country.

^a Pro his vid. PONTAN. l. vii. MEURS. l. iii.

NEXT year nothing remarkable happened, besides that the king published another proclamation, citing the regicides to take their trial according to law. We have already seen that they were convicted, and their estates confiscated: to what purpose, then, this new proclamation was issued, we know not. Certain it is, that none of the conspirators obeyed the summons, and we hear of no new sentence passed upon them.

A. D.
1306.
Eric supports his brother-in-law Birger king of Sweden.

IN the year 1306, *Eric* raised an army to support *Birger*, king of *Sweden*, his brother-in-law, who was driven out of his kingdom by his brothers. He led his troops to the frontiers of *West Gothland*, where he was met by the enemy. Both armies encamped within sight for some days; and at length a truce, for one year, was agreed to by *Eric* and the *Swedish* princes. Notwithstanding this, *Valdemar* duke of *Finland*, one of the brothers, passed into *Germany*, where, levying a body of horse, he made a descent on *Schonen*, ravaged the country, and carried off *Christopher*, king *Eric's* brother. At the same time the *Norwegians* landed at *Tormburg*, which place they invested; but were repulsed, and driven to their ships.

THE following year *Eric* resolved to return the insult offered by the duke of *Finland*, in contempt of the late truce. For this purpose he raised an army, took with him *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* and his brother *Eric*, marched into the enemy's country, and came within sight of their army; yet, after all, no battle ensued. The rigour of the winter was so great, that the soldiers could not handle their arms: besides, the *Swedes* on his approach sent to demand equitable terms of peace, to which they declared they would cheerfully subscribe. Accordingly a cessation of arms was agreed upon, and preliminaries to a peace settled, which were never kept. It was the same with respect to a truce established with *Norway*, after a very tedious negociation. In truth, *Eric* wanted vigour; he was easily amused with any pretext that could keep him from entering upon action; his enemies perceived his weakness, and converted it to their own purposes.

A. D.
1308.
The war renewed with Sweden.

TWO years after the preceding truce, *Eric* again renewed the war with *Sweden*, in behalf of his brother-in-law, who had all this time lived an exile in *Denmark*. His army consisted of sixty thousand fighting men, commanded by himself in person, and under him the chief nobility of the kingdom. Five thousand horse were levied in *Germany*, and with these forces he entered *West Gothland*, and laid siege to *Nioping*. The enemy, commanded by duke *Eric*, finding themselves unable to raise the siege by venturing a battle, were extremely diligent

diligent and alert in distressing the king, by cutting off all his convoys and forage. For, three months *Eric* lay before the city, but carried on his operations slowly. His generals *Eric* ^{reda-} had quarrelled, military duty was relaxed, and disgrace and ^{ced to great} ruin approaching by large strides; when his majesty, despair-^{strait.} ing of success, brake up the siege, and entered upon a negotiation for a peace. Terms were settled, the treaty signed, and the care of the *Danish* army committed to *Christopher*, the king's brother, who was to conduct it into *Denmark*. In his march he set fire to a great number of villages, and committed many other disorders, contrary to the truce the king had just signed upon which the *Swedes* lodged a complaint against him, and he was deprived of his commission, and likewise of the dutchy of *Holland*, which the king had bestowed on him a little before. *Christopher* immediately quit-^{Eric com-} ted the army, and joined himself to the king's enemies. *Eric* ^{plains to} drew up a charge against him, which he presented to the diet ^{the states} of the states; and *Christopher* put in his answer so clearly to ^{of his bro-} every article of the impeachment, that the diet interested ^{ther Chris-} themselves in his behalf, beseeched the king that he would restore him to his favour, and at length procured not only his leave to return, but the dutchy of *Holland*, upon the same terms he had held it before. Before this diet broke up, *Birger*, so long exiled from his own kingdom, was likewise restored, and a peace concluded between him and his brothers. A remonstrance was lodged against king *Eric*, by *Hacquin* king of *Norway*, complaining that he had often refused the most equitable terms of accommodation, and broke off all conventions just when matters were on the point of being adjusted. But to this *Eric* replied, that no terms could be equitable, or indeed honourable to him, that included a pardon for the murderers of his predecessor. However, what this remonstrance could not effect was brought about by a difference which arose between *Hacquin*, and *Eric* duke of *Swedeland*. *Hacquin* demanded the restitution of *Ungel*, *Wvarburg*, and other garrisons, committed in trust to Duke *Eric*, which he refused, on being disappointed in his expectation of marrying the king of *Norway's* daughter. *Eric* of *Denmark* thought this the fairest opportunity for establishing a firm and solid peace between the courts of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Accordingly he proposed a treaty of marriage between *Magnus*, son to *Birger*, king of *Sweden*, and *Ingeburga*, daughter to *Hacquin*. The terms were accepted, the marriage solemnized in *Haffnia*, *In-^{Treaty of marriage concluded between the son of}geburga* declared queen of *Norway* in failure of the male line, *Birger* and a solid peace concluded between the three northern ^{daughter} powers, all brought into a strict union by this alliance. *quin.*

A. D.
1310.

NEXT year *Eric* likewise spent in giving peace to his neighbours, and tranquillity to his own subjects. The princes of *Holslein* were reconciled to *Denmark*, and a certain controversy with *Wratiflau*, prince of *Rugen*, amicably terminated. Games and tournaments were instituted at *Rosstock*, to celebrate this happy event; and *Denmark*, perhaps, never saw a more joyful occasion^a.

A. D.
1311.

Rosstock
besieged by
the king.

BUT this calm, so necessary and seasonable to a country exhausted with the continual storm of war, was not of long duration. The duke of *Mecklenburg* was desirous of solemnizing his nuptials at *Rosstock*; but the citizens had denied him admittance. Incensed at this indignity, he complained to *Eric*, who wrote a peremptory order to the citizens to do honour to the duke; but they persisting in their refusal, he equipped a fleet, and sailed to the coasts of *Lower Saxony*. Towards the land the city was invested by the duke of *Mecklenburg*, *Valdemar* of *Brandenburg*, and the neighbouring princes, while the king's fleet blocked it up on the side of the gulph or mouth of the river *Warnow*. Here he sunk ships, laid booms across, and raised works on each, to guard which he left a slender garrison, and returned home; but he was scarce gone when the besieged made a brisk sally, destroyed all his works, and opened the passage, building strong towers on each side to prevent his entering with the same ease a second time. Immediately after this, they entered into a league with some neighbouring states, and, equipping a fleet, invaded *Denmark*, burning *Scanora*, *Falsterboe*, *Amagria*, *Elsinore*, and other cities, after carrying off a very rich booty.

THIS was an insult which *Eric* thirsted to revenge. He sailed directly for the *Warnow*, attacked the towers they had built in his absence, and, after several brisk attacks, which continued for three days, took them by assault. He next drew lines round the city, blocked it up by sea, and, through dint of perseverance, reduced the inhabitants to such distress, that they turned their resentment against the senate, and broke out into an open revolt. They affirmed, that their liberties were sold to the king, and that the mouth of the river was blocked up by their connivance. Enraged at this notion, they flew like maniacs round the streets, seized and put to death several senators of the first distinction, tortured others, and at length, tired with slaughter and barbarity, sent to king *Eric* to deprecate his wrath, ask pardon for their rebellion, and sue, in the most submissive terms, for peace. The king, whose temper was prone to mercy, heard their supplications, and pitied their

^a Vid. Aust. citat. ibid.

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condition, but the affairs of his kingdom requiring his immediate attendance, he referred the burghers to the duke of Mecklenburg, to whom he recommended the mildest treatment. A cessation of hostilities was granted, and commissioners were appointed to settle the preliminaries for a thorough agreement. The treaty was to be negotiated without the walls, but the duke determined otherwise; and being implacable against the citizens, he found means to convey a party of choice soldiers, in two covered waggons, that were entering the city. They rushed upon the gates, and let them open. The duke with his whole army rushed in, and an obstinate battle ensued in the market-place, when the duke perceiving manſels like to prove too hard for him, proclaimed the king's orders, that justice should be administered by law, without having recourse to the sword; and that his only motive for seizing the city was to provide his troops with better quarters during a negotiation that might prove tedious. The citizens no sooner heard this declaration than they drew off, and permitted the duke to quarter his troops without molestation. They were mulcted to pay, in three installments, the sum of fourteen thousand marks in silver, or that value in scarlet cloth, and other merchandize, to indemnify the king, the duke, and the marquis of Brandenburg, for the expences of the war.

THIS year a conspiracy formed against the king's life was discovered by *Eric of Langland's* wife, after his death. She had found a letter in his cabinet, containing an account of the plot and the names of all the conspirators, and plainly shewing that her husband was deeply engaged in this villainous design. Weighing her duty to the king against the regard she ought to preserve for the memory of her husband, at length she determined to reveal the whole, which she did, by presenting the letter to king *Eric*. The affair was kept a profound secret, until the diet was assembled, and then the king ordered the paper, signed and sealed by the conspirators, to be produced. As soon as the astonishment of the people ceased, they requested that the conspirators might be seized and punished. Immediately *Andrew Hogby* and *Nicholas Ranno* were put in irons, and broke on the wheel, ending those lives in misery which they had spent in planning the most villainous and horrid designs. All the others, among whom were several bishops, particularly those of *Roschild*, *Othon*, *Wiburg*, and *Sleswick*, were pardoned, on account of *Eric's* great regard for their sacred function, which it would

• Vid. PONTAN. l. vii.

seem was a protection for treason and the most heinous crimes; only a new oath of allegiance was required of them, which they were at liberty to break as they had done the former, since they were tied down by no ties or other security for their good conduct.

TOWARDS the close of this year a new league was settled, at which *Eric*, *Hacquin*, *Birger*, *Duke Christopher*, *Valdemar* and *Eric*, dukes of *Swedeland*, with several other princes, presided in person. Here it was proposed to establish the late peace, concluded between these princes, on a more solid basis, as difficulties occurred which had then been overlooked. The congress sat for six weeks, and at last all particulars were adjusted to the satisfaction of every individual.

A. D.
1313.
An insur-
rection in
Juland.

THIS year an insurrection appeared in *North Juland*, excited by some of the nobility, who instigated the people against the government, and made them refuse payment of the taxes imposed by the king and diet. They soon broke out into acts of violence, murdering the steward of the household, whom the king had sent to appease them. Upon this the king put the army in motion, and was marching against them, when the insurgents thought it advisable to submit, and throw themselves upon his clemency. *Eric* pardoned them, but imposed a new tax, by way of fine, which was continued for a long time under the name of *Galdecorn*; and to awe them for the future, he erected four strong castles in the province, in which he placed numerous garrisons: but the nobility did not escape with the same favour. Four were proscribed and banished, and *Peter Porcius* pardoned, on condition that he took an oath at the high altar, to break off all correspondence with his late friends, the enemies of his country, and to remove with his whole household into *Zealana* within the year.

A. D.
1314.
Dispute be-
tween
Denmark
and Bran-
denburg.

ABOUT the beginning of this year a dispute arose between *Eric* and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, about *Stralsunde*, the inhabitants of which had made several incursions into the territories of the prince of *Rugen*, the king's vassal. These the prince retaliated, and was supported by the king, while the city of *Stralsunde* was protected by the marquis. Things were likely to terminate in an open rupture between the two courts, when the marquis, apprehensive of the consequences made overtures which were accepted. The city of *Stralsund* was forced to break off the alliance with *Brandenburg*: it was obliged to relinquish the forts built, and encroachments made

The History of Denmark.

On the territory of *Rugen*; to acknowledge the sovereignty of prince *Witislaw*; to restore all the prisoners, and to indemnify him in the expence of the war. But the next year the citizens of *Stralsunde* broke the first article of this treaty, by joining themselves to the marquis; and soon after they shewed now how they regarded all the others, by marching in an hostile manner into the territory of *Rugen*, plundering and destroying the country as they went. *Witislaw* dispatched an account of this transaction to *Eric*, who, without delay, sent *Olaus*, a nobleman of distinction, to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, with remonstrances against his conduct, and insisting upon the execution of the late treaty; but *Olaus* returned with nothing more satisfactory than that the marquis had not attempted any thing against the crown of *Denmark*. *Witislaw* was in the mean time pressing for a reinforcement, that he might be able to take the field against the enemy, which the king sent with all the expedition possible; but before the *Danes* arrived a peace was settled upon much the same terms as the former.

ERIC studied peace, and was laying the foundation of a plan for passing the rest of his life in tranquillity, when *Esger Julius*, archbishop of *Lunden*, disturbed his repose. What the motives for this quarrel were, we are not informed. The difference was referred to the pope, and decided, contrary to the usual custom, against the prelate, who was mulcted to pay the king five thousand marks of silver in the space of ten years, and rigorously enjoined by his holiness, to attempt nothing either in his diocese or elsewhere, contrary to the will of his sovereign.

AGAIN the war broke out between *Denmark* and *Brandenburg*. *Christophus*, the king's brother, and several of the nobility, adhering to the latter. The allies fitted out a fleet at *Stralsunde*, and made a descent on *Fionia*, where they took by assault the city *Swenburg*, and defeated *Flepp*, governor of the island, who had collected a tumultuary army to oppose them. *Eric*, on the first notice, sent *Harman*, earl of *Giica*, with seven thousand men, to lay siege to *Stralsunde*, and soon after reinforced him with a strong body of *Swedes*, which *Berger* had sent to his assistance. On his arrival in *Germany*, *Harman* was joined by a great number of princes and noblemen, vassals to the crown of *Denmark*. The duke of *Saxe Lawenburg* had, in particular, exerted himself to distinguish his loyalty, in which he was unfortunate; for encamping with his own troops near *Stralsunde*, before the *Danes* arrived, he was attacked by a body of the enemy, who sallied out of the town, defeated, and taken prisoner. In a few days the

rest of the army came up and invested the town. The siege was carried on with very little progress for several weeks; and finding that the king did not arrive as was expected with an army, *Harman* and the princes agreed to break up the camp. *Eric*, indeed, averse to war, resolved, if it could be effected, to accommodate matters. This disposition in him induced a number of the neighbouring *German* princes to offer their mediation. Accordingly a peace was concluded, and all the places which the marquis of the *Wendenburg* and his allies had seized, were restored. The marquis was tied down to a strict observance of the articles of the preceding treaty, and took an oath not only to abstain from all attempts to possess the district of *Rugen*, but to repel with his whole power every attempts that should be made by any other prince whatsoever. In a word, *Eric* acquitted himself so well in this negotiation, that notwithstanding the advantages the enemy gained in the war, through his inactivity, he had a peace upon the same terms he might have expected from the most vigorous and successful operations in the field. We have in our own time seen similar instances; and perhaps the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Aix-la-Chapelle* will be transmitted to posterity as proofs of the superior utility of ministerial to military talents.

A. D.
1318;
Eric dies.

CHRISTOPHER, the king's brother, could not however obtain the terms he expected; and for that reason went over to *Sweden*, where he lived in exile until the year 1318. When the king was taken ill with that disorder which put an end to his life, he expressed his desire of being reconciled to him, and accordingly granted him a free pardon, without stipulating any terms; soon after which he died, appointing *Christopher* his successor, and earnestly recommending it to the nobility round him to support his claim (A) ².

His character.

ERIC is greatly extolled for his piety, sound policy, and justice. None of the wars in which he was engaged were so important as to gain him the reputation of a great warrior; yet notwithstanding his pacific disposition, he seemed by no

² CRANTZ. p. 309.

(A) *Pontanus* and *Meursius* both alledge, that he exhorted them not to elect his brother king, knowing well how unfit he was to govern a great kingdom; and indeed *Christopher's* conduct would seem to justify

this opinion of him. But we are inclined to believe from the free pardon he granted him, and upon the authority of *Crantzius*, that he actually named him to the succession (1).

(1) *Pontanus* l. vii. *Meursius* l. ii.

means wanting in valour and military talents. This at least we may affirm, that whatever his success was in the field, he always came off with honour and advantage in every peace which he made. He left behind him no children, though he had fourteen by his queen *Ingeburga*. This was the greater misfortune, as no part of *Eric's* character was more remarkable than his paternal affection.

STANLEY MEURS. *ibid.*

ECT. VIII.

Containing the Reigns of Christopher II. Eric IX. and Valdemar of Sleswick; the Expulsion and Restoration of Christopher, &c. to the Year 1337.

CHRISTOPHER II.

ERIC was dead before Christopher received advice of his pardon. Immediately he hastened to Denmark, and finding the throne vacant, he supplicated in the most abject manner, not only the nobility and clergy, but the very dregs and refuse of the people, for their interest at the ensuing election. He distributed presents, and dispersed promises among them with great liberality; in a word, he was the first king of Denmark we find mentioned in history, who obtained his crown by bribery, corruption, and arts unworthy of a prince. His half-brother John earl of Wagria, canvassed for votes in much the same manner, but with less success; for though the principal persons in the kingdom were disposed to elect Eric duke of Sleswick, in order to unite that duchy to the crown, yet the vulgar, and Christopher's party, prevailed. He was accordingly seated upon the throne, after a warmly contested election, towards the beginning of the year 1320, about two years after the late king's decease. It would seem that a particular oath was administered to him, and different in some respect to that taken by his predecessors; for we find it recited at large by Pontanus, containing in substance,

A. D.
1320.
Christopher obtains the crown by corruption.

That the bishops, clergy, and religious societies, of all orders, should be preserved in the full possession of all their liberties and immunities: that the sacerdotal function should be bestowed or permitted, to none but persons duly ordained according to the canons of the church: that sovereigns, and those who were unacquainted with the vernacular language, should be excluded from all preferments in

the church: that a clergyman should, on no account,
 be tried in a civil court, and subject only to the laws of the
 spiritual court: that the clergy pay no taxes: that mo-
 nasteries should be under no obligation of maintain-
 ing and dogs for the king's use: that knights and noblemen
 have the privilege of acquitting themselves of all
 indicted of crimes, on their paying a fine not exceeding four
 marks: that barons be not obliged to serve in the wars be-
 yond the frontiers of the kingdom: that should they be
 taken prisoners, the king shall redeem them within the
 space of one year, otherwise they shall be exempted from
 serving a second time; nor shall it detract from their ho-
 nour, that they refuse their service: that the king shall nei-
 ther proclaim war, nor conclude peace without the con-
 sent of the bishops and nobility: that no Governor, or other
 foreigner, hold the government or command of any castle,
 citadel, city, town, or other fortrets within the kingdom;
 nor occupy any posts or places of any kind or determina-
 tion: that all the castles of North Jutland, except the
 fortresses of *Aldingh*, *Scandenburg*, and *Ripen*, be demo-
 lished: that a full pardon shall be granted to all outlaws,
 and their heirs: that no person be persecuted on account of
 his attachment to the late king; on the contrary, the king
 shall, at his own cost, support all causes for the defendant car-
 ried on upon that account: that the king exert his utmost
 endeavours to quiet and heal up all differences and parties
 among his subjects: that merchants be free of all duties
 and entries in the ports of the kingdom: that no constraint
 or authority, not permitted by law, be laid upon the pea-
 sants by the king's officers: that an annual diet be held at
Nesburg: that all the laws passed by *Valdemar* be preserved
 in their full force, and their defects supplied only with ap-
 probation of the diet: that no person be summoned to the
 king's court, before his cause has first passed through an in-
 ferior court: that no person be condemned to death, or
 have his goods confiscated, but by public sentence and trial:
 that all taxes imposed since the death of *Valdemar*, and par-
 ticularly the *plag-penning* be abolished: that all causes be
 first tried in the court of the particular diocese where the
 parties reside, next in the provincial court, afterwards in the
 king's council, and lastly, before the diet, provided such
 appeals be requisite, and the parties not obliged to come out
 on their own proviſee: that all places belonging to the
 crown, pledged to the nobility, shall remain in their hands,
 unless redeemed at the stated price: that the king summon
 no subject to appear at any court beyond the limits of his

own province: that he be liable to all the late king's debts: that he make not the least alteration in any of the laws or constitutions of the kingdom.' To these articles several pieces of less consideration were annexed, all of which the king solemnly signed and sealed, a great number of the chief clergy and nobles subscribing to it as witnesses^a.

FROM this oath, or rather instrument, to which the king assented by oath, it appears how limited the regal authority was at this early period; it is probable, from many circumstances, that formerly the prerogative was more extended. The diet had scruples about the character of *Christopher*; and this induced the people to lay it under restrictions formerly unknown; and perhaps his own method of applying for their votes had given them the first intimation of this fit opportunity of asserting the privilege of the subject. It is probable too that the clergy had a considerable share in *Christopher's* election, as we see their munificence secured in a very particular manner.

IMMEDIATELY the fortresses in *North Jutland* were demolished, agreeable to the oath, the people pretending that they served as strong holds for the factious, though in fact they looked upon them as the means whereby the crown retrenched their own licentious spirit.

THIS year the *Swedes* rebelled against *Magnus*, son to *Birger*, and drove the latter out of the kingdom, together with his queen *Margaret*. The old monarch sought protection in *Denmark*, and was received indeed by *Christopher*, tho' with less warmth and cordiality than he had formerly been by *Eric*, who had a soul capable of feeling the misfortunes of others.

A. D.
1323.

IN the year 1322 the king called a diet, in order to settle the succession, as his health was extremely infirm. He had interest enough to have the crown settled in this his own family, and his son *Eric* declared presumptive heir, the partner of his authority, and associate in the throne; at the same time he had him crowned by the bishop of *Lunden*.

CHRISTOPHER II. and ERIC IX.

IT was not before the year 1323, that the public tranquillity *Eric IX.* began to be disturbed, by the king's neglect of the solemn engagement he had entered into at his accession. His brother's associate in debts he refused to pay; at least he prevaricated in such a manner, that many of the creditors became bankrupt, on account of the large sums due to them from the crown, which obliged them to stop payment. Besides, he demanded

^a PONTAN. l. vii. MEURS. l. iv.

Christoph-
presents upon
his coronation
cath.
The people
revolt.

large sums from the clergy, and took back by violence the places he had given in security for the payment of crown debts. This inflamed the nobility, who immediately rose to arms, and among the first *Nicholas Olafus*, formerly friend of the knights, and *Canute Porfius*, formerly duke of *Atland*. To these the archbishop of *Lynden* joined his interest, together with that of several of the first nobility in *Schonen* with all their friends and vassals. *Barnheim*, a duke and of distinction in the *Vandal* country, a *Samuel*, a *Samuel* adherents; in a word, a powerful confederacy was formed against *Christopher*.

BARNHEIM first entered upon hostilities, by making a descent on *Schonen*, and passing from thence into *Zealand*, where he destroyed all before him by fire and sword. The king raised a force to oppose him, with all expedition; but *Barnheim* had made himself master of the strong citadel of *Hameren* near *Rimbols*, which he garrisoned, and then retreated in good order, so that the king could not pursue. It was not possible for *Christopher* to pursue him, the winter came on with rigorous a frost, that the *Baltic* was frozen over for forty days, and passengers walked from *Denmark* upon the ice to the neighbouring kingdoms, as if it had been firm land. He was eager, however, to regain the citadel of *Hameren*, and ordered *Peter Wendell* to invest it with a body of troops. *Wendell* obeyed his master's orders, carrying on his operations with so much vigour, that the garrison surrendered prisoners of war in the space of a few days, in spite of all the endeavours of the archbishop of *Lynden*, who left no measures untried for its defence.

A. D. 1324.
Lewis of
Brandenburg mar-
ries Chris-
topher's
daughter.

THIS year the king married his daughter, with a portion of twelve thousand marks in silver, to *Lewis Brandenburg*, son of *Lewis of Bavaria*, and gave in security for the payment of the money, certain crown lands in *Livonia*. By this means he hoped to strengthen his interest, and gain allies who might be useful in supporting him against his refractory vassals.

THE following year died the duke of *Sleswick*, leaving behind a young son called *Valdemar*. The king believing that the guardianship of this minor belonged by right to him, entered the duchy with an army, and seized upon all the cities, towns, and fortresses, except *Gottorp*, which he invested: *Gerhard* earl of *Randsburg*, uncle to the young duke, assuming his right to the guardianship, was provoked at *Christopher's* conduct. He accordingly raised a body of forces in *Holstein*, gave battle to the king before *Gottorp*, de-

Duke of
Sleswick
dies.

erated him, and raised the siege. To this was added fresh troubles, owing to the death of *Witislaw*, prince of *Rügen*, who held this territory and *Stralsunde* as fiefs of the crown of *Denmark*. He was however no sooner dead, than the country was overtaken by the neighbouring *Vandal* princes, whom king determined to compel by force. In order to support the expenses of such a war, he levied a tax upon his subjects, by renewing the *plog-penning*, contrary to his oath. Next he sent an army, subdued the surrounding country, then invaded the island, soon reduced it, and punished those who had been left behind in availing the *Vandal* princes.

This *plog-penning* had a bad effect; it made the *plog-penning* more general; what was equally oppressive, but levied in a different manner, and in another name, would have been tolerated. To this was added another piece of mischief, which enraged the people, the most dangerous enemies to a prince, by the influence with the people. Some iterations of the *Quadruple* monarchy in *Zeland*, without much effect; the bishops, was converted into a conspiracy of the whole order; the bishops began to fulminate in the senate, charge to preach against the government. *Christopher* was accused of perjury, of a design to usurpate the sacred function, and trample on the neck of liberty. The bishops cried out, that their privileges were grossly infringed; the nobles exclaimed, that he aimed at absolute power, the ruin of the nobility, by refusing to pay his other's debts, and recovering by force the pledges they held in security of payment. The people murmured at the weight of taxes, and especially at *plog-penning*, the most grievous of all taxes, because it fell wholly on the poor labourer. Rebellion talked aloud, discontent appeared in every quarter, and soon a confederacy was formed to depose *Christopher* and his son *Eric*. The duke of *Holland*, *Canute Porcius*, the archbishop of *Lunden*, *Laurence Jonea*, *Lewis Everstein*, and a great number of nobility, published a proclamation, inviting all the friends of liberty to throw off the yoke, and oppose the rapid progress of tyranny and oppression. They declared the government of *Christopher* was no longer tolerable; they therefore refused to withdraw their allegiance, and use their utmost endeavours to depose him.

CHRISTOPHER retired in the castle of *Wartemburg* when this proclamation appeared. He saw *Jutland*, *Schonen*, *Zeland* and *Fionia*, united against him; but, instead of applying for aid, he used force, and sent his son *Eric* against the rebels, proposing to follow him directly with a strong reinforcement. He advised him indeed to terminate matters, if possible,

Chriſtopher
cherishes the
crown.

possible, in an amicable manner, rather than hazard a battle; but it was now too late to heal the wound, which nothing less than extirpation could cure. *Eric* marched to *Torneburg*, and was there surrounded by the malcontents, who besieged him on every side, and in less than a week made him and his whole army prisoners. The news of this defeat soon reached *Chriſtopher*: he found himself unequal in strength to his subjects, seized on his treasure, and fled with it to *German*, accompanied by his sons *Valdemar* and *Otha*. Here he sought his enemies before the archbishops and princes, and his son-in-law *Levo Brantenberg*, craving their assistance in restoring him to his throne.

A. D.
1370.

In the mean time the malcontents, perceiving that the crown was abdicated, entered into a strict league with *Valdemar* duke of *Sleswick*, then twelve years of age, whereby they engaged to stand by each other, and oppose all *Chriſtopher's* attempts to recover his throne; and the guardianship of *Sleswick*. Nor was this league without grounds; for *Chriſtopher*, collecting together a fleet, by means of his son-in-law and the *Lanslet*, returned to *Denmark*, and made several unsuccessful attempts to recover the crown he had lost by his own imprudence.

VALDEMAR of SLESWICK.

Valdemar, the nobility, and principal persons concerned in the league resolved now to cut him off from all hopes of ever returning. With this view they assembled at *Nesburg*, and with the consent of the people, publicly elected *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* king (A). In order to bind the clergy strongly to his interest, he began his reign by conferring favours on them. He confirmed the diocese of *Sleswick*, and all the churches, fees, and monasteries of the kingdom, in all the privileges and immunities which they ever enjoyed. The same he did with respect to a number of cities and corporations. He made over *South Jutland* to his uncle *Gerhard* of *Rendsburg*,

* *Mæurs*. l. iv. p. iii. p. 70. *PONTAN*. l. vii.

(A) We must observe that many objections were raised against the legality of this election. The king alone had power to convoke a diet; but here the league assumed to themselves a regal authority. *Pontanus* says, that *Valdemar* was elected by an

assembly of the nobility, without once mentioning a general diet, or the votes of the different states. The event shows what the general opinion was, for *Valdemar* enjoyed his newly-acquired dignity but a short time.

and his heart to be held as a chief of the crown. He granted several other privileges to the nobility and people, the more likely to attach them to his interest; yet, after all, his reign was so short, that he scarce deserves to be ranked among the kings. *Adolphus* had raised his warmest friends to so high a pitch of authority, they drew upon them the envy of others, who thought their services merited the same regard. His death gave room for fatal and faction: each strove who should be the young monarch, and of consequence the whole kingdom. Unfortunately no regent was appointed; but that power was lodged in the hands of a body of nobility, or rather in those of the king's chief favourites (A). The public repose was first disturbed by a difference between *Uffe* and the archbishop of *Lunden*. Next *Eri*, son of *Valdemar* king of *Sweden*, arrived in *Denmark* and lay claim to his mother's fortune. Several discontents appeared in *Schonen*, *Fionia*, *Zealand*, *Jutland*, and other parts of the kingdom. But what furnished the first opportunity for open rebellion was a tax imposed on the *Zealanders*, in order to redeem some of the crown-lands. The people refused to pay the tax: they took arms to support their refusal; but were soon crushed by the sudden arrival of a party of the king's troops. To this was added a contest between the duke of *Mecklenburg* and the children of *Vitislav*, prince of *Rugen*, about the district surrounding the island. The latter had recourse to king *Valdemar*, or rather to his uncle *Gerhard*, who sent a body of horse to their assistance, defeated the duke's troops, and then concluded a treaty with him, which was soon broke, after the departure of the *Danes*.

Disturbances in the kingdom.

ALL this while *Christopher* was busied in forming a plan for the recovery of his crown. He wrote to several of the bishops and nobility, who, he knew, were dissatisfied with the little share they had in the government of affairs. He used every possible endeavour to draw off his brother the earl of *Wagria* from his allegiance to the king: he engaged the bishop of *Co-logne*, by a subsidy of twenty thousand marks in silver, to assist him with all his force in deposing *Valdemar*; he solicited the princes of the empire, and even the emperor himself, for succour. In these applications his son-in-law of *Brandenburg* exerted himself, having made a visit in person to the emperor to plead the cause of *Christopher*. He dispersed declarations

A. D. 1328. *Christopher takes measures for recovering his crown.*

(A) *Mourfius* affirms, that *Gerhard*, the king's uncle, had all the authority of regent; yet we do not find his name mentioned in any of the public acts. On the contrary, they are all signed by a great number of different persons.

through

though every part of *Denmark*, promising to redress all grievances, and never to undertake any public affair without consulting and obtaining the consent of a general diet.

WHILE *Christopher* was employed in this manner, the Marquis of *Brandenburg* took his son *Waldemar* to his own court, in order to have him instructed in the arts becoming a prince. He obtained letters from the emperor, directed to *Gerhard* and the other nobility of *Denmark*, commanding them to chuse umpires, who should equitably adjust the differences between *Christopher* and his subjects, and the claims of the present and the late king. But the only answer returned to these letters was, that *Valdemar* possessed the crown by a regular and lawful election; therefore the proposed umpires were altogether unnecessary.

CHRISTOPHER could obtain nothing more than these letters of request from the emperor; however, he procured promises from the archbishop of *Lunden*, the bishops of *Arbusen* and *Ripen*, together with a number of the nobility, that their services should not be wanting, provided he appeared in *Denmark* with a proper force to support their rising.

A. D.
1329.
Several
princes
take arms
in Christo-
pher's be-
half.

ABOUT this time it was that *Canute Porcius* insolently seized some effects, the property of the inhabitants of *Herles*, who had always been the fast friends of *Christopher*. They had now an opportunity of serving him, under the mask of defending their own rights; and for this purpose they formed an alliance with *Magnus*, king of *Sweden*. Then *Christopher*, assisted by their forces, and likewise the troops of *Mecklenburg*, together with a body of forces raised by the earl of *Vargia*, and some other noblemen in his interest, passed with a fleet to *Laaland* and *Falst*, laying siege to the city *Niecping*, which he took. Proceeding from thence to *Wartenburg*, he defeated a large body of peasants, assembled to oppose him. He then published a proclamation, promising a free pardon to all those who would, before a certain day, return to their duty and allegiance.

The Danes
sought a
change in
the go-
vernment.

THE *Danes* were now tired of their new government: they saw that all places of trust and profit were possessed by *Germans*, and felt all the inconveniences and oppression in the minority of *Valdemar*, which they dreaded from *Christopher*. They began to reflect on the conduct of both reigns, and concluded in favour of the banished king. In effecting this change in their sentiments, the bishops were greatly instrumental. Every fault in the administration of *Valdemar* was exaggerated, and all the errors of the former reign varnished over and forgot. The inhabitants of *Zealand*, *Falst*, and *Laaland*, first openly espoused the king, together with the

archbishop of Lund, the bishops of Ripen and Arhusen, as well as a great body of the nobility of Schonen. Their first affection was to take a hidden attack on Haderlsøe, where he was confined; after rescuing him, to dispatch a body of troops under his command to favour the motions in Zealand.

AFTER this diet was held at Rosthild, where they were again taken by surprise by Christopher; the king promising a full pardon on the one hand, and to pay them the most faithful service on the other.

CHRISTOPHER restored.

HAFSLIA was now summoned by Inguar Hiort to the king; but some jealousies arose between him and the earl of Haderlsøe, which had nearly destroyed all his hopes, and destroyed his cause in this its promising situation. From some expressions as well as the haughty conduct of the earl's officers, Christopher apprehended that he secretly aspired at the crown; all the steps he had seemingly taken in his favour being only blinds to throw a shade over some deeper design. Filled with this idea, he suddenly dropped his operations against Valdemar, and was contriving the means of countermining the earl, when the bishops and nobility, foreseeing the consequences of such a division, applied all their endeavours to close the breach. They succeeded: the parties met, and Christopher made over Zealand, Laaland, Falst, and Schonen, as pledges for the payment of the expences he had been at in his service.

UNHAPPILY, this reunion could not be effected on the conditions stipulated, without depriving others of the king's best and most powerful friends of their rights. Almost all Schonen had been mortgaged to Lewis Everstein; other lands had already been given to others of the nobility, and in particular, both the Hallands to Canute Porfius. It was necessary then, that a new treaty should be framed, without the inconveniences which attended the present. Accordingly it was stipulated, that Canute should enjoy Halland; but give up North Asbaen, Callemburg, and Samsoe, to the Werle family, to which they belonged by a previous contract: that Everstein, his heirs, and brother Albert, should resign all claim to Elfsimburg, which was immediately to be put in the king's hands. Several lesser exchanges and alterations were made, which it would be unnecessary to recite, as they no ways affected the future transactions. Sufficient it is, that Christopher's party was again united; and that he published a declaration, that all dif-

second son, with
 forces between him and the earl of *Wagria*, were made pri-
 on, by that *Femeren* was given to the earl, to be his, and near being
 with at *Laaland* and the fortrefs of *Alholm* were given him his horse, in
 most all the security for two thousand marks of silver, and the
 crown that he held *Schonen* and *Zealand*, being into an alliance with
 lands were crown were paid off; besides the city of *Siga* was separated to
 mortgaged. the king held only in trust for him, and for the sake of the
 veniency of affairs: that all those places should belong to the duke of
 should belong to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, *Cant*, *Persua*, the
 archbishop of *Lunden*, and the other persons there mentioned
 on the terms stipulated; and lastly, that the slightest infrac-
 tion should be punished with the fines, forfeitures, and other
 penalties agreed upon.

Thus *Femeren* came into the hands of the earl of *Wagria*, who was at the same time, *deputy* and *governor* of *Normer*, *Holstein*, *Laaland*, *Falder*, *Schonen*, and governor of *Zealand*, all these jurisdictions being held under the crown.

VALDEMAR and his uncle *Gerhard* were now reduced to great necessities, their chief protection consisting in the severe and rigid conduct of *Christopher*, whose haughty asperity rendered him every day more so. This insatuated prince was elated with the public revolution in his favour; he forgot all the consequences of his past misconduct; proposing nothing besides the extension of the prerogative, and seemed entirely ignorant how delicate, how capricious are the humours and disposition of a free people, who enjoy the privilege of electing and deposing at pleasure. He considered himself as the king, not the servant of the public; and, intoxicated with this notion, treated with contempt, ray punished, his best friends, for having the affection and integrity to point out his errors, and advise him to different measures. An instance of this occurred in the case of the bishop of *England*, an honest prelate, who took the king roundly to task, and was rewarded for his wholesome advice by imprisonment; from whence he escaped, fled to *Rome*, and proved a thorn ever after in *Christopher's* side, who he saw was incapable of reformation. On the bishop's first arrival in *Rome*, the whole kingdom felt the weight of his resentment; for it was immediately laid under an interdiction, which continued for the space of several years, in spite of all endeavours to have it removed.

CHRISTOPHER having engaged the nobility of *Jutland* against *Valdemar*, he doubted not but they alone would be able to reduce him and his uncle *Gerhard*, while himself might enjoy the fruits of this sudden and unlooked-for prosperity in repose. Accordingly they laid siege to *Gottorp*, where *Valdemar* resided; but were forced to break up camp with great
 press

Chris-
 topher
 con-

they remitted only hearing that *Gerhard* advanced to give *Christopher* a late defeat. *Christopher* made an offer of peace, which was that the earl of *Wagria* set *Valdemar* prince, glad to have a peace. He saw that *Denmark* resigns the crown, graciously accepts her two kings of opposite interests: crown. *Valdemar* to adjust the civil wars that must ensue from the present federal of the natural partition. He therefore pro- ceeded to the king, whose power was now in the wain, to accept of a certain yearly revenue and resign his whole right to *Christopher*: but this could not be done without satisfying *Gerhard*, who claimed *Sleswick* as an hereditary fief. In exchange for this he received the island of *Alsen*, on the same terms, with this condition only, that he should supply *Christopher* in all his wars with five hundred horse, at his own private expense. *Valdemar* laid aside the royal badges, accepted the annuity, and retired to his own duchy of *Sleswick*. In order to draw the knot of union the harder, *Eric*, *Christopher*'s son, married *Gerhard*'s sister, widow of the elder *Eric*; and thus *Christopher* was fully restored to the crown and sovereignty of *Denmark*, of which his conduct shewed him altogether unworthy.

The joy that succeeded this happy end to civil feuds was allayed by the death of queen *Euphemia*, a daughter of the house of *Brandenburg*, and a princess of excellent qualities. She left *Christopher* six children, two of whom afterwards succeeded to his throne.

A. D.
1330.
Queen
Euphemia
dies.

THIS year a controversy arose between *John* earl of *Wagria* and *Gerhard* earl of *Mecklenburg*, the cause of which is not related. It is however of consequence, as it involved *Christopher* in a war, and obliged him to take the field in defence of *John*, to whom he owed his crown and kingdom. *Christopher* and *Eric* were busied in levying forces. *John* determined to join them near *Odinstro*. It was of the greatest importance to *Gerhard* to prevent this junction, as the combined forces would be too strong for him, and he exerted his endeavours with an application proportioned to the emergency. He sent to the diocese of *Bremen*, to *Westphalia*, and to the earls of *Brockhusen*, his kinsmen, to meet him with certain auxiliaries at *Rendburg*, giving them at the same time sufficient intimation of his design. After assembling his whole army, he marched towards *Gottorp*, met *Christopher* and *John* on the road, and engaged them. The battle continued for the whole day with unparalelled obstinacy and fury: *Gerhard* was like to be worsted; but finding means to disperse money among *Christopher*'s troops, he soon retrieved his affairs, and gained a complete victory, the king and *Eric* escaping out of the field with

A. D.
1331.

Christopher and
Gerhard
of *Hol-*
stein quar-
rel.

Christo-
pher de-
feated.

with great difficulty. *Otho*, *Christopher's* second son, with a great number of nobility and private persons, were made prisoners; but *Gerhard* himself was wounded, and near being trampled to death, when he was thrown from his horse, in the heat of the action.

Many of
the nobility
declare for
Valdemar.

GERHARD, on this victory, entered into an alliance with his nephew *Valdemar*, the late king, who now began to be free from thoughts of remounting the throne. The nobility already declared for him, to ready arms, upon all occasions, to embrace the stronger party, and pay their court to prosperity. *Eyger Stigot*, a nobleman but lately favoured with considerable donations by *Christopher*, now fell off from his friendship and gratitude. His inclinations altered with that prince's fortune, if nothing was due to a king who had nothing more to bestow. His views were however disappointed; for the earl of *Wendia* persuaded *Christopher* to make peace on the terms of the conqueror, which were moderate beyond expectation, no attempts having been made to deprive him of his crown. It would be endless, and indeed useless to the reader, to recite the articles which composed this treaty of peace, as they consisted in the distribution and division of certain places and territories, no ways interesting at this distance of time.

A. D.
1332.
Peace
concluded.

CHRISTOPHER was scarce arrived in *Zealand*, when he had advice of the death of his son *Eric*, from a bruise he received in the late battle. He ordered the corps to be brought to *Roschild*, where it was interred with great funeral pomp, and deposited among the remains of several kings of *Denmark* (A).

Disturbances in
Schonen.

ABOUT this time great disturbances arose in *Schonen*. The inhabitants complained loudly of the oppression of the foreign governors set over them; and particularly remonstrated to earl *John* against the conduct of *Eyger Brocktorp*, governor of *Helsenburg*. They took arms, assembled in a large body, and ranging the country in a riotous manner, put the *Holsteiners* to death wherever they found them. The *Holsteiners*, who were the foreigners so odious to the people, were consulting measures in the cathedral of *Lunden* for appeasing the tumult, when the discontented populace broke in and slew three hundred of them. Afterwards, when they perceived that

* MEYERS. l. iv. PONTAN. l. vii.

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that the body was embalmed in the Egyptian manner, and buried at *Sora*, in the ground allotted for the kings of *Denmark* (1).

(1) *Pent. l. vii. p. 454.*

their

their resistance only served to add weight to their yoke, *Christopher's* late defeat rendering him unable to assist them, they made an offer of the country to *Magnus* king of Sweden. His prince, glad of an opportunity of extending his dominions, graciously received their proposals, and met them at *Calmar* to adjust the conditions of this surrender. Here were present several of the nobility, who cheerfully ceded the sovereignty to the king, provided he would protect them in all their liberties, which he readily promised. *The Swedes join the rebels.*

THIS new loss sooner reached the *Holsteiners* than despairing of being able to maintain possession of the country by force, they quietly evacuated it; and earl *of Holstein* himself yielding to necessity, and the power of *Sweden*, ceded almost all the other places pledged to him, for that sum of seventy thousand marks, which *Magnus* agreed to pay against a certain time. Thus the *Danish* dominions were divided and sold to a foreign power, in consequence of that weak and ill-judged partition made at the restoration of *Christopher*.

NEXT year proved fatal to the liberty and life of *Christopher*. A. D. 1333. for going to *Laaland* with a small retinue, he was seized by *Hennick Bred* and *John Ellemose*, favourites of *Gerhard*, and carried prisoner to the castle of *Allholm*. As this *prisoner* made action however was done without consulting *Gerhard*, and only on a presumption that it would be agreeable to him, he ordered the king immediately to be set at liberty, after apologizing in the best manner he could for the indignity offered to his royal person: but he did not live long to enjoy his freedom. The shock he received with this sudden fall from the pinnacle of grandeur so much affected his constitution, that he fell ill and died in a few days at *Nicoping*, and was buried with his queen at *Sora*.

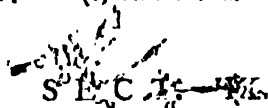
CHRISTOPHER left the reputation of a fickle, but headstrong prince, violent, but unsteady in all his pursuits. His pride, however, was what chiefly affected his interest. *His dear and character.* The arrogance with which he governed, lost him a crown he acquired by a servile humility. Twice driven from his throne, he died at last of grief, contracted rather from disappointed ambition, than contrition for the misconduct that occasioned his loss. Since his restoration he possessed none of the hereditary dominions of *Denmark*, besides *Scanderburg* of *Jutland*, and *Ne-burg* of *Fionia*, all the rest being given as pledges of his gratitude to the instruments of his remounting the throne (A). *Hailand, Holbec, Calemburg, and Samsoe,* were

(A) *Pontanus* says, that he memory was stigmatized with was so much hated, that his very bitter lampoons, which were

were held by *Canute Persius*: *Schonen*, *Yttre*, and *Blagö*, by *Magnus* king of *Sweden*, to whom they were lately sold; *John* earl of *Wagria*, had the juncities of *Zealand*, *Falstere*, *Laaland*, and *Femeren*; *Gerhard* of *Jutland* and *Fennia*, and *Lawrence Jaxea* of *Langland* and *Arris*; the king only preserving the sovereignty, together with a few inconsiderable islands, and the cities we have mentioned.

were publicly recited round the chusing to inherit them, out of country. He speaks again in respect to the high dignity of had seen some of these, without this unfortunate prince (1).

(1) Pontan. l. vii.



In which the History is deduced to the Reign of *Eric X.*
in the Year 1412.

I N T E R R E G N U M.

State of Denmark during the interregnum. UPON the death of *Christopher* an interregnum for seven years ensued. The condition in which he left the kingdom was truly deplorable, parcelled out under different princes, who had all separate interests, designs upon each other, and no less jealous of encroachments on their own rights, than ambitious of extending them to the prejudice of the others. For the space of three years *Denmark*, however, enjoyed a profound peace; and the public repose was first disturbed in a manner very little expected, considering the present situation of affairs.

A. D. 1337. It was about the beginning of the year 1337, that *Otho*, second son to the late king, made a generous and noble attempt to recover the throne of his ancestors. He levied forces in *Laaland*, and the neighbouring continent, in hopes that could he drive *Gerhard* out of *Jutland*, he would easily make his way to the crown: but this veteran soldier and politician, was not to be taken in the snares laid by a youth. He discovered *Otho's* intentions, surrounded him at *Sceptland*, and carried him prisoner to *Sedeburg* castle, where he was kept in close confinement until his brother *Valdemar* released him, on his accession to the throne.

MAGNUS king of *Sweden* having unexpectedly come to the possession of *Schonen*, thirsted ardently after all the rest of *Denmark*. He wrote to pope *Benedict XIII.* beseeching

for his holiness to confirm this province to him and his suc- *The king*
cessors, and permit him at the same time to subdue the rest of Swe-
den of the kingdom, not to be surprised and rendered miserable by the den- *signs on*
tyranny of a set of princes, who, unaccustomed to au-
thority, knew not how to govern. To influence pope Benedict Denmark.
the more powerfully, he promised to hold his conquests of
the holy see, and to pay him the usual tax collected for the
church. Benedict, however, was so prudent and just as not
to grant it.

Nor were there wanting other candidates for the crown Valdemar
of Slefwick, who had long laid aside all thoughts of suc-
ceeding to the throne to which he was once elected, now which re-
sumed ambitious views at the instigation of his uncle Ger-
hard. Several of the nobility cast their eyes towards young *the king*
Valdemar, Christopher's son, now at the emperor's court. *signs on*
They entreated him to quit his exile, and of-
fering him assurances of their fidelity, and of the
affection of the people in general, who were eager to
be united under one prince, and earnestly exhorted him to
make use of his interest in Germany to procure a sufficient
force to cover their insurrection in his favour. While even of *The merc-*
these princes were laying projects, and concerting the fit means *able couns-*
of executing their designs, the unhappy Danes were miserably *tion of the*
oppressed with exorbitant taxes, famine, and pestilence, the *country.*
two latter in consequence of the former. The peasants ne-
glected to cultivate lands which they held upon so precarious a
tenure; this begot poverty, which co-operating with the pec-
uliar disposition of the air, and the unwholesome diet on
which they were forced to live, produced a dreadful plague, that
more than half depopulated the face of the whole country.
The poor dropped down dead in the streets with disease and
hunger, the gentry themselves were reduced to a state of
wretchedness, the whole kingdom was tumbling into ruin,
and yet ambition, treason, plots and contrivances, employed
the great, as if none of these objects were before their
eyes.

GERHARD proposed to his nephew to exchange the
dutchy of Slefwick for North Jutland, which province he be-
lieved would more commodiously assist Valdemar's designs upon
the crown. A treaty for this purpose was drawn up and
signed, but the inhabitants so highly resented their being dis-
posed of like cattle, from one master to another, that they
refused to pay the usual taxes. Gerhard resolved to compel *Ambitious*
them to their duty, and led a thousand men, which he *designs of*
levied in Germany, into the midst of the province. Provi-
dence interposed in favour of the poor inhabitants, and raised
up an enemy to this tyrant, who determined to sacrifice his
life

The noble life, or rescue his country. *Nicholas* *mar in great*
attempts of esteem for his public spirit, *encourage* *prudence, and learn-*
Nicholas ing, beheld with sorrow the condition *to* which *Denmark*
Norevi. was reduced. He had long meditated a variety of projects
 for its relief; but circumstances were unfavourable, and his
 own interest and fortune too slender to effect such great de-
 signs. Things were at last in such a state that he believed
 the whole depended on his single arm. Young *dem.* *Christopher's* son, had a number of powerful adherents in the
 kingdom; his most dangerous enemy was *Gerhard*, and could
 he be removed, the greatest difficulty of uniting the kingdom
 would be surmounted, at least the *Swedes* would be re-
 lieved from the oppression of a tyrant, who was now preparing
 for them the keenest degree of oppression. *Nicholas* revolved
 this over in his mind, and, after mature deliberation on the
 means, took the resolution to dispatch him, perceiving him-
 self that no method of ridding a whole kingdom from mis-
 ery, could justly detract from the character of the deliverer.
 Could his purpose be effected by single combat, or open war,
 he would have chosen either, as the most fair and honourable;
 but these being impracticable, he had recourse to darker
 means. Collecting a body of forty chosen horse, he marched
 in the night to *Ranæshusen*, where *Gerhard* had fixed his
 head quarters; seized upon the centinels, and pushed on to
Gerhard's lodging, which he forced open. *Gerhard* was
 awaked with the noise, and seeing *Nicholas* enter with a party
 of armed men, began to supplicate him in the most pathetic
 terms to save his life, offering to subscribe to any terms he
 thought fit to impose; but *Nicholas* was determined. He
 thought the life of the tyrant a just atonement of the injuries
 the people had suffered; he considered, that his death alone
 could deliver them from the schemes and artifices of a man,
 who had a head to contrive, and a hand to execute the most
 daring and ambitious designs. This, therefore, without far-
 ther deliberation he executed, by plunging his sword into his
 breast, and then making his retreat with all possible expedi-
 tion, after giving the alarm to the whole army, by sounding
 horns and beating drums. *Nicholas* was pursued and over-
 taken by a party of *Gerhard's* army, through which he sought
 his way and escaped, after having encountered the greatest
 dangers; and *Gerhard's* sons hearing of his death, retired
 precipitately into *Holstein*, leaving the army, chiefly com-
 posed of *Holsteiners*, to be assailed by the enraged pea-
 sants, who fell upon them from every quarter.

Gerhard
killed.

STILL, however, the *Holsteiners* kept possession of the cita-
 dels and fortified places, from which *Nicholas* resolved to dis-
 lodge

...age them. He accordingly raised a body of forces, attacked and took *Langeland*, a castle situated on the river *Scherne*; after which he laid siege to *Alberg*; but the garrison making an obstinate defence, he turned the siege into a blockade, by which he reduced them to great extremity. The governor sent an express to the sons of *Gerhard*, acquainting them with his condition, and the impossibility of holding out but a few days longer, which determined them to march with the utmost expedition to the relief of a place so important. They came up with *Nicholas* just as the governor was ready to surrender, gave him battle, and were defeated, though *Nicholas* was unfortunately killed before he reaped the fruits of his gallantry, and his country enjoyed that liberty to which he had so bravely led the way.

JUTLAND having by this means recovered its freedom, all the rest of *Denmark* was fired with the same views. *Zealand* first openly declared itself and took arms: here *Henry Gerhard's* son maintained several garrisons and cities, which he resolved to defend in spite of all the power of the inhabitants. For this purpose he drew together an army; but in the mean time a tumult arose among the peasants on account of a *Danish* nobleman slain by the *Holsteiners*, which so irritated the people that they fell upon the *Holsteiners* sword in hand; and, after slaying three hundred of them, drove the rest out of the island, and elected *Valdemar, Christopher's* son, for their sovereign.

A. D.
1340.

V A L D E M A R III. surnamed *ATTERDAG*.

To this prince's elevation the emperor *Lewis* greatly contributed, at whose court *Valdemar* was bred. He summoned a congress at *Spandow*, in the March of *Brandenburg*, at which were present *Lewis* of *Brandenburg*, *Barnim* of *Pomerania*, *Henry*, *John*, and *Nicholas*, sons of *Gerhard*, with several other princes and nobleman. With the three latter princes, and *Valdemar* of *Sleswick*, the marquis executed a treaty, that *Otho, Christopher's* son, should be set at liberty, provided he would resign his right to the crown to his brother *Valdemar*; that he should be put into the hands of the king his brother, or of the marquis; that king *Valdemar* should marry the duke of *Sleswick's* sister, and receive for her portion eighty thousand marks, to be deducted from the sum for which *Fionia* and *Jutland* were pledged; that *Valdemar* should not protect the murderers of *Gerhard*, but openly declare against whoever should espouse them. A variety of other

• Vid. PONT. MEURS. & CRANTZ. ibid.

particulars were included; but what increased the greatest difficulties, and took up the most time, was the redemption of the lands pledged by the late king to those princes who had contributed to his restoration: but even this was settled in a satisfactory manner, both to the king and people; although not altogether so to the persons who held those lands, and were in hopes it would be out of the power of the crown to redeem them.

Valdemar THE first act of *Valdemar's* reign was to confirm the nobles, clergy, and people, in the full use and possession of all their rights, privileges, and immunities, which had been greatly retrenched during the interregnum. An act of obdication was likewise passed, and the remembrance of all such actions as would serve only to disturb the public tranquillity, cancelled. He next entered into a compact with *Henry* and *Nicholas*, sons to *Gerhild*, concerning *Fionia*. Here it was stipulated, that, provided the king died without issue, the island should remain unalienably their property; otherwise it should return to his family, whenever they found it convenient to redeem this and the neighbouring islands. It was further agreed, that if the brothers committed any infraction, or breach of the conventions of *Lubeck* and *Halsenburg*, that his majesty should, in that case, have power to seize the royal garrisons in *Zealand*, and likewise the castles of *Neoburg*, *Orkela*, and *Himnesgerhoe*. We see how favourable all these treaties were to *Valdemar*, who seemed determined to make use of the first opportunity of reclaiming all the crown-lands, so iniquitously sold by the late king, or rather seized upon by those pretended friends who exalted him to an empty title, only to enjoy solid profits for themselves.

Grant of the clergy. IN the next place, the king turned his thoughts to the redemption of the remaining fortresses in the hands of the *Hollander*; and to enable him to effect this, the clergy granted him a silver cup from each church, which was melted down and coined, though never applied to the purpose intended. Long arrears were due to the army; they began to murmur, and it was thought expedient to pay them.

War with the earl of Wagria. THE following year a war was lighted up, on the following account. *Valdemar* insisted, that *Callemburg* and *Samsoe* could not be ceded by his father to *Canute Porfus*, as a former grant had been made of them to *Eric*, duke of *Swedeland*, at the time he married *Ingeburga*. *Eric* was alive when this last grant was made, consequently it could not be valid; but as he was now dead, these places reverted to the crown as fiefs. On the contrary, the earl of *Wagria* maintained his right to *Callemburg*, which had been made over to him by *Canute Porfus*.

his, in consideration of an equivalent. *Valdemar* invested the place, and *John* levied troops to relieve it, forming likewise an alliance with *Ingeburga*, the earl of *Holstein*, and the *Vandal* cities, who sent him strong reinforcements. He marched so suddenly upon the king, and was so seasonably supported by a brisk sally from the town, that the king was defeated, and obliged to raise the siege. Upon this a treaty *Congress* was set on foot, and it was agreed, that the dispute should be *for establishing a* left to the arbitration of four persons on each side, of probity *treaty.* and understanding, who should meet at *Roschild*, and determine either according to the rigour of the law, or by striking up such an accommodation as they saw would be for the mutual interest of the parties. It was farther stipulated, that if either party refused to accede to the verdict of the commissioners, these latter should be obliged to make oath they had decided according to the best of their judgment: but in case it should happen that the commissioners could come to no agreement, that then the archbishop of *Lunden* should take cognizance of the affair. As for other disputes between the king and the duke, they were submitted to the arbitration of an equal number of judges, in order to remove all cause of dissention between the two princes. We hear nothing more of the principal quarrel, and are only told that the king and *Ingeburga* amicably agreed, that the fortress of *Callemburg* should remain in his hands, and she, in return, to hold during her life *North Hulland* as an equivalent; which last clause was never executed, as we shall see in the sequel.

A. D.
1342.

The Danes now began to resume their ancient courage, on seeing a legitimate prince seated on the throne, and the *Danish* dominions, so lately divided among a number of petty tyrants, united into one sovereignty. They more and more breathed out their resentment against all foreigners; who fattened upon the spoils of the land, and enjoyed the chief places of trust and profit. For a number of years *Denmark* was the theatre of continual domestic and foreign wars, which filled every place with confusion and dismay. One of the most powerful kingdoms on earth, after giving law to such a number of other nations, fell at length under the dominion of some insignificant vassals, who laid desolate her fairest provinces, ruined and oppressed her inhabitants. Now she began again to taste the sweets of liberty, and to resume her wonted freedom. Jealousy soon brought them to blows with those hated foreigners; and the son of that *Nicholas* who had shewn the first dawn of liberty, by putting count *Gerhard* to death, now against the led the way, says *Pontanus*, to the full exertion of its natural *Holstein* rights. This author relates, contrary to the testimony of *ers.*

some other historians, that this patriot assembling a small body of *Futlanders*, the inveterate enemies of the house of *Holstein*, marched to *Lundenesi*, where he razed a fort which *Henry of Holstein* had built on the river *Scerne*. *Henry* flew to the protection of this place; a battle was fought, and the brave *Nicholas* died victorious, with his arms in his hands, after performing actions of astonishing valour.

ANOTHER remarkable battle was fought, on this occasion, between *Frederick Laaben*, grand marechal of *Denmark*, and *Marchard*, lord of *Scandia*, and governor of the forests of *Wardenburg*. The action was obstinate and bloody; but victory at length declared for the marechal. With this, civil contention for a time subsided, on the king's promise to suffer the duke of *Holstein* to remain in possession of all the strong holds stipulated in the last convention.

A. D.
1343.

THE year following *Zealand* was ravaged, both by foreigners and the inhabitants of the island. *Coge*, one of the finest cities in the kingdom, was reduced to ashes, and several were miserably pillaged. It would seem that new disputes had arisen between the *Danes* and *Holsteiners*; for they fought a bloody battle near *Flasmoll*, in which the *Danes* were defeated, and *Boic Folk*, one of their generals, and the king's prime favourite, was taken prisoner. The disgrace was sensibly felt by the *Danes*, and they omitted no opportunity of revenging it. Wherever they met the *Holsteiners* they fell upon them, and massacred them without pity, or distinction of age or sex. In a word, the tumult was not appeased before they had satiated their revenge with the blood of three hundred of these foreigners.

Valdemar
forms
schemes for
redeeming
the crown
lands, and
recovering
Schonen.

BUT if *Valdemar* glowed with impatience to see *Futland* in the hands of the *Holsteiners*, he was still more incensed that *Schonen* should have become a *Swedish* province, and the inhabitants daily more attached to their new sovereign, on account of the privileges and immunities he liberally and politically heaped upon them. Yet was it impossible for him, in the present unsettled state of affairs, to attempt the recovery of this valuable province by arms: he thought it more advisable to smother his resentment until he was more firmly established on the throne. Accordingly a treaty was signed between the two crowns, or rather the preliminaries to a treaty, in which it was stipulated, that the utmost endeavours of both parties should be exerted to terminate all differences between the king and the subjects of each, and to cut off all cause of future dissensions. Such was the substance of the whole;

nothing more than vague and general promises of friendship appeared, without any other meaning probably, on either side, than to deceive and lull each other into security.

ABOUT this time *Swen* bishop of *Arhus*, and *Paul* deacon of *Roschild*, were arrested by the king's orders in the public streets, and conducted prisoners to *Padeborn*, a fortress in *Zealand*. We are not informed of *Valdemar*'s reasons for committing such violence on the persons of two prelates of distinction; it is however agreed by all historians, that a council of the clergy met at *Wedel*, and laid the whole kingdom under a severe interdiction on account of this action. No body of men on earth are more jealous of their rights than the clergy of all nations; nor is there a more dangerous enemy where their influence is considerable, and the people ignorant. It does not appear that *Valdemar* was greatly disconcerted with this proceeding of the bishops; for we see him bestowing the same attention to the recovery of the hereditary domains of the crown, and the island of *Falstere*, and city of *Nicoping*, actually wrested out of the hands of the earl of *Wagria*, to whom they had been pledged by *Christopher*.

A. D.

1343.

The bishop of Arhus arrested.

TOWARDS the beginning of next year, *Valdemar*'s queen *Hedwig* was delivered of a prince, whose birth annulled the cession that was made of *Fionia* in favour of the house of *Holstein*. A new treaty was concluded therefore between the two courts, in which *Valdemar* revoked the clause respecting *Fionia*; they mutually promised assistance against all enemies common to them, the king only excepting the king of *Sweden* and the duke of *Stetin*, with whom he was in strict alliance; and it was agreed, that if any unforeseen difference should arise, it might be referred to the arbitration of *Valdemar* duke of *Sleswick*.

A. D.

1344.

A young prince born.

No sooner was this treaty signed, than *Valdemar* employed *Nicholas* of *Limbec*, whom he had just created marshal of *Denmark*, to negotiate with the princes of *Holstein* concerning the redemption of *Seburg*. The ransom was paid, and the two prelates of *Arhus* and *Roschild* were set at liberty; upon which the bishops took off the interdiction, about which *Valdemar* had given himself but little trouble, though the people began to express great uneasiness.

CalLENBURG was, in the mean while, surrendered to the king by *Ingeburga*, widow of *Canute Porcius*, agreeable to the late convention; but the king of *Sweden* kept her out of possession of *Halland*, under pretence that this province was annexed to his crown by the same title as *Schonen*. This however was a mere pretext in order to cover more secret designs;

Callenberg surrenders to the king.

for it is certain, that *Halland* had never been engaged to the earl of *Wagria*, having only been given under the name of a government to *Eric*, father to the present king of *Sweden*. *Valdemar* was incensed at this conduct, but he found it convenient still to suppress his resentment, while *Ingeburg* remained alone the sufferer, being equally deprived of *Collenburg* and *Halland*, its equivalent^a.

The king
marches
against the
Frislanders.

ABOUT the close of the year a general diet was held at *Wiburg*, from whence the king marched directly against the *Frislanders*, who had refused, for a series of years, to pay a certain tribute imposed on them. He entered their country in a hostile manner, and found no great difficulty in reducing them to obedience. Having finished this expedition, he made another to the island of *Zealand*, and laid siege to a new fortress the *Holsteiners* had built near *Nestved*, contrary to the late treaty. *Valdemar* insisted, that either it should be delivered up to him, or dismantled; and the princes of *Holstein* were strenuous in having the price it had cost in building paid to them, and liberty to carry off all their effects; both which the king refused. The siege was accordingly formed; but before any great progress was made, a negotiation was set on foot, and the affair amicably adjusted. About this time *Valdemar* likewise consented, that *Narva*, a city in *Esthonia*, which had been the occasion of numberless disputes, should remain in the hands of the *Teutonic* knights for the space of one year, they promising to defend it against all the attempts of the barbarians.^a

A. D.
1345.
A view of
Valde-
mar's po-
litics.

As the princes of *Holstein* were the most formidable enemies of *Valdemar*, because they possessed strong-holds in almost every province of his dominions, he made it the chief object of his policy to rid himself of such irksome neighbours, by detaching the duke of *Sleswick* from their alliance, in which he succeeded. A treaty was concluded between the two *Valdemars*, the duke did homage to the king, and the latter, in case he should be the survivor, obliged himself to protect the duke's heirs and dutchy against all enemies. It was likewise offensive and defensive; for they engaged mutually to defend each other with all their forces, and to declare the enemies of either to be the enemies of both powers. Such a proceeding could not fail of giving umbrage to the *Holstein* princes *Henry* and *Nicholas*. They formed a plan of revenge, which could never meet with countenance, except in the breasts of the base and dishonourable. They invited the duke to visit them in *Fionia*: one day, proposing a hunting-

^a Vid. PONTAN. l. viii. MEURS. l. iv.

party, they seized the duke's person, and kept him prisoner, under a pretence that the treaty he signed with the king was contrary to his engagements with them. Nor did they stop here: they made incursions into *Zaaland*, and pillaged the city *Ringstedt*. On the other hand, the *Danes* made themselves masters of *Nestved*, *Gunderfabbholm*, and the citadel of *Peber*.

Valdemar laboured hard to re-unite with the crown, A. D. 1346. several other places that had been pledged in the last unhappy reign. After redeeming from the princes *Henry* and *Nicholas*, the *Stretches of Karser* and *Petreborg*, he declared to them his inclination to pay into their hands the price of the government of *Laaland*. His proposal was rejected, and he gave orders to the grand-marshal to pass with an army into that island, and lay siege to all the places that contained foreign garrisons. The princes hastened to the relief of the island, and daily skirmishes passed between the two armies. No decisive action, however, happened when the *Swedish* monarch offered his mediation, and effected an accommodation on no other conditions than, that *Laaland* should be delivered up to the king, on his paying the sum of eight thousand marks in silver (A).

From this time *Valdemar* began to make professions of a Valdepiety more rigorous and severe than prudence or policy dictated. While his dominions were pledged to strangers, no thing could be more unseasonable than expeditions against the infidels, and holy pilgrimages, dictated only by blind zeal and pious pinceny. He passed to *Esthonia*, a province of *Sweden*, on the North of *Livonia*, where he made several regulations in the church. He founded several pious institutions, and built chapels at *Revel*, in which daily prayers were to be put up for himself and queen. He took the dean and canons of the cathedral under his immediate protection, and published divers edicts in their favour. In the end he returned to *Denmark*, and prepared for another expedition against the pagans of *Prussia*, with intention to oblige them to embrace the true religion: such was the devotion of princes in those ages of ignorance and barbarity. *Valdemar* was accompanied in this expedition by his brother *Otton*, whom he had forced into the *Teutonic* order, that his presence in *Denmark* might occasion

(A) According to *Pontanus*, that the whole island was ceded the city of *Warburg* alone by the princes on the above condition. cost the king this sum (1); but

Maurfius and *Crantzius* (2) agree,

(1) *Pont. l. viii.*

(2) *Maurf. & Crant. p. 142.*

no troubles. *Eric* duke of *Saxony* likewise attended *hior*, the princes having met at *Lubeck*; but before his arrival in *Prussia*, the barbarians had concluded a truce with the *Teutonic* knights. This rendered his presence in the country unnecessary; he therefore returned to *Livonia*, and sold the province of *Esthonia* to the *Teutonic* knights, for the sum of eighteen thousand marks in silver, contrary to the formal disposition made by his father, whereby this province was unalienably annexed to the crown. One remarkable circumstance attended this sale; it was, that only one of the senators, *Andrew Wigot*, signed the agreement; nor did a copy of it ever appear. The *Polish* ambassador produced one at the congress of *Vietin* in the year 1570. One moiety of the money was paid to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, married to *Valdemar's* sister. This was her portion, for the payment of which the king had pledged half the province of *Esthonia*. In return the marquis put into the king's hands an instrument, whereby he released him from the subsidy he had engaged for the defence of the marquisate.

A. D.
1346.

BEFORE the king quitted *Livonia*, he had sent orders to several *Danish* lords to meet him in *Brandenburg*, all of whom were arrested on the road by the earl of *Wagria*; an act of presumption that greatly incensed *Valdemar*; yet did he enter upon no new measures for revenging the insult, or enlarging the prisoners. Instead of this he made all possible preparations for a romantic expedition to the Holy Land, which he had long meditated. Accordingly he set out, attended by *Eric* of *Saxony*, and a great number of the first nobility of the kingdom. On his arrival at *Jerusalem* he visited all the holy places, and entered himself in the fraternity of the knights-templars; an example that was followed by *Eric*, and the rest of the lords of his court: for folly from the throne flows rapidly among the people as from its natural and most vigorous source. The courtiers of *Alexander* distorted themselves into the unhappy figure of that hero.

Valdemar
makes a
pilgrimage

The Danes
complain

NOT to dwell on the encomiums passed by crafty priests on these instances of royal piety, the people began to murmur at the disposal of the fair province of *Esthonia*, without their consent, or indeed their knowledge; and the grievance was aggravated by the application of the money, one moiety of which went to the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the other to defray the expences of a *Quixotic* expedition to *Palestine*. That piety which they beheld with reverence in former monarchs, began to be looked on as a madness in *Valdemar*.

A. D.
1347.

IN the year 1347 the queen was delivered of a princess, named *Ingeburga*; and the king, who was returned to his dominions,

minion, paid off the mortgage upon the city of *Rendsburg*. He redeemed likewise a number of other mortgages; and among these the island of *Zealand*, city of *Nicoping*, *Steke* in the island of *Muna*, and a variety of places in *Jutland*. After this he signed a fresh treaty with the princes of *Holstein*, in which it was stipulated, that *Nesburg* and part of the island of *Fionia* should be ceded to the king, in exchange for which they were to receive *Steke*, with a sum of money equivalent to the remainder of the purchase.

It was not before this year that duke *Valdemar* of *Sleswick* obtained his liberty, and then only upon condition, that he renounced the alliance he had formed with the king, contrary to the express letter of a prior treaty with the *Holstein* princes.

A. D.
1348.

It would seem that numberless difficulties attended the redemption of the crown-lands; for, subsequent to the treaty of which we have just spoken, we find the king laying siege to *Skjoldenesh* in *Zealand*. Neither *Pontanus*, *Meursius*, or *Krgntzius*, give any account of the occasion of these hostilities, contenting themselves with observing, that the operations were no sooner begun than they were dropt, by reason of a plague that laid desolate the greater part of all *Europe*, and raged with particular violence in *Denmark*. Here whole towns were deserted, the country left waste for want of labourers; all commerce totally stagnated; even the *Greenland* trade, which a few years before began to be assiduously pursued, was now neglected; and nothing but terror and despair reigned in this miserable country.

Plague in
Denmark.

To these unhappy circumstances were added others equally oppressive and unavoidable. The great number of crown-lands that were mortgaged rendered a heavy tax necessary; the more grievous to the people, because the means of payment had failed, in consequence of the cessation of industry. *Valdemar* determined by all means to gain the affections of his subjects, the more easily to effect his purpose. Assembling a confidence diet at *Ringstadt*, he set forth, in presence of an infinity of nobles, clergy, and commons, that he had redeemed out of

A. D.
1349.

the hands of the mortgagees a great number of cities, towns, and castles, at the expence of three hundred thousand marks, levied upon the people; and that now there remained a saving of ten thousand marks of silver, which he requested the people would dispose of as they saw proper, as it originally belonged to them. Such a concession in the monarch was truly politic: it intirely gained the affection of his subjects, as well as their confidence: they submitted every thing to him, and assured him of their readiness to lay down their lives and fortunes at his feet.

VALDE-

Negotiation with Magnus of Sweden.

VALDEMAR, having succeeded in his important point, passed over to *Holland*, and demanded an interview with *Magnus* king of *Sweden*, from whom he was desirous of redeeming *Schonen*. He offered *Magnus* the sum for which it was first mortgaged to the earl of *Agria*, and represented to him, that the earl had no right to dispose of a province held upon such a tenure. Unanswerable as these arguments were, *Magnus* refused to surrender it; and the congress broke up with menaces from *Valdemar*, that he would claim it by force of arms: menaces which were not attended with the proposed effect, the troubles arising in *Germany* having prevented *Valdemar* from pursuing his design. As this extraordinary affair is strongly connected with our history, we shall relate it with all possible brevity from the diffuse and perplexed account of *Pontanus* *.

An impostor lays claim to the margravate of Brandenburg.

AN impostor, by name *Müller Maineken*, appeared about this time in *Brandenburg*, assuming the name of the late margrave *Valdemar*, and claiming his dominions, which he said were usurped, in prejudice of his right, by *Lewis of Brandenburg*. In his person he exactly resembled *Valdemar*, and he found no difficulty in imitating his voice and manner, having been many years gentleman usher to the margrave. He assumed, that the margrave was not dead as had been long reported, but had made a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. Now on his return, he expected *Lewis of Bavaria* would restore those dominions to their natural lord. Bold and impudent assertions never fail to meet with credit from the vulgar. Here humanity and justice seemed to call aloud for their assistance, which combined with the novelty of the scene, soon gained *Müller* a great number of adherents. With these many of the neighbouring princes, interested in supporting the imposture, joined. Among these were the dukes of *Saxe Anhalt* and *Mecklenburg*; and *Crantzius* affirms, that the emperor *Charles IV.* not only espoused, but first excited *Müller* to this bold attempt. By these he was supported with all the dignity of a prince, he kept a court, and even eclipsed in pomp the real margrave.

KING Valdemar, who sincerely loved his brother-in-law *Lewis*, heard this news with concern. He pitied his sister, foresaw the distraction that would ensue, and determined to use all his power to support his brother-in-law, and punish the presumptuous *Müller*. A diet was convoked at *Rishild*, and sufficient supplies were granted to enable him to equip a fleet, with which he invaded *Mecklenburg*, destroying the country

before him with fire and sword. The duke of *Mecklenburg* raised arms to oppose the king, whom he reduced to great danger, having besieged him in *Sturgart*. *Valdemar* soon perceived the error of which he had been guilty, in enclosing himself in a city so easily forced; but his endeavours to extricate himself would have been fruitless, had not *Romulus*, brother to *Lewis* of *Brandenburg*, arrived seasonably to his relief. Immediately the duke raised the siege, took a compass, and attacked *Romulus* in the rear. The battle was bloody and desperate, the duke victorious, and near four hundred *Brandenburgers* were made prisoners; but still *Romulus* had the honour of raising the siege, relieving the king, and of saving himself by his bravery from falling into the enemy's hands.

VALDEMAR was no sooner at liberty than he marched out of the city, which had almost proved fatal to him, and made fresh incursions into the duke's territories, where he laid siege to several towns, that made but a faint resistance. At length, reinforced with a body of troops from *Pomerania*, he invested *Berlin*, which city had declared in favour of the impostor. The duke hastened to the relief of the besieged; and the king drew out his army to give him battle. Things were coming to a crisis, and both parties waiting for the signal to engage, when some of the more moderate nobility in each army, dreading the effusion of Christian blood, proposed an accommodation. A conference was held, in which it was determined to submit the affair to the arbitration of his *Sacred* majesty. Accordingly it was determined by this monarch, that *Romulus*, brother to *Lewis* of *Brandenburg*, should set all his prisoners at liberty; that, as an equivalent, he should receive an oath of allegiance from certain cities in the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, to which he claimed a right; and, lastly, that he should espouse the daughter of the duke. King *Valdemar* likewise effected a reconciliation between his brother-in-law the margrave and the duke of *Stetin*; also between the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Saxony*.

THESE troubles in *Germany* being thus appeased, *Valdemar* was on the brink of entering into another dispute of more consequence, if the emperor's affairs had not prevented him from pursuing the dictates of his resentment. His imperial majesty was extremely enraged at *Valdemar's* marching foreign troops into the empire, and making his dominions the theatre of a war. He was still more incensed at his checking the progress of the present margrave, as it was notorious that the emperor had an interest in the success of this impostor, out of pique to the margrave *Lewis*, it being a main object of his policy to distress the affairs of the house of *Bavaria*.

A. D.
1350.

How-

However, whether out of shame, or dread of raising matters to an excess, he dissembled his resentment, and ~~gave~~ ^{sent} a passport to the king and several princes of the North, to attend a diet which he convoked at *Spreenberg*, in order to decide the claim of the impostor *Muller*. The king carried with him *Eric* duke of *Saxony*, and *Romulus*, now become margrave of *Brandenburg*, which his brother ceded to him, reserving to himself only the dominions of the house of *Bavaria*. At this congress (for it was not properly a diet of the empire) the northern princes complained loudly of the emperor's endeavours to supplant the natural heir of the house of *Brandenburg*, by forcing in his room an impostor, who had long been a menial in the family. To this charge, the emperor replied, that he had done nothing of which he could repent. Neither temerity, prejudice, or passion, had excited him against the house of *Bavaria*, or at all influenced his conduct; justice alone was the motive of his actions: that if he was at all blameable, it was for giving credit to the assurances of the archbishop of *Magdeburg*, *Rodolph* of *Saxony*, the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and the prince of *Anhalt*, all of whom had solemnly made oath, that he was the true *Valdemar*, the lawful heir of the house of *Brandenburg*. Upon this the king stood up, and spoke in the name of the other princes: "We too are ready to swear, but with more truth, that this person is an impostor; and we oblige ourselves to convict of perjury whoever has sworn to the contrary: we therefore beseech your imperial majesty to revoke the decree you have passed in favour of a man, who has no other pretensions to his present dignity than what he derives from an unparalleled impudence, dissimulation, and talents to impose on your imperial majesty." Not caring to urge matters to extremities, *Charles* at length openly acknowledged *Romulus* the legitimate heir and possessor of *Brandenburg*, and published an imperial decree to this purpose. From henceforth the impostor was abandoned by all his adherents, and forced to retreat into *Anhalt*, where he passed the remainder of his days in that obscurity to which he was born^a; and thus ended an affair which had spread the flames of war in several parts of *Germany*, almost proved fatal to the liberty and life of *Valdemar*, and made a great noise in every corner of *Europe*. It properly belongs to another part of our history; but from the share which *Valdemar* had in it, we could not avoid mentioning it here.

THE congress having broke up, the princes returned each to his own dominions, except *Valdemar*, who laboured hard

to let the affair be just concluded upon a solid footing, before he ~~was~~ ^{returned} back to Denmark. After having established repose and tranquillity, he spent some days at *Lubeck* in mirth and festivity, and then passed over to his own dominions, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy, the people being highly satisfied with the result of this last negotiation.

Soon after this he concluded a treaty with *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, by which that prince engaged to supply him with one hundred lances, provided they were not to be employed against any power specified in the treaty. Before the end of the year the public joy received considerable augmentation from the birth of a second son; it was however of short duration; for the young prince lived but a few days. By the death of the two sons of *Canute Porcius*, the title of dukes of *Holland* became extinct, and the king did not think proper to confer it on a collateral branch of the family, thinking it more advisable to annex the dutchy to the crown.

In the year 1351 a quarrel, the grounds for which are unknown, arose between *Valdemar* and his grand-marechal *Limbeck*. It was carried so high, that his majesty besieged him in the castle of *Dorning*. The princes of *Holstein*, the nobility of *Jutland*, and the maritime towns, all took arms at the same time. The princes pretended an infraction of the treaty subsisting between them and the king, while the nobility and maritime towns complained of some trespasses upon their rights and privileges. On the first rumour of these commotions, the king put garrisons in all the places he thought necessary, and sent a strong body of forces for the protection of the dutchy of *Sleswick*, agreeable to the late treaty. This last measure proved fruitless; for the duke had sided with the princes of *Holstein*, and the auxiliaries were constrained to return. At the same time, the *Swedes* having deposed *Magnus* for his debaucheries, which had rendered him odious to the people, raised his son *Eric* to the throne. *Magnus*, retiring to *Schonen*, assembled the states of the province, to deliberate on the necessary measures in this deplorable situation of his affairs. From hence he solicited *Valdemar's* assistance to restore him; but met with a repulse, because he had refused to cede that province. Again the negotiation was resumed; but the unwillingness which *Magnus* expressed to surrender *Schonen*, rendered it fruitless.

ALL this while *Valdemar* was not unemployed on the other side. He invited the nobility of *North Jutland* to a conference, with a view to detach them from the alliance of *Holstein*; and one *Bugæus* was sent to *Callenburg*, to treat with
the

The History of Denmark.

the king in their name. Nothing was concluded at the interview; and *Bugæus* with the other deputies were hardly returned to *Jutland*, when the nobility, forming a new alliance with the princes of *Holstein*, seized upon several of his majesty's garrisons in those parts. The king treaded the horror of a civil war, and laboured assiduously to remove the cause of so terrible an evil. He offered to submit the difference to the decision of the earl of *Wagria*; yet because he suspected that nobleman partial in favour of the princes of *Holstein*, the issue of his determination was procrastinated. In the mean time he levied troops, which, after passing in review at *Slesvig*, he embarked for *Denmark*; but contrary winds retarded the transports from sailing. This afforded him an opportunity of holding a conference with *Magnus* of *Sweden*; but this interview, like all the other negotiations between them, broke off without concluding any thing.

As soon as the wind permitted, *Valdemar* put to sea; and was met on his landing by numbers of the nobility of *Denmark*, who assured him of their fidelity, and made offer of their services. By their advice it was that umpires were chosen to determine all differences between him, the princes of *Holstein*, and the *Jutland* nobility. At the same time the *Swedes* held an assembly at *Helsingburg*, to negotiate an accommodation between the two crowns; but as nothing was determined, it produced a particular interview between *Valdemar* and *Magnus*, at which their differences were amicably adjusted, after repeated fruitless negotiations had been set on foot.

A. D. 1352. IN the spring of the year fresh conferences were held on the subject of the dispute between his majesty and the princes of *Holstein* and nobility of *Jutland*; but every proposal from either side was rejected, as if they both had met to decide just nothing at all. But the unsettled state of his own affairs did not prevent *Valdemar*'s assisting the duke of *Mecklenburg* against the duke of *Stein*, who had declared war against him; and, indeed, it seems to be one of the shining parts of this prince's character, that he adhered strictly to his engagements, and never deserted his allies, but on the most pressing emergencies, and for the strongest reasons: and however politics may in these times be altered, firmness and fidelity are no less respectable qualities in a monarch than in a private citizen. On this occasion he resolved to go in person to *Germany*, which he did, after appointing a regency to govern the kingdom in his absence. He was no sooner arrived than he set negotiations on foot for reuniting the belligerent powers; and accordingly produced a treaty of peace, and even of alliance, between the

of *Mecklenburg, Steain, and Pomerania*. Having some discontent against the princes of *Sclavia and Werle*, he more ended the negotiations than he entered their country in a hostile manner, carrying desolation wherever he marched, and destroying every thing profane and sacred before him. He is reproached on this occasion with betraying a cruel and barbarous disposition, in ordering the noses of the prisoners to be cut off in cool blood, and their bodies in a manner little consistent with religious pilgrimage to the Holy Land. This expedition ended, the causes of which are unknown, he spent the winter at *Itzehoeburg* in feasts and diversions.

This year 1533 is ushered in, and distinguished in the *Princess* annals of *Denmark*, by the birth of the glorious princess *Margaret*, who succeeded to the crowns of *Denmark, Sweden, and Norway*. After the death of her father *Valdemar*, and merited by her valour and manly courage, the title of *Semiramis of the North*. The king had for some years past shut up his queen in the castle of *Selburg*, upon some suspicion of her incontinency. Chance led him one day thither as he returned from hunting, and proposing to spend the night with one of the queen's women, he was carried by the address of that lady into the arms of his lawful wife *Hedeweg*, where he enjoyed all those pleasures annexed to stolen love, and which the deceived appetite in an intrigue, without discovering his mistake before the morning. The queen conceived in consequence of the embraces of this night, and in the space of nine months was delivered of princess *Margaret*, the fruit of this legitimate amour.

This year likewise it was, that fresh measures were taken to terminate all differences with the princes of *Holstein*, which were submitted to the arbitration of the duke of *Saxony* and the earl of *Hoja*, by whose award all parties agreed to stand. It was farther stipulated, that hostilities should cease while this affair was in agitation. The king and the princes produced their pretensions, and laid open their grievances to the umpires. First it was agreed, that for the sum of two thousand marks of silver, the king should redeem out of the hands of the duke of *Saxony*, the fortress of *Pilwerder*, to be given in trust to the earl of *Wagria* till payment of the said sum, which must be made within the space of three years, certain revenues in *Fionia* being mortgaged for security of the interest. On the other hand, the earl was to yield up to the king all his mother's portion in *Denmark*, excepting only those lands sold by his father to *Gerhard*.

WITH respect to the *Holftein* princes, the king published a declaration, whereby he acknowledged, in consideration of the cession made by the princes of a moiety of *Fionia*, and of fifteen hundred marks in silver, that he gave up all other pretensions, and set all the prisoners at liberty which he had taken since the beginning of the war. In a word, the tedious disputes and quarrels between the king, the sons of *Gerhard*, and the duke of *Sleswick*, were at length terminated amicably; though they were again renewed a short time after.

A. D.
1353.

DURING these transactions it was, that *Magnus* king of *Sweden* gave the investiture of *Halland* and *Schonen* to a *Swedish* lord, called *Bennet Algoth*, his favourite, with the title of duke; and some historians relate, that not satisfied with bestowing these marks of distinction, he made him absolute master of his whole kingdom. This investiture gave umbrage to *Valdemar*; but his resentment was absorbed in acts of devotion he was now meditating. Some constitutions are naturally disposed to superstition; such was that of *Valdemar*. His piety consisted in exterior acts and expences, the load of which fell entirely upon his subjects; and indeed this is a species of immoral piety, that favours more of vain-glory than of warm sentiments of true religion and the dictates of a good heart. In no other view can we regard the pilgrimage he made this year to *Avignon*, to visit *Innocent VI.* which cost the people an immense sum of money (A).

ON his return from *Avignon*, he made an expedition to *Friseland*, to extinguish some sparks of sedition that had broke out in that country; but the inhabitants having recourse to supplications, he contented himself with punishing a few of the ringleaders, by fining them in certain sums of money and carrying off hostages.

A general
diet assembly.

NEXT he called a general assembly of the states at *Neodiet assembly*, at which assisted the duke and bishop of *Sleswick*. Here he publicly declared a general pardon to all his subjects guilty of treason, or other offences against the crown, and drew up an instrument to this purpose, which the bishop of *Ripen* read

(A) *Pontanus*, led by some false authority, says, that this visit was made to *Urban V.* The year is the same, and yet *Urban* was not raised to the dignity of pope till eight years after. It follows necessarily, therefore, that *Innocent VI.* was then at the head of the church, if it be true, as all the *Danish* historians assert, that this pilgrimage was made in the year 1354 (1).

(1) *Vid. Pont. l. viii. p. 483.*

cloud in the diet. It contained in substance, that his people should henceforward enjoy the full exertion of all the privileges and immunities conferred on them by his ancestors, and particularly by *Valdemar II.* that a general amnesty should be granted of what was passed; that his majesty should take care to protect them against all their enemies; that all those guilty of capital crimes, such as murder, theft, &c. should obtain pardon, on making satisfaction to the injured, at least as far as lay in their power, in the manner most agreeable to the laws of the country; that no subject, whether layman or ecclesiastic, should be constrained to part with his goods and chattels to religious purposes; that no one be suffered to seize on the effects of an ecclesiastic who has died without heirs, but that they be left to the king's disposal, or to the society to which they belonged; lastly, that a general diet be summoned yearly, according to the ancient custom of the realm, at *Neoburg*, about the festival of *St. John*. These regulations were plausible and pleasing; but we shall see in the sequel how they were observed.

THIS diet was succeeded by an interview between the kings of Denmark and Sweden at *Helsingburg*. *Pohltanus* indeed relates, that it was only a congress composed of deputies, three bishops being sent with an archbishop from each side to end the differences between the two crowns. The first point handled was the restitution of *Schonen*, upon which the Danish deputies had instructions to insist. It was urged, that the earl of *Wagria* had no right to dispose of a province, of which he was only the simple mortgagee; and that the inhabitants of *Schonen* were guilty of rebellion, in acknowledging the sovereignty of *Magnus*. They then proved, that neither *North* nor *South-Holland* had ever been mortgaged; but only made over during pleasure, under the title of a government. These two important points occasioned so many difficulties, which unavoidably rose from the nature of the subject, that his Swedish majesty requested *Valdemar* to come in person to *Helsingburg*. He accordingly went, and now it was that the kings met; but without the proposed effect: for, after several warm debates, the congress broke up, leaving all the differences just as they found them.

ANOTHER conference was appointed about the same time, to which were invited the German princes, to regulate certain commercial affairs. The princes and sea-ports sent deputies; but *Valdemar* proposed attending in person, and was preparing for his journey to *Lubeck*, when he was given to understand, by the diet, that no more than an escorte of an hundred persons would be allowed him. *Valdemar* loved pomp, and thinking

such a retinue insufficient to appear with regal magnificence, he postponed his journey, and appointed deputies.

A. D.
1355.
Valde-
mar's do-
mestic con-
duct.

LAYING aside for a time the care of foreign affairs, *Valdemar* applied himself to the administration of justice. He presided in person at the tribunals, and punished a great number of usurpers, who had violently possessed themselves of estates, during the civil wars immediately preceding his accession. These lands he returned to the legitimate owners; or, if no lawful heirs could be found, annexed them to the crown. He summoned before him one *Nicholas Rond*, of the order of knights, accused of seditious expressions against the government, and disrespectful language towards the king's person. *Rond* disobeyed the summons, and made so stout a resistance, that those who were sent to bring him by force, were constrained to put him to death.

THE king held this head-court at *Ripen*; whence he passed to *Helsingburg*, where *Magnus* of *Sweden* demanded another interview. From thence he proceeded to *Wrangsterp*, at which place he held a diet, and passed an edict, whereby all fines on criminal actions were doubled. At length he returned to *Roschild*, where he received advice that the duke of *Sleswick* and *Bennet Aldfeldt* had determined to decide their quarrel by arms. *Valdemar*, out of resentment to the duke for his late conduct, sent supplies to *Aldfeldt*, by means of which he became master of the fortress of *Trankiar*, and ravaged a great part of the duke's country, particularly the island of *Langland*. The duke flew to the relief of his people: he landed a strong body of troops; but was forced to abandon the island, on finding the king in person at the head of an army to oppose him. Thus *Valdemar* became master of *Langland*; but he again ceded it to the duke, in consequence of a negotiation set on foot.

An ambas-
sy from
France.

THIS year arrived from *France* a magnificent embassy. *John II.* proposed a double marriage between the children of the two kings, and *Valdemar* instantly dispatched ambassadors to *France* with similar instructions; but *John* being at that time made prisoner by the *English*, and conducted to *London*, the treaty was brought to no conclusion. To this succeeded advices from *Sweden*, which gave the king uneasiness. Although the civil wars in that country were terminated by the partition of power made between *Magnus* and his son *Eric*; yet *Bookål Folk*, a *Danish* lord, sent by *Valdemar* to *Schonen*, with certain instructions for *Magnus*, was arrested on the road by *Eric's* order. *Joannes Gothus*, a *Swedish* his-

Historian, assigns the following motives for *Eric's* conduct. *Blanche*, wife to *Magnus*, was no less fond of *Bennet Algot* than her husband. He was the prime favourite of both; and the queen despairing to see *Magnus* reinstated in the throne, neglected nothing to preserve the fortune of this minion. She made a secret offer to king *Valdemar* of the province of *Schonen*, provided he would confirm to *Algot* the late investiture and title granted by *Magnus*; and the king, eager to reunite so fine a province to his crown, listened to her overtures. *Eric* had intelligence of this secret correspondence, and gave instructions for arresting *Folk*.

ACCORDING to the *Danish* historians, *Valdemar* was so enraged at the insult committed on his agent, that he instantly began to levy soldiers. He was prevented however from pursuing his revenge, by the rigour of the approaching winter, and by a revolt that broke out in *Jutland*. His whole attention was required to appease this tumult. Great diligence was used, and it succeeded; certain lords having engaged to prevail on the king to summon a diet at *Callenburg*, for the redress of the people's grievances. This accordingly was done on the twenty-fifth of *March* following.

A. D.
1356.

BUT the facility with which *Valdemar* had hitherto quashed all seeds of rebellion, made him the more careless about removing the cause. This appeared from his behaviour immediately after the above diet; for he imposed a heavy tax upon all the inhabitants of *Jutland* without distinction, probably as a punishment for their late offense. It was to the last degree unreasonable and impolitic, thus to irritate the minds of the people so lately in rebellion. The duke of *Sleswick* and princes of *Holslein* joined in the clamours against this conduct, and stimulated the nobility of *Jutland* to take up arms. Yet after all, this was only a collateral inducement to the people to revolt; the principal and original cause of their conduct being founded on a particular quarrel between certain natives of *Holslein* and the family of *Himniken-Limbek*, whom *Cunigunde*, widow to *Eric* duke of *Sleswick*, protected. The princes of *Holslein* took part with their own subjects, entered the duchy of *Sleswick*, and made themselves masters of the cities of *Tunderen* and *Haderstalen*. Both sides solicited the *Jutland* nobility for assistance, and the princes prevailed; but king *Valdemar*, whose interest it was that these towns should not remain in the hands of the princes, levied troops and drove them out of the duchy. Thus the *Jutlanders* were engaged against their own sovereign, and by their endeavours the *Holsleiners* again got possession of their conquests in the duchy. *Valdemar* now *Rander*, in besieged

A. D.
1357.

Jutland
revolts.

and taken within view of his army, without being able to relieve the garrison. He afterwards gave battle to the army, and was defeated. Flushed with victory, they passed over to *Fionia*, where they took by assault the strong town of *Olensee*, and laid siege to *Gamberg*, another strong hold in its neighbourhood.

Valde-
mar's pre-
parations
to subdue
them.

VALDEMAR was not discouraged by these disgraces; he rather exerted all his ability to wipe them off. Troops were levied, and several suspected lords put under an arrest. Among others, *Peter Laurentius*, his brother *John*, *James Oulofson*, and his brother *Olaus* were secured. Some he released at a high ransom, after depriving them of the means of injuring him; but these four were not only imprisoned, but their estates confiscated, and places given to persons of approved affection and fidelity. Though the season was far advanced, he marched boldly to the relief of *Gamberg*. On his arrival he created a great number of nobility, the more strongly to engage their affection, and draw forth their courage on so important an occasion. As soon as he perceived his officers eager to engage, he gave the signal, and led his army on with such fury, that the *Holsteiners* and malcontents, unable to resist his impetuosity, broke up the siege and retired precipitately with great loss. All their officers of distinction were killed or taken. *John of Holstein* was left dead on the field; and his brother *Nicholas*, after losing an eye, fell into the hands of the *Danes*, who were bringing him prisoner to the king, when his brother *Henry* flew to his relief, attacked the party, and procured his liberty. In consequence of this important victory; all the garrisons belonging to the princes in *Fionia*, surrendered to the king, and he immediately gave orders for razing *Gamberg* to the ground, in order to reinforce his army with the garrison^a.

The Jut-
landers
defeated.

FROM hence he passed into *Zealand*, laden with plunder: and here he received advice from his emissaries, that a great number of the *Holstein* nobility were invited to attend the last obsequies of *Bennet Aldfeldt's* wife, who died in *Fionia*. Thither he passed so secretly and suddenly, that he seized upon many persons of the first rank, whom he carried prisoners into *Zealand*.

A. D.
1358.

THIS year was ushered in with a rumour that the king of *Sweden* and duke of *Mecklenburg* were preparing to declare war against *Denmark*. Though no certain advices had been received of their intentions, *Valdemar* ordered his army into the field, in the depth of winter. He also sent orders to all

the governors of towns and castles, to put the fortifications and arrisons in the best state of defence. Next he reviewed his troops at *Stapel*, and augmented them considerably, taking every precaution that was necessary to guard against an invasion. It is remarkable, however, that a maritime power like *Denmark* should not have confided more in a strong fleet, and committed the care of her coasts to a well appointed navy; yet we hear of no other naval preparations made on this occasion, than taking up a few transports, on board of which he embarked a part of his army for *Langland*. Here he took the important fortress of *Trankiar*, and in a short time subdued all the other places on the island that had not acknowledged his sovereignty. From hence he set sail with intention to besiege *Heingavel*; but most of his fleet being dispersed, and separated from him in a thick fog, he relinquished the design.

STRENGTHENED before the spring with fresh levies, he again put to sea, and attempted the reduction of *Alsen*. *mar's operations*
Hordburg had already surrendered, after a siege of three days; *Sonderberg* was likely to make but a faint resistance: in a word, the whole island must have sunk under the weight of his victorious arm, had not *Rigitz* dutches of *Sleswick* taken the prudent resolution of suing to her sovereign for peace. She came in person to his majesty, who was so charmed with her eloquence and address, that he freely granted her all his conquests in *Alsen*, on condition that she would harbour or countenance none of his enemies, and that the duke her husband should come attended by no more than twenty servants, and stay no longer than three days at his court.

VALDEMAR's liberality was certainly the cause of the duke's visit a short time after. That prince desired permission to wait on his majesty, which was granted. He made several overtures for accommodating all their differences; but they were rejected at the persuasion of certain courtiers, who were violently prejudiced against the duke. After his departure the king set sail for the island of *Femeren*, where the inhabitants were well provided to receive him, having had some previous intimation of his design. They endeavoured to oppose his landing; but were repulsed and forced to give way to superior force. After losing a great number of their men in several skirmishes, they submitted to pay a tribute of four thousand marks in silver. On his return *Valdemar* exacted contributions on several cities of *Sleswick*, and laid waste all the country round, that had refused to comply with his demand. Some of his ships had orders to plunder the neighbourhood of *IVismar*, which the seamen executed with great

Valde-
mar's
squadron
taken at
Wismar.

alacrity and success; but being detained in port by adverse winds, the peasants assembled and attacked the crew with great fury. Perceiving that all their endeavours were foiled by the courage of the Danes, they filled several small boats with combustibles, which they sent with a fair wind into the middle of the king's squadron. The terror and dread of fire effected what all the power of *Wismar* could not; for the seamen immediately threw down their arms, and suffered themselves to be conducted prisoners to the city, and among them their admiral *Jernskeg*, the great favourite of *Valdemar*.

THIS expedition being ended the king passed into *Zeland*, where he lived but a short time at his ease, when advice was received that the duke of *Mecklenburg* meditated to invade the island. The report was true; but the duke hearing that *Valdemar* was provided with a numerous squadron, and well-appointed garrisons, relinquished his design, and solicited the duke of *Stetin* to mediate a peace between him and his allies the princes of *Holstein* and the king. *Bornim* of *Stetin* undertook the business and succeeded. He prevailed on *Valdemar* to come to *Stralsund*, in order the more commodiously to negotiate the peace. Here the parties met, each accompanied by numerous trains of nobility, who greatly assisted in concluding their differences. It was stipulated, that the king should henceforward live in peace with the allied princes, who engaged a mutual friendship among themselves; and that the prisoners on all sides should be set at liberty. They likewise took under consideration the disturbances of *Futland* and it was agreed, that the nobility and commons should send deputies to the king at *Neoburg*, to finish their differences amicably.

Diet at
Neoburg.

A PEACE being signed, and writs issued for convoking the diet, his majesty put to sea; but instead of proceeding to *Neoburg* he steered for *Zeland*, contenting himself with sending his son and certain senators to treat with the *Futland* deputies at the diet, and reserving to himself the ultimate decision of that affair. This induced the deputies to demand a safe conduct to attend the king at *Stagel*; but the terms on which the passports were granted, appeared so insolent, and couched in words so imperious, that nothing was concluded, and the departed more incensed than ever against *Valdemar*. Soon after, however, a truce was granted, and the negotiation renewed.

FROM *Stagel* the king went to *Roschild*, where he expected to have met the king and queen of *Sweden*, to put the hand to the affair of *Schonon*. On his arrival he found the

had sent an apology, *Magnus* having always expressed great unwillingness to part with that province.

It was about this time that three of the *Jutland* nobility, *Three* *Jut-*
gæ of the *East* quality, were assassinated on their return land no-
home. The suspicion lay upon the king, as if it had been *blemen* as-
done by his order; yet was it never clearly proved, and many *assassinated*.
reasons concurred to render it probable that this horrid action
was committed by some secret enemy to them, or at least to
the king, who fell upon this method of rendering him odious.

ABOUT the beginning of the ensuing year, the brothers
Barntrims and *Wratislaus* obtained the investiture of *Rugen*
from the king, for which they did homage, promising him
likewise the most constant fidelity, and certain auxiliary
troops and succours against all his enemies. This renders
it probable, that *Christopher* had not mortgaged the island of
Rugen, but only that part of *Pomerania* called *Pomerania-*
Cismarina.

A. D.
1359.

It was this year that *qucen Blanche* prevailed on *Magnus*
to visit *Valdemar* at *Copenhagen* (A), the issue of which inter-
view was the ceremony of betrothing the princess *Margaret*,
third daughter to *Valdemar*, to the king of *Norway*. On this
occasion the affair of *Schonen* was again brought on the car-
pet; for this was one of the circumstances which produced
a fresh quarrel between *Magnus* and his son *Eric*. The pre-
text which they published was in fact too trivial to occasion a
war; for it appeared that *Magnus* complained of the inha-
bitants of *Schonen*'s expressing a stronger attachment to their
duke than to him, who was their king. In fact, this ap-
proaching rupture was one great motive for his visit to *Den-*
mark, where he solicited *Valdemar*'s assistance against his son, by Mag-
promising him in return the full restitution of *Helsingburg* and *Schonen*.
Schonen. It was an overture which *Valdemar* could not resist;
he had long panted after this province, and now found it
voluntarily offered. Not to lose the favourable minute, he
passed suddenly with an army into *Schonen*, seized upon feve-
ral fortresses, and among other places made himself master
of *Solliczsburg*; but provisions failing he returned to *Zealand*,
carrying along with him prisoner a nobleman of rank called
Peter Boa.

(A) *Meursius* is certainly mis-
taken in giving this city the
appellation of *Copenhagen* at so
early a period; for at this time
it was called *Helsingia*, and did

not obtain the other name till
many years after, as we have
remarked in the general account
of *Denmark*.

VALDEMAR's

Magnus
revokes his
promise to
Valdemar.

VALDEMAR's progress in *Schonen*, and above all, the reproaches of his people for tamely suffering a fair province, which for some years they looked upon as a dependence on the crown, to be wrested out of his hands, made an extraordinary change in the councils of *Magnus*. Suddenly he compromised matters with his son, and both agreed to drive the *Danes* out of *Schonen*, which they found no difficult task in *Valdemar's* absence. In the treaty between the father and son, *Magnus* not only revoked the promise he gave to the king of *Denmark*, respecting the restitution of *Schonen*, but likewise renounced his alliance and the contract of marriage made between the princess *Margaret* and the king of *Norway*. Nay, they farther agreed to marry the *Norwegian* monarch to the princess *Elizabeth*, sister to the dukes of *Holslein*. It was added, that if king *Magnus* should violate the conditions of this treaty, his subjects should be absolved from their allegiance. However, the death of *Eric*, which intervened, wrought a total alteration in these measures.

Valdemar
purges
himself by
vow of an
accusation
of murder.

IN the mean time a variety of cross circumstances concurred to prevent *Valdemar's* return to *Schonen*. The assassination of the three deputies made a great noise; the suspicion lay upon him: it rendered his character despicable, and he found it absolutely necessary to vindicate his innocence, and bring the whole affair to light. His enemies were already numerous among his own subjects, and this greatly augmented the number of disaffected in *Jutland*. His first step was to affirm publicly, on oath, before *Canute*, son to one of the murdered deputies, that the crime was committed without his orders, consent, and knowledge. He next vowed to use all possible endeavours to discover the criminals, and treat them with all the rigour that injured majesty, as well as the heinousness of the offence, required or would allow. Duke *Christopher* likewise engaged to regard *Canute* as his brother, and every possible means was used to obliterate his resentment, and remove all suspicion from the king. Gained over by these assurances, *Canute* promised, on his part, to use all his endeavours to bring the nobility and people of *Jutland* to a right sense of their duty and obedience to the king.

VALDEMAR found it more difficult to persuade the father of *Uffen Stigot*, another of the assassinated deputies, of his innocence. This nobleman had other causes of discontent, and used this pretext to pursue the dictates of his resentment, and spirit up the *Jutlanders* to revolt. Finding him inexorable, the king took different measures. He confiscated his estate in *Zeland*, and annexed it to the crown, reducing

Stigot

Strigo to the necessity of living upon the small fortune he possessed in *Jutland*.

Thus begun the troubles in *Jutland*, which diverted the king from pursuing the conquest of *Schonen*. Under pretence of public festivals, the *Jutlanders* covered secret conferences they held with several neighbouring princes, whom they engaged to support them: among these were the princes of *Holslein* and the duke of *Mecklenburg*. The latter equipped a squadron, embarked some land forces, and sailed for *Fionia*, on which he made a descent. His success was equal to the terror which so sudden an invasion occasioned; for after taking a number of towns, and ruining almost all the villages, he returned accompanied by a variety of prisoners of distinction, whom he kept as hostages to secure the submission of the inhabitants.

Origin of the troubles in Jutland.

NOR was *Jutland* in more tranquility. The king and many of the inhabitants were disposed to pacific measures; but a number of courtiers represented to his majesty, that it would redound more to his glory if he reduced the malcontents by force of arms: besides, this was the least punishment the nature of their offence merited. On the other hand, there were not wanting a number of seditious persons in *Jutland*, who represented to the people their deplorable situation, exaggerated every false measure of the court, and encouraged them to hazard all rather than surrender their liberties.

IN this manner it was that both sides were determined to decide their differences by the sword. *Valdemar* detached before him a body of troops, who without waiting for a reinforcement began the siege of *Randers*, but it was not long before they suffered the reward of their temerity. The besieged made so brisk a sally, that after great slaughter they put the whole body of *Danes* to flight: however, as they were soon joined by a fresh supply of troops from the king, they found themselves in a condition to attempt several other fortresses, some of which they carried sword in hand.

THIS was the issue of the *Jutland* expedition, the ill success of which it pleased Providence to augment by other unexpected misfortunes. *Peter Jernskeg*, made prisoner by the inhabitants of *Wismar*, had indeed recovered his liberty, to the great joy of *Valdemar*; a circumstance which the king valued above the conquest of the whole province. He was truly an experienced officer and faithful subject, and his majesty much wanted the good offices of such a servant, as new revolts every day appeared in different quarters of his dominions; but *Colff Erland*, governor of *Ripen*, had surrendered that

that city to the princes of *Holstein*, receiving from them as the price of his fidelity, the investiture of two governments. Moreover, the inhabitants no sooner perceived the king's troops embarked for *Zealand*, than they drove his garrison out of the towns he possessed. To this was subjoined another misfortune; his fleet was overtaken in a storm, in which one of the ships with her whole crew perished.

VALDEMAR, on his return to *Zealand*, says *Pontanus*, created his son *Christopher*, duke of *Laaland*^a: hence it appears that the king made this expedition in person, though no historian directly affirms it. The young prince, on taking possession of his new dignity, conferred several privileges on the clergy, the better to gain their affections, the strongest tie by which he could bind the inclination of the people. After this he accompanied his father, who passed with a powerful army to *Schonen*, with a resolution to effect the final conquest of that province: a measure that must appear extraordinary, if we reflect on the situation in which he left *Jutland*. *Helsingburg* was closely besieged, and the attack pushed with such vigour, that *Magnus*, who came to its relief, despairing of success, embraced that opportunity of reconciling himself to *Valdemar*. He offered not only to put him in possession of *Helsingburg*, but to restore the rest of the province, on condition that the ancient treaty should be renewed; that the two crowns should mutually assist each other upon all occasions; and that the contract between the princess *Margaret* and the king of *Norway* should again be signed. His proposals were accepted; and both parties having confirmed the agreement by oath, *Valdemar* made his public entry into *Helsingburg*, and received the allegiance of the inhabitants. He next proceeded to reduce all the towns and castles in possession of the nobility of the province, who refused to acknowledge his sovereignty; and at length succeeded by threats, promises, and force.

THIS expedition was followed by a peace. The duke of *Mecklenburg*, and cities of *Pomerania*, made peace separately with *Valdemar*, to which all who had any differences with the king, were invited to accede. *Erland Calf* accepted the invitation, made his peace with the king, and brought over with him not only the town of *Ripen*, but the two prefectures given him by the princes of *Holstein*; upon which the king pleasantly observed, that the surname *Calf* should now be given to the prince of *Holstein*, for suffering himself to be thus outwitted. He likewise told the person who first brought

^a L. viii.

him the news, "Ay, my calf was strayed, but my cow is returned, and that cow has produced two calves;" a joke, that is wholly lost in the translation, and indeed but very different in the original.

It was specified in the king's writs that this diet was to meet at *Neoburg*: how it came to be translated to *Callenburg*, we know not; but here the king met the dukes of *Laaland*, *Sleswick*, and the deputies of *Holstein*. It was unanimously determined, that the laws and constitutions of the realm, as modelled by *Valdemar II.* should be restored to their former vigour. That the duke of *Sleswick*, his children, heirs, and subjects, should enjoy the same rights and privileges as their ancestors. That the rights of the clergy should be put on the ancient footing, and preserved in their full extent. That the ~~above~~ bishops should be obliged to subscribe to these articles, in order to be entitled to the benefit of the laws. That all the subjects of *Denmark*, protected by her laws, should subscribe to support them. That the knights, gentlemen, burghers, and peasants, should be maintained in all their privileges. That the diet of the states, which, according to law, ought to be held at *Neoburg*, should, for the three following years, be held at *Callenburg*; after which time it should be translated to *Neoburg*. Lastly, that whoever should presume to act otherwise than he is directed by the laws, should be punished with their utmost rigour, and suffer all the penalties expressed in them.

A. D.
1360.

It was soon after this diet, that his majesty was pleased to exempt the citizens of *Lunden* and *Malmogen*, from all duties and imposts in all the ports of *Denmark*. After this he endeavoured, with the ~~son of the king~~, to gain the intire possession of *Schonen* and *Bleking*. He had restored to him the original contract with the earl of *Wagria*, and the act whereby the inhabitants put themselves under the *Swedish* government.

ON the other hand the *Swedes* murmured at their king's proceedings, and the facility with which he surrendered so fine a province. In derision they gave him the surname of *Smeek*, because he laid himself so open to the smooth adulation of *Valdemar*, who knew how to make his advantage of this disposition. It must be owned, that instances of such moderation are uncommon. Princes are generally most tenacious of possessions they have unjustly usurped, and few there are but would chuse rather to extend their dominions than their reputation, as all their virtues are weighed in the scale of

power. *Magnus* did no more than strict justice required; and were the *Swedish* historians impartial, they would have exclaimed with less violence against the easy temper of their king. When first he promised restitution of *Schonen*, it was to engage the alliance of *Valdemar* against his son; and when he performed his promise, it was only surrendering voluntarily what he found he could not maintain by arms. Thus, on whatever side we view the transaction, the restitution of *Schonen* seemed to be necessary, and it certainly was equitable.

A. D.
1361.
*Rupture
between
Denmark
and Swe-
den.*

NOTWITHSTANDING the harmony between *Valdemar* and *Magnus*, it was not long before the two kingdoms came to a rupture. *Magnus* had resolved to punish his subjects for raising his son *Eric* to the throne; and likewise to put out of their power again to divide the sovereign authority. For this purpose he studied to render himself absolute, by abolishing the senate. His subjects, jealous of their liberties, watched all his motions, and prepared to sap his projects; particularly the inhabitants of the islands of *Gothland* and *Oeland*, who, puffed up with riches, despised the empty title of king. In this perplexity *Magnus* engaged his ally, the king of *Denmark*, to take arms to chastise his insolent subjects. This was the real cause of the rupture, which made *Sweden*, for a number of years, the theatre of blood, tumult, and all the horrors of a domestic and foreign war; though some writers scruple not to affirm, it had its birth from delaying the marriage between the princess *Margaret* and the king of *Norway*.

VALDEMAR begun his operations by ravaging the isle of *Oeland*, where he cut in pieces sixteen hundred of the inhabitants who opposed him. Thence he made a descent on the island of *Gothland*, and engaged the army in three different battles, which cost them the lives of near two thousand men. These advantages having rendered him master of the open country, he approached the fortified towns, and particularly *Wisby*, capital of the island, with intention to invest it; but the inhabitants, intimidated by the presence of an army, flushed with repeated victory, opened their gates, and offered honourable proposals. *Valdemar* giving no ear to them, ordered a part of the walls to be demolished, made his army enter by the breach, pillaged the immense wealth of the city, and embarked with the richest booty, that had for many years been brought into *Denmark*. One of his ships, laden with gold and silver vessels, and all the rich ornaments of the cathedral, was shipwrecked on the island of *Carlsen*. *Pontanus* relates, that before *Valdemar's* departure from *Wisby*, he entered into an alliance with the inhabitants, whom he confirmed in all

*Wisby
plundered.*

their

The History of Denmark.

their privileges; but this probably relates to another voyage which he made thither. Among other immunities he granted them the same freedom of trade in his ports as the subjects of *Denmark*, suffering them likewise to coin money, a privilege which had been denied them by their natural sovereigns.

As some of the merchants of those maritime towns, which *The hanse* now began to take the appellation of *hanse*, had been treated with the same rigour as the citizens of *Wisby*, they determined to seek their revenge. Their first step was to seize upon all the *Danish* ships in their ports, and to confiscate the effects of the *Danish* merchants; after which they declared open war upon the kings. Such was their policy, that they drew into their alliance the king of *Norway*, the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Holftein*, with several other princes, to whom they gave the command of their squadrons. The regency of *Lubeck* armed a squadron at its own expence, of which *John Wittenburg* their consul was appointed admiral.

MATTERS being thus disposed, the allies put to sea, attacked *Hoffnia*, took the citadel, and plundered the city. Thence they steered for *Helsingburg*, which they besieged with great vigour; but while the land-forces were employed in carrying on their approaches, *Valdemar* attacked the squadron of *Lubeck*, took six ships, burnt several others, and forced the enemy to raise the siege. *Crantzius* alledges, that the *Danish* fleet was commanded by *Christopher*, who received a wound in the engagement, while the king his father put himself at the head of a numerous land-army (A). The regency of *Lubeck* were so incensed at this defeat, that, accusing the admiral of neglect of duty, they ordered his head to be struck off.

A. D.
1362.

HENRY of *Holftein*, to wipe off the disgrace his troops sustained before *Helsingburg*, laid siege to *Wardenburg*; but with no better success; for the garrison made so furious a sally, that he was compelled to break up the siege, with prodigious loss. This he did on condition that the governor would set his prisoners at liberty; but receiving a reinforcement, he broke the capitulation, returned to the siege, and pushed it with redoubled vigour. His conduct irritated the governor so much, that he determined on his revenge. Feigning that he was

(A) To the consequence of this wound *Crantzius* ascribes the death of *Christopher*, which happened according to him about this time: yet no *Danish* writer takes any notice of his wound; and all affirm, that he died two years after at *Hoffnia*, of an ardent fever (1).

(1) *Meurs.* l. iv. *Pest.* l. viii.

reduced to the last extremity, he desired the duke would send some officers, into whose hands he might put the keys of the town he could no longer defend. *Henry*, falling into the snare, sent several of his principal officers, whom the governor committed to prison, after having first delivered the keys to them, to avoid forfeiting his word. Stung with the severity of this rebuke of his own perfidy, *Henry* broke up the siege a second time, and retired.

Peace concluded.

NOT long after peace was concluded; but we are neither informed of the circumstances nor conditions. Writers only relate, that the king of *Denmark*, the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and his three sons, *Henry*, *Albert*, and *Magnus*, had an interview; at which the king undertook to pay a thousand marks in silver, which he had promised for the portion of his daughter *Ingeburga*; to restore the isle of *Bornholm* to the archbishop of *Lunden*, on condition that the prelate would enter into no engagements contrary to the interest of the crown, and would put the island and all its fortresses into the hands of *Valdemar*, or his successors, whenever it should be thought convenient for the security of *Denmark*.

ABOUT the same time a treaty was concluded between the king and the hanse-towns; to wit, *Lubec*, *Stralsund*, *Gripshwald*, and *Hamburg*. Others say it was only a truce, whereby the prisoners on each side were set at liberty, and the merchants of either party allowed mutually to trade for a certain term of years, without molestation.

The king of Norway breaks his engagements to the princess Margaret. We have seen that the king of *Norway* was contracted to the princess *Margaret*; yet to oblige the *Swedish* nation, who insisted on his renouncing the alliance with *Denmark*, he consented to demand in marriage the princess *Elizabeth* of *Holstein*. Every circumstance seemed favourable to the conclusion of this alliance, as both the *Swedes* and *Holsteiners* were equally desirous of it. Already *Horman*, the *Swedish* ambassador, had espoused the princess in the name of his master. She had been publicly declared the wife of *Hacquin*, and saluted queen of *Norway*. She was now embarked on the *Trave* to pass over to *Sweden*; but heaven disposed events otherwise, and prevented the effects of all these laboured intrigues. A violent storm drove the ship on the coast of *Denmark*: *Valdemar* received the princess with all the honours due to her rank; but still he kept her under a gentle constraint, until the nuptials of his daughter *Margaret* with the king of *Sweden* were celebrated, which happened on the first Sunday after *Rogation-day*, in the year 1365-6.

A. D.
1363.

THE public joy consequent on this transaction was interrupted by the death of *Christopher*, and his mother the queen, both possessed of the affections of the people; and the former prince of great and promising expectation.

TOWARDS the end of this year a treaty was concluded between *Denmark* and the cities of *Vandalia*, the particulars of which are not very material to the design of our history. Foreign authors likewise take notice of a journey to *Ghent* which *Valdemar* performed this year, though we are not told what were his motives. Here, it is said, he was met by *Lusignan* king of *Cyprus*, who came to solicit his aid against the *Saracens*. It is remarkable that no *Danish* historian takes any notice of this circumstance, though they all relate an interview he had the following year with the emperor *Charles IV.* at *Munich*.

EARL *Jorn* of *Wagria* dying this year, *Valdemar* concluded a treaty with his son *Adolphus*, to whom he ceded the island *Femeren*, on the same conditions his father had held it. A few clauses however were added, prohibiting *Adolphus* from interfering in the dispute between *Denmark*, *Holstein*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, about the marriage of the princess *Margaret*. It was likewise subjoined, that the king should act in quality of empire, should any differences arise between the dukes of *Saxony*, *Mecklenburg*, *Stetin*, and bishop *Canute*, who, in their turn, should decide any future disputes between the king and the earl.

A. D.
1364.

THIS treaty was succeeded by a renewal of the truce with *Resolution* the cities of *Vandalia*; for these cities being in league with of the the hanse-towns of *Germany*, complained, like them, of the hanse-cities violence committed on the same merchants and *Wisby*. They to declare also sent deputies to the general assembly held by these towns war on at *Cologne*, to provide for the security of their commerce. *Valdemar*. The final determination of this assembly, at which the deputies of above eighty cities attended, was to declare war upon *Denmark*. At first *Valdemar* despised such enemies, imagining he had nothing to fear from the confederacy of so many cities removed at so great a distance from each other, and swayed by particular and contrary interests; yet the event prevented his remaining long in his error, and proved to what a height of power industry and commerce are capable of raising the most insignificant corporations. The formidable fleet they equipped at *Campen*, and the strong squadron fitted out at the same time by the *Vandal* cities, evinced him of the danger that impended, opened his eyes to their strength, and induced him to apply to the duke of *Stetin* to negotiate a peace, and make the first overtures.

Valdemar
obtains
peace.

BARNIM's endeavours were not fruitless. He managed matters with such address, that a truce was concluded with the cities of *Lubec*, *Rostock*, *Wismar*, *Stralsund*, *Gripshuld*, *Colberg*, *Stetin*, *Anclam*, and *Kiel*, beginning with the Feast of *St. John* this year, and continuing for the space of three years; during which time the merchants on each side should trade freely; pursue the herring and other fisheries; cultivate every branch of commerce as usual on the high seas, and in each other's ports; mutually send judges to *Schoon*, to decide all differences which should happen to arise between the subjects of each, excepting capital crimes. It was likewise stipulated, that the prisoners on both sides should be set at liberty; and that if any of the cities included in this truce, should in the mean time take part with the enemies of *Denmark*, the rest should send the stipulated succours to the king; otherwise the truce should be void, and this contract of no effect. A number of princes were named as guaranties of this truce, all of whom solemnly sealed it, swearing to the observance of the several articles.

DURING this negotiation it was that *Valdemar* went to *Prague*, whither the emperor invited him, to honour by his presence his nuptials with *Elizabeth*, daughter to the duke of *Pomerania*. While he resided at this court, the irruption of the *Bavarians* into *Nuremberg* and *Stiria*, furnished him with an opportunity of performing signal services to the empire; in acknowledgment of which *Charles* ordered the sum of sixteen thousand silver marks to be paid to the king of *Denmark*, and the usual tribute levied on the city of *Lubec*, to be mortgaged to him, until the complete payment of the above sum. This, indeed, was no more than a confirmation of a deed made by *Eric* of *Saxony* fourteen years before, when he received the investiture of *Brandenburg* from his brother.

A. D.
1365.

VALDEMAR's first business, on returning from *Germany*, was to ratify the truce concluded with the *Vandal* cities by the mediation of the duke of *Stetin*. But as the truce finally determined nothing, and the parties were at liberty to recommence hostilities at the end of three years, it was resolved to convert it into a solid and durable peace, which was done without loss of time.

Magnus
of Sweden
deposed.

VALDEMAR's absence proved fatal to *Magnus*; for while he was amusing himself at the emperor's court, the *Swedish* monarch lost his crown; the people having elected in his room *Albert*, second son to the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and nephew to *Magnus*, in prejudice of the rights of *Hacqin* of

Norway, and Henry, the elder brother of Albert. Magnus, however, was still acknowledged king in a part of his dominions: several lords of the first quality followed his fortune, and he resolved to make vigorous efforts for the recovery of his throne. With this view he solicited succour from *Valdemar*, *Valdemar* and his son *Hacquin* king of Norway. The former sent him *assists* a body of auxiliaries, and the latter marched at the head of Magnus. an army to his father's assistance. *Magnus* took the field, gave battle, was defeated, and conducted prisoner to *Stockholm*, where he was confined for the space of seven years, and at length delivered by his son *Hacquin*.

ALBERT, dreading lest *Valdemar* should engage as a principal in this quarrel, and join his forces to *Hacquin's* to procure the old king's liberty, set every engine at work to effect a peace between the two crowns. He proposed, with the consent of *Valdemar* the senate, to yield in perpetuity to *Valdemar* the island of *deferts* *Gothland*, with the city of *Wismar*, *Verandia*, *Wendowia*, *Magnus*, *Marcia*, the fortress of *Elburg*, a moiety of *Helsingia*, with the territory of *Helsingburg*, excepting only *Laldebuss*. This cession was made on condition that *Valdemar* would leave *Albert* in the quiet possession of the crown, and renounce all pretensions to the duchy of *Mecklenburg*, the county of *Schwerin*, and the lordship of *Rostock*, which were to remain whole and intire, unalienably in the family of *Mecklenburg*. By the same treaty king *Albert*, the duke his father, and his brothers, consented that the fortress of *Wardberg* should inseparably be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, and the province of *Halland*, promising never to give the *Danes* any disturbance on that account. They besides obliged themselves not to set *Magnus* at liberty, until he had raised with them an agree contracted; nor to make peace with *Hacquin* until he acceded to the grants specified in the above treaty, and gave security for performing his agreement. *Albert* moreover bound himself, both in his own and in the senate and people of *Sweden's* name, to remain in perpetual amity with *Valdemar* and his heirs, submitting all differences, which in course of time might arise, to the arbitration of a certain number of the nobility of both kingdoms. Thus we see *Valdemar*, like a true politician, profiting by the misfortune of a neighbouring king, the injuries done to his son-in-law, and the violences committed against faith, the laws of nature and of nations. For the addition of some inconsiderable territories to his dominions, he falsified his engagements to *Magnus*, relinquished the rights of his son-in-law, contracted a strict friendship with an usurper, and countenanced a whole nation in the horrid crime of rebellion: but what will not ambition, and the lust of power, effect!

Valdemar
deferts
Magnus,
and ob-
tains
Schonen
as a recom-
pence.

A. D.
1366.

N. D.
1307.

The Jut-
landers re-
volt and
form pow-
erful al-
liances.

IN consequence of this treaty, *Denmark* passed the following year in profound tranquillity. Neither the people nor neighbouring states murmured, and *Valdemar* resigned his whole attention to the regulation of domestic affairs. But this calm was of no long duration. In the year 1368, the nobility of *Jutland* revolted, and seduced a great part of the people to their interest. This would, however, have given *Valdemar* but little trouble, had not the princes of *Holstein*, in their usual manner, taken up arms in behalf of the rebels. Their example was followed by the *Vandal* cities, and a formidable league formed, before *Valdemar* was scarce apprized of the insurrection. They had mutually contracted to assist the duke of *Sleswick* all manner of assistance, and that none of the powers should make peace with *Denmark*, but by the joint consent of all. In the next place, the princes of *Holstein* engaged to the duke of *Sleswick* to labour with all their power to re-establish the nobility of *Jutland* in all the privileges which they ever enjoyed, and to maintain in full force the laws passed by *Valdemar* II.

A formidable league
against
Denmark.

INSENSIBLY all the enemies of *Valdemar* acceded to this treaty. The old duke of *Mecklenburg*, and his sons *Henry* and *Magnus*, under pretence of several infractions of the late treaty, formed a league offensive and defensive with the powers already named, on the same conditions we have mentioned, promising likewise to draw *Albert* king of *Sweden* into the alliance. In effect, that prince readily embraced their proposals; and it was stipulated, that the conquests which might be made in course of the war, should be divided in the manner following: King *Albert* was to possess all the conquests in *Schonen*, and the island of *Gotland*. *Mecklenburg*, and the island of *Falstere*, were destined to the duke of *Mecklenburg*. *Jutland*, *Fionia*, and *Langland*, were to be divided between the princes of *Holstein*, with this proviso, that they should make no change in the laws and customs of the people. To such excess had these princes and cities carried their perfidy, as to renounce the oaths they had so lately taken to preserve perpetual amity with *Denmark*; and such was *Valdemar's* reward for that unnatural treaty he had formed with *Albert*.

A. D.
1369.

FOR the more certain execution of their project, the allies concluded a treaty of peace with *Hartwick* of *Ravensborg*, whereby they granted him free leave to trade wherever he thought fit, provided he would obstruct none of the conquests they meditated. The treaty being signed, each prepared to act his part. The *Vandal* cities infested *Valdemar's* coasts with a considerable fleet. King *Albert* entered *Schonen* with an army, and reduced *Tisted*, *Falsterbo*, *Scanor*, and some other places.

Poland. The princes of *Holslein*, assisted by the *Jutland* nobility, attacked the king's garrisons in *North Jutland*.

At the sight of a league so formidable; *Valdemar's* courage and presence of mind forsook him. Finding himself unable to resist such a cloud of enemies, he determined to abandon all, and make a journey to *Rome*, under pretence of a vow he had taken. He flattered himself, that his absence would abate the fury of his enemies; and that his senate, on which he conferred full powers to transact a peace on any terms, would find means to accommodate matters. His resolution was weak and pusillanimous; but it answered his expectations. *Hemming Falsbergh*, grand marshal of *Denmark*, engaged the *Vandal* cities to send deputies to *Stralsund*, to deliberate, in conjunction with certain *Danish* noblemen, on the means of ending a destructive war, to their mutual advantage. A treaty of peace was accordingly concluded, on condition that the *Vandal* cities should, for the term of fifteen years, hold the towns of *Helsingburg*, *Melnogren*, *Scanor*, and *Falsterbo*; but that the subjects of *Denmark* should have free liberty of trade into these ports during this period. This treaty the *Danish* deputies engaged to have ratified by the king within the space of six months.

*Valde-
rage deserts
him, and
he flies the
kingdom.*

A. D.
1370.

*The league
broken.*

PALDEMAR in the mean time resided at the emperor's court. Here he stopt in his way to *Rome*, and so pathetically represented to his imperial majesty the deplorable condition to which he was reduced by the revolt of his subjects, and the powerful league formed against him, that this prince, moved with his distress, wrote to his uncles the margraves of *Misnia*, the duke of *Stazin*, and *Adolphus* of *Holslein*, to arm all their forces in his defence, and to aid him by all possible means in reducing his rebellious subjects.

Whether *Valdemar's* fears had quite blinded his understanding or whether he placed but little confidence in these succours, or, lastly, whether he chose to unite policy with force, certain it is that he pursued his intention of engaging the pope's interest. For this purpose he sent an embassy, laden with rich presents, to *Gregory XI.* beseeching him to interpose his authority to quiet the disturbances in his dominions. He laid aside the thoughts of going in person thither, and he soon had reason to congratulate himself on this resolution; for his ambassadors found this father of the faithful but little disposed to acts of compassion. In a word, *Gregory* refused to intermeddle, under pretence of being able to form no judgment from the relation of only one party. He offered, however, to give his opinion as soon as he should be acquainted

*He applies
to the pope,
who re-
fuses to in-
termeddle
in the af-
fair.*

acquainted with what the king's subjects and the united powers had to advance in their own vindication.

THE *Jutland* nobility were no sooner informed of the pope's answer, than they dispatched proper persons to explain the nature of their grievances, and the motives for their conduct, both to the emperor and his holiness. They complained to the pope of the heavy taxes which he obstinately imposed on all his subjects, and of the frequent wars which his turbulent disposition drew upon him with the neighbouring states. In short, the deputies found means to make the pope comprehend the full weight of their reasoning, in consequence of which he wrote to *Valdemar*, exhorting him to alter his turbulence into tranquillity, and violence into gentle measures, threatening to excommunicate him if he did not immediately obey. The king was naturally passionate, and too lively to contain his temper within the bounds of moderation. Without a moment's reflection he sat down, and answered the pope's letter in the following terms :

Valde-
mar's spi-
rited an-
swer to the
pope.

‘*VALDEMAR*, king, &c. to the pope of *Rome*, sends health. Our life we owe to God, our kingdom to our subjects ; our wealth we inherit from our parents, and our faith from your ancestors, which we return to you by these presents, should you think the obligation too considerable.’

AN answer that is related of *Valdemar I.* and more suitable to the greatness of his soul (A). Imperious and disrespectful as it was, it did not surprise his holiness. He knew that *Valdemar* had received his education at the court of the emperor *Levis*, who was eternally involved in disputes with the Holy See. He was well acquainted with the haughtiness and impetuosity of the king's disposition : it was therefore judged not advisable to employ his spiritual thunder against a prince, who respected his authority so little, that its terror, founded in superstitious reverence, would be lost. Yet was *Valdemar* bigotted in a high degree : we have seen him make unseasonable pilgrimages and expeditions from motives of religion ; but his piety was by fits, and, like all his other passions, violent. Lately he had been immersed in a sea of politics and intrigue, which afforded no leisure for devotion ; and his respect for the head of the church vanished with his religion.

(A) *Saxo Grammaticus* relates the same story of *Valdemar I.* and it is probably true of him only ; for how should the historian come to the knowledge of what happened in *Valdemar* the

third's reign, centuries after his death ? *Pontanus* mentions it in both reigns, without taking notice of the repetition ; and he is copied by *Mourfius* and other writers.

The peace which the grand marshal concluded with the imperial cities, was a decisive blow to the league. It was no sooner perceived that they detached themselves from the alliance, than the rest of the parties distrusting each other, and perhaps intimidated by the emperor's menaces, left Denmark in tranquillity, and *Valdemar* leave to return. Immediately he confirmed the treaty of *Stralsund*, and procured an instrument from the hanse-towns, whereby they promised restitution of the places put into their hands for the term of fifteen years. Thus ended this formidable war, which had driven *Valdemar* from his own dominions, and marked his character with an indelible stain.

SOME writers take notice of a body of auxiliaries he lent *Hacquin* to attempt the recovery of his father's liberty, and of a kind of war which he carried on in *Friesland*; but the particulars we find no where related. What we know for certain is, that *Valdemar*, terrified with the remembrance of the late combination, studied to pass the remainder of his days in tranquillity. He dreaded losing a crown in his old age, which he had acquired and maintained with so much toil and labour. Some years before, he had built a beautiful country-seat in the neighbourhood of *Heljinsburg*, called *Gurrea*; here it was that he breathed his last, after a tedious illness, in the thirty-fifth year of his reign. From the time of his return from the emperor's court, he was constantly afflicted with the gout; recourse was had to a variety of medicines, without effect. At last an empiric offered his infallible specific, the dose was administered, the king left to his repose, and found dead in his bed a few hours after (B). Thus ended the life of *Valdemar*, a prince greatly celebrated by the Danish historians, as the restorer of their monarchy, which had so long been divided among a number of potty usurpers and tyrants. He attempted the re-union of his dominions, and pursued it with a perseverance that insured success; but more by the justice of his schemes, by his vigilance and constancy, than by force of arms. In this alone indeed was he consistent, all the rest of his conduct betrayed an unsteady, flighty, and warm imagination, strong passions, and violent prejudices, which absorbed every ray of judgment and understanding. He was at the same time a strange medley of impiety and religious enthusiasm, of incontinence with respect to women, and temperance in what regarded his palate; in short, his vices

A. D.

1375

Valde-

mar's

death and character.

(B) It is remarkable that the very same circumstance is related of *Valdemar* I. as if historians purposely confounded the actions of these two princes.

were extraordinary ; they proceeded from caprice : his wishes were noble, and the genuine offspring of his mind. His hurried answer to *Gregory* drew upon him the malice of the writers of his days ; in ours it will be deemed noble, firm, sensible, and the most striking circumstance in his character.

O L A U S V.

Olaus V. *VALDEMAR* left no male issue. Two sons, and the same number of daughters died before him. *Ingeburga*, the eldest surviving daughter, married the duke of *Mecklenburg*, and *Margaret*, the younger, was queen-dowager of *Norway*, the king her husband having resigned his last breath the year before. The diet met for the election of a successor, and were perplexed in their choice. One party declared for *Olaus*, king of *Norway*, and grandson to *Valdemar*. He was the son of the younger daughter, and consequently his right very doubtful ; but being already in possession of *Norway*, and having claims on the crown of *Sweden*, as the younger son of *Magnus*, the states were in hopes of one day seeing the two crowns united on the same head. Another party urged, on the contrary, that it was shameful for *Denmark* to receive a king from *Norway* : that it was absurd to unite two kingdoms, opposite in many of their laws and customs, the one being elective, and the other hereditary. There were nobles in the kingdom worthy of the throne ; and the exertion of the privilege to elect out of their own number, was a duty incumbent on the states. A third faction fixed their eyes on *Albert of Mecklenburg*, son of *Ingeburga*, the eldest daughter, of *Valdemar*. His right was unquestioned, but it was a point not very material in the *Danish* form of government, though it was always regarded as a collateral inducement in the choice of a king. Disputes run high, and the diet broke up without coming to any determination. One remarkable act however passed ; it was the restitution of certain lands to the widow of *Peter-Wid*, from whom it was said *Valdemar* had unjustly extorted them. The reason given for this decree was, that *Valdemar's* soul might not be tormented in the next world for an act of injustice and oppression committed in this.

THE diet broke up without accomplishing the intention of their meeting ; it was not long, however, before that important affair was determined. The bishops, nobility, and commons of *Jutland*, led the way ; they resolved to place *Olaus* on the throne ; and, as if all the rest of the kingdom had

* Vid. PONTAN. MEURS. CRANTZ. ibid.

gave the signal from them, faction was dropt, and the different islands, provinces, and districts of *Denmark*, unanimously in approving their choice. The terms in which the inhabitants of *Schonen* couched their assent, may be seen in *Pontanus*, and will serve as a specimen of the form used on this occasion. This election was esteemed the work of queen *Margaret*, and the first stroke of her masterly genius for the cabinet, and link of that chain of intrigue, which founded the reputation of this great princess.

OLAUS was but eleven years of age on his accession to the throne; *Margaret* therefore assembled the states to ratify publicly what had only received the concurrence of the several provinces, and to declare her regent during the minority of her son. Here he was again proclaimed, and solemnly crowned, *Margaret* likewise obtaining her end of holding the reins of authority until he arrived at age. Before this assembly broke up, the king swore to observe the laws of *Valdemar II.* in their full force, and made several additions to them, whereby the liberties of the people in general, and particularly of the clergy, were enlarged.

Margaret declared regent.

IMMEDIATELY after the ceremony of the coronation was performed, *Bugislaus* duke of *Stetin* and *Pomerania*, and the prince of *Rugen*, did homage to the young king. The latter acknowledged that he held his dominions as a fief of the crown of *Denmark*, and solemnly engaged to serve the king, whenever he was called upon against all his enemies.

SCARCE was *Olaus* firmly seated on the throne, before *Albert* the old duke of *Mecklenburg* made great preparations against *Denmark*, to vindicate the right of his grandson to the crown. His Swedish Majesty took likewise in behalf of his nephew, and a terrible storm threatened *Olaus* on every side. Providence however interposed; the Swedish fleet was dispersed and shattered in a hard gale; the king was discouraged from pursuing his designs, and *Albert* finding himself alone too weak to combat with the whole force of *Denmark*, listened to terms of accommodation. A treaty was concluded, in which due regard was shewn to the rights of both princes, and the people of *Denmark* confirmed in the full privilege of election. Thus *Olaus* was continued king, in consequence of the people's choice, without injuring *Albert's* birthright.

The Swedes arm against Denmark, and their fleet is lost in a storm.

THIS year the *Vandal* cities demanded a renewal of the treaty concluded with *Valdemar*; their example was followed by all the hanse-towns; and the queen-regent granted their

A. D.
1376.

A. D.

1377.

Conduct of
the clergy.

request, not chusing to engage in disputes with a body of merchants so formidable for their wealth and alliances.

NEXT year was ushered in by the convocation of a general diet, at which the king and queen-regent renewed their oath to maintain the laws, and preserve the privileges of each particular order of the people. To this oath the nobility acceded, swearing to hold as enemies to their country whoever should violate it. All these protestations were taken by the bishops, who profited by the favourable conjuncture for augmenting their own privileges and influence. The archbishop of *Lunden* was not forgetful of his particular interest and the good of the church. He procured a grant of the fourth part of the revenues of *Lunden*, under pretence that one of his ancestors had enjoyed it. The popes were the first in stimulating the bishops not to labour in the vineyard of *Christ*, but to preserve as the apple of the eye all those advantages which the disturbed condition of the kingdom threw in their way. Their votes were numerous, their influence extensive; they were therefore advised to sell both to the highest bidder, and put their own price on their favour. Thus corruption flowed from the fountain of religion; and those who ought to reform the manners of the people, led the way to venality, the source of every disorder and vice in a nation. The clergy were exhorted to bring within the pale of the church all the subjects of *Denmark*, and rather to resign them over to Satan, than yield the least tittle of their privileges. Such was the substance of *Gregory* the second's letters to the archbishop *Nicholas*, and such indeed the purport of all the bulls of the holy see. It was not possible but that such conduct in the clergy would create differences between them and the court. In fact it did so, and on the following occasion. Queen *Margaret* held her court at *Lindholm*; and the chapter of *Lunden* possessed some lands there. The subjects of the chapter complained of some oppressions consequent on the vicinity of the court, and the archbishop and chapter took part in their complaints. The affair became serious; but *Margaret*, to avoid disputes which might be attended with fatal consequences, ordered a redress of their grievances, punished the offenders, and took measures for preventing the subjects of the chapter from suffering for the future any inconvenience from the court (A).

MAR.

(A) The *Danish* historians of the year 1378, although they make the first mention of gun- powder among the transactions of *Lindburgh* (1) says, that it was known and manufactured

MARGARET was queen-regent of Denmark and Nor-
 some writers alledging that *Hacquin* her husband died
Valdemar; while others relate with the same confi-
 that he was greatly instrumental in raising his son to
 own of Denmark. Be that as it will, she had now the
 authority in both kingdoms, and begun planning the
 of that great scheme she afterwards effected, of
 the three northern crowns. It was necessary first to
 Denmark and Norway, with the mutual consent of
 kingdoms. She spoke of it to the principal noblemen,
 larged on the advantages that would necessarily result
 such an union, with so much eloquence and refine-
 that they seemed to relish the proposal, though it was
 in execution till five years after, when the three
 were united by the celebrated treaty of *Udmar*.

A. D. 1381.
 Olaus was busy in magnificent preparations for
 the funeral obsequies of his father in Norway, the king of
 embraced that opportunity of making an irruption
 upon them; a circumstance which proves that *Hacquin* died
 in the æra related by the *Danish* historians in general.
 Withstanding a truce which he signed with the archbishop
 of Upsala, the governor, and principal nobility, he attacked
 the residence of *Thun Gatten* the governor. Yet
 cannot positively affirm whether these hostilities proceeded
 wholly from the *Swedes*, or were the consequence of dis-
 satisfaction. Certain we are, that at the expiration of the
 truce *Albert* entered the country openly with a powerful ar-
 my, took by assault the fortress of *Labolm*, and retreated on
 the approach of *Margaret* and the grand-marshal, who de-
 clined to give him battle.

the year 1385, Olaus passed from Norway to Schanen, A. D.
led with a numerous retinue of the nobility of both king- 1385.

Here he received the allegiance of all the inhabitants of the province; a ceremony that was thought necessary, as *term* for which several of the cities had been pledged to *full age*. *Vandals* was now expired. The only transaction of importance in this reign was, however, of a nature that greatly *augments* from the king's character, who was now of *age*,

... years before at *Luber*,
... a powder-mill took fire
... greatly damaged the city.
Janus (2) has accurately in-
... into the first discovery
... use of this dreadful com-
... bustible in the North, and
... quotes *Achilles Gaffar*, an ac-
... curate historian, in proof that the
Danes knew the use of powder
... and cannon as early as the year
1354.

and appears extremely inconsistent with the known prudence and policy of *Margaret*. *Henry* duke of *Sleswick* dying without issue, the dutchy reverted in full right to the crown of *Denmark*. Yet did *Olaus*, with his mother's approbation and the consent of the states, grant the investiture of it to *Erhard*, son to *Henry* of *Holstein*, the inveterate enemy of his crown and family. His generosity could never be shewn more unseasonably, or conferred on a more improper object; for by this grant the keys of *Jutland* were put into the hands of his enemy, and a road opened into his dominions, to a power he ought the most cautiously to exclude. Perhaps he wanted to gain over the *Holstein* princes by such an act of liberality; but surely the hazard was great, and the means he took impolitic in itself, and injurious to his people. The gratitude of princes seldom extends beyond the advantages resulting from this emotion of the soul; with them all the generous passions are subjected to interest and selfish considerations.

*The policy
of the
Danish
bishops.*

At the diet of *Neoburg*, the two archbishops of *Lunden* and *Drontheim*, and the bishops of *Ripen*, *Alburg*, *Wiburg*, and *Sleswick*, granted a multitude of indulgences to those who should found monasteries, or any ways endow the church. The king ordained public prayers for the prosperity of the kingdom, the preservation of his own and the queen's health, and a happy issue to all their undertakings. Her majesty in particular engaged to leave at her death, to the cathedral of *Lunden*, the fortress of *Thustrapsée*, which she had purchased of *Thun Gatten*; but on condition that the walls and fortifications should be destroyed, if the king thought proper.

Olaus diss.

SOON after *Olaus* died, at the age of twenty-two years. He was a prince of excellent qualities of the heart, of great liberality and devotion; what his understanding was, we may form some judgment from the affair of *Sleswick*. Age and experience might however have ripened his intellect; nor would it be candid to lay on him the whole blame of a transaction in which the queen and the diet were equally concerned. *Olaus* died at *Falsterbo*, A. D. 1387; his bowels were buried in the church of *St. Laurence* in *Lunden*, and his body deposited in a private manner in the monastery of *Soor*.

M A R G A R E T.

*Margaret
queen.*

WITH *Olaus* the male line of the three northern crowns was extinct, and custom had not yet authorised the election of a female. *Sweden* had chosen a king from *Germany*, and the public waited impatiently for the determination of the
fates.

of Denmark and Norway. Margaret, who to the na-^{Her genius} ^{for politics.} ambition of her sex, joined a depth of understanding, a firmness and penetration seldom met with in the fairer part of the creation, omitted nothing that could forward her pretensions. Her competitor was Henry of Mecklenburg, brother to the king of Sweden. Henry flattered himself that by his personal qualities, and the advantage of being son-in-law to Valdemar, he should easily carry the crown from a woman; but Margaret's genius for intrigue, her well placed liberality, won over the bishops and clergy, which in effect was gaining the greater part of the people. The election was not made in a general diet, but in an assembly of the provincial states, as had before been done at the election of Oluf. On this occasion the inhabitants of Jutland gave the signal, by declaring Margaret queen of Denmark, protesting that they would acknowledge no other for reign. All the other provinces acceded to their choice. A declaration was drawn up at Lunden, signed by the archbishop, Podesbunk the grand marshal, a great number of bishops, and of the principal nobility. The states of Zealand assembled at Ringstedt, and solemnly declared Margaret sovereign of Denmark; those of Jutland, Fionia, and other islands and provinces did the same.

MARGARET received the crown at the solicitation of the clergy, who flattered themselves that now their reign was come, under the government of a woman, who would probably be directed in every thing by her council. As they had the keeping of her conscience, they doubted not but they would find opportunities of influencing, and even of dictating all her measures. The sensible queen saw their design, and artfully flattered their hopes, while she stood in want of their interest.

BUT Margaret's ambition was not satisfied with the crown ^{She unites} of Denmark alone; she grasped at Norway; sent deputies to Norway solicit the states of that kingdom, and by her policy suc-^{to Den-}ceeded. The chief persons in the government were gained mark. over by money; she found means to render herself mistress of the army and garrisons; so that had the nation in general been otherwise disposed, she could not fail of carrying her point. Thus from regent she became queen of Norway, with the same facility she had acquired the crown of Denmark.

THE Norwegians, perceiving that the succession was again in danger of being extinct, entreated their queen to secure it by an advantageous marriage, which might at the same time augment her power and dominions; but she received the proposal coldly. Jealous of her foreign authority, she could

and ap-
points a
successor.

could not think of sharing it with a husband: however, to satisfy the earnest desire of her subjects, she consented to point a successor; but made choice of one so young as to allow herself full time to satiate her ambition before he could be of age to take any share in the government; at the same time she contrived matters in such a manner, that this choice seemed to proceed more from the states than from her inclination. Having opened the diet, she demanded to know the nearest heir of blood to the crown, and whether his elevation to the succession would be agreeable to the states. Being answered, that the children of *Wratislaus* VII. and *Mury* of *Mecklenburg*, daughter to *Henry* of *Mecklenburg* and *Ingeburga* of *Denmark*, were the nearest a-kin, and perfectly agreeable to the people, she immediately fixed the succession in this family, and named the young *Henry* from that time, called *Eric*, the presumptive heir to the crown.

A. D.
1388.

MATTERS being thus adjusted, it was imagined the public tranquillity might receive some disturbance from the pretensions of one *Hacquin*, who deduced his pedigree from the kings of *Norway*, and had acquired immense wealth and influence in *Sweden*. The fears of the people were, however, quieted in a short time by the prudence of their queen. She had found means to prevail on *Hacquin* publicly to renounce his pretensions, which he did by an instrument lodged in the hands of the archbishop of *Drontheim*, swearing at the same time before the senate, that henceforward he claimed no right to the throne.

Prepara-
tions for
war be-
tween
Sweden
and *Den-*
mark.

HENRY of *Mecklenburg* could not see *Margaret* elevated to the throne, in prejudice to her elder sister *Ingeburga*, without expressing emotions of envy. The accession of the crown of *Norway* added fuel to his jealousy; and the thoughts of her one day uniting the three northern crowns, was altogether insupportable. *Albert* of *Sweden* was no less emulous of her success; he formed an alliance with his brother *Henry*, resolved on declaring war against *Margaret*, and assumed to himself the arms of *Sweden*, *Denmark*, and *Norway*. He spoke of *Margaret* in the most contemptuous and disrespectful terms; called her 'a king without breeches'; passed some gross pleasantries on her regard for the clergy, and particular attachment to a certain abbot of *Soora*, who was her spiritual director. It is indeed true, that her intimacy with this man gave room for suspicion that all her privacies with him were not employed about the care of her soul.

ALBERT made great preparations; besides the *Swedish* army, he relied upon powerful succours from *Henry* and other *German* princes in his alliance. *Margaret* was not more backward in her own defence; and besides the troops of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and those furnished by the duke of *Pomerania*, she was sure of a considerable party in her favour in *Sweden*. All those noblemen who had supported the election of her husband *Leopold* in opposition to *Albert*, were her strenuous friends. The nation was likewise filled with disaffected persons. *Albert* had disposed of all places of trust to foreigners; he imposed taxes without consulting the senate; he obliged the widows and daughters of the first nobility to espouse upstart foreigners, to give weight to the latter by such connections: in a word, he became unpopular, and even odious to one-half of his subjects, by his pride, insolence, and from their rivetted dislike to foreigners. In particular, the clergy were incensed against him, for having scattered many of the church lands, and annexed to the crown a number of strong holds they had held for time immemorial. *Margaret* studiously fomented these divisions, and rendered herself no less beloved than *Albert* was detested. The *Swedes* only waited for the signal to revolt; they had fixed their eyes on *Margaret* for their queen, and resolved to drive *Albert* out of the kingdom. They perceived her good sense would set bounds to her ambition, and prevent her infringing the rights of the people; should she attempt it, the states of the three kingdoms would mutually oppose her, and receive additional strength and security from a strict union of interests.

THE first measure taken by the *Swedish* malcontents was *The crown* secretly to depute certain lords of the first rank, to make offered to *Margaret* an offer of the crown. She received the proposal with joy, and promised to defend the people in all their rights and privileges: however, she demanded that the crown should be made hereditary, with a view for ever to unite the three kingdoms. She met with some difficulties in gaining this point; at last she surmounted them, and obtained all she required.

WHILE these matters were in agitation, the governor of the fortresses of *Oberstein* and *Oreslein* surrendered those places to the queen; she immediately took possession, and continued him in the same command. It was specified in his commission, that he held his authority of *Margaret* queen of *Sweden* and *Norway*, and the legitimate sovereign of *Denmark*. A great number of lords followed the example of *Algot* *Mag-*

Resolutions
taken by
the Dale-
carlians.

mus, for that was the governor's name. All acknowledged *Margaret* for their queen; an instrument was drawn up, whereby they renounced their oath of allegiance to *Albert*, declared they would never more acknowledge him, and henceforward attempt nothing but with the consent and by the order of *Margaret*. They likewise added, that her heirs should be their sovereign, and that they would never accept of any other at her death, but such a successor as she should think fit to appoint. Among other strong holds, the fortress of *Abo*, *Favest*, *Razeburg*, *Casseholm*, *Crytzburg*, all *Helmgia*, together with the copper and iron mines of *Dalecarlia*, were put into the queen's hands. In a word, the *Dalecarlians* had positively acknowledged her sovereignty by an act passed this year, in which they consented; in the name of the whole kingdom of *Sweden*, that the revenues of the copper mines should be put into her hands, although they were mortgaged to the princes of *Holstein*.

ON the *Wednesday* preceding *Pentecost*, the *Swedish* senate wrote to the queen a ratification of the treaty she had concluded with the deputies, and accordingly acknowledged the queen of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*. This oath of the senate was like a thunder-bolt to *Albert*. He perceived that he could no longer depend on the *Swedish* army, and therefore cast about for foreign succours. Among his firm allies he reckoned the duke of *Mecklenburg*, the princes of *Holstein*, the duke of *Sturgard*, and for a sum of money he engaged *Conrad Jungingen*, grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, and the island of *Gothland*. By means of these allies, he soon made up a considerable army, with which he was preparing to take the field.

MARGARET marched an army to the assistance of the malcontents, under the conduct of four generals, *Eric Lucke*, *Henry Parow*, *Winchen Norby*, and *Lrihario Cavall*. They joined the disaffected *Swedes*, and both together marched against *Albert*. Coming up with him at *Falkoping*, a furious battle was fought, in which victory for a long while stood in suspense. The fate of a kingdom depended on the event, and both sides behaved with that courage and perseverance which an affair of so much importance merited; but *Margaret's* good fortune prevailed: *Albert* was routed, and his army cut in pieces. He was afterwards taken prisoner in the pursuit, together with his son *Eric*, *Gerhard* prince of *Holstein*, and a great number of lords of the first distinction. *Albert* and his son were conducted first to *Bahus*, a fortress

*Albert is
defeated.*

thence to *Sablen*, where they were confined for the space of seven years. As to the other prisoners, they were imprisoned in several parts of the kingdom^a.

These victories had ever been so productive of glory to the Danes at this last; for besides the royal prisoners, no less than ninety general officers were left dead on the field by the vanquished. On *Margaret's* side the loss was inconsiderable, except that *Henry Parow* died of his wounds, greatly regretted. Yet though the battle was decisive, the Swedes were still undetermined with respect to the conduct they were to observe. *Margaret's* coronation was deferred, because a great part of the nation thought it dishonourable to dispose of the crown while their king was a prisoner. As the people were divided, they now looked upon the Danes as foreigners, and grudged them a victory over the Swedes, tho' in fact *Margaret* had on her side the greater number of Swedish forces. The German princes accused the Swedes of perfidy and cowardice, attributing the defeat and imprisonment of *Albert* to their pusillanimous conduct. On the other hand, they justified themselves, by retorting on the Germans, who they affirmed were the cause of the war, and the king's misfortunes^b.

A. D.
1389.

DURING these debates and mutual recriminations, the princes of the house of *Mecklenburg*, and the towns of *Rostock* and *Wismar* began to raise fresh levies, in favour of the unfortunate *Germany Albert*. His friends in Sweden likewise became masters of *Stockholm*, and several fortified places, and *John of Mecklenburg* Albert. He set to sea at the head of a well-appointed squadron, which was dispersed by a storm. *Margaret's* forces were, in the mean while, laying siege to *Stockholm*; and *John*, after collecting his squadron, determined to relieve it. Accordingly he landed his forces, drove the besiegers from their works, and after supplying the city with ammunition and provision, again set sail. Afterwards, making descents on different parts of the coast, he put all to fire and sword, which so enraged the peasants, that assembling tumultuously, they attacked him near *Tilling*, and were cut in pieces, having no officer of ability to lead them on and direct their fury.

THE Germans were not satisfied with the ravages committed by this squadron; a shoal of privateers were licensed by the duke of *Mecklenburg*; the sea was covered with pirates, and the most terrible disorders were committed on the ocean and the sea coasts. Some of them ventured an attack on the island

^a Vid. supra ibid.

^b MEYERS. l. v.

The duke of Gothland, took it, and made it the repository of the whole Mecklen-der, and the rendezvous for the whole practical fleet. Notwithstanding all this, the cause of *Albert* was but little forwarded, and his opponent every day gained ground. Among many other places of consideration, the important city of *Calmar* declared for the queen, and surrendered it with its appendages into her hands. *Bugislaus*, prince of *Pomerania* (A), likewise declared in her favour, and his example was followed by the prince of *Rugen*, both attending her majesty at *Falsterbo*, where they did homage to her as their sovereign.

A. D.

1391.

Margaret is established in the sovereignty of the three crowns.

MARGARET spent the two following years in *Norway* and *Sweden*. In the former she renewed the act by which young *Eric* was declared the successor to her crown; and in the latter she laboured to appease the civil divisions by which the kingdom was reduced to the most deplorable state of misery. Foreigners and natives seemed to unite their endeavours in ruining the country, and in this alone were they consistent. Even in *Stockholm* faction reigned, and the German garrison, who apprehended the citizens were inclined to side with the queen, lived in a continual state of hostility with the civil magistrates, which every day produced murder and bloodshed. At length an union of interests was agreed upon; but this was no more than a stratagem formed by the Germans to be revenged on the burghers. Under cover of this false reconciliation they seized upon the principal citizens, put many of them to the torture, and conveyed them in the night to the island of *Chepling*, where, after putting them to the most excruciating torments, under pretence that they carried a clandestine correspondence with the queen, they enclosed them in a large house filled with wood, to which they set fire.

A. D.

1392.

HER majesty meeting with little success in her endeavours to heal the intestine commotions in *Sweden*, determined to return to *Denmark*, and change her measures. She now laboured to effect a peace with the duke of *Sleswick* and the princes of *Holslein*. At length she compassed her design, and paved the way to a general accommodation. The peace between these princes was a fatal blow to the pirates, who immediately abandoned the *Baltic*, and launched forth in the ocean, to make one last effort. The town of *Bergue*, one of the richest ports in the North, felt the first effects of

c PONTAN. ibid.

(A) *Bugislaus* was uncle to *Eric* of *Pomerania*, declared successor to the thrones of *Denmark* and *Norway*, as we have seen.

their desperate rage. It was taken and miserably pillaged, but not without impunity; for some of their ships fell into the hands of the *Danes*, who ordered the crews to be hanged upon gibbets, without form of trial. This severity had salutary consequences; it broke the confederacy, struck terror into the whole, and obliged some to renounce the profession, others to incorporate with the queen's seamen, and others more obstinate, to retire to *Friesland* and live in remote creeks, from whence they sallied out on the commercial fleets of the *Flemings*, *English*, *French*, and *Spaniards*. *The pirates suppressed.*

NOTHING remarkable occurs this year besides the donation the queen made of a moiety of the fortrefs, and prefecture of *Wiburg* to the cathedral of that name, for which she was recompensed by the daily prayers of the bishop and prebendaries.

A. D.
1393.

THE following year she became more general in her bounties to the clergy, by confirming the privileges and immunities of the cathedral of *Lunden* and other churches and bishoprics. She resided for some time at *Helsingburg*, and there received deputies from several *Vandal* cities, exhausted by a tedious war, and desirous of coming to terms with respect to *Albert's* liberty, who had now been prisoner for near six years. Just as a treaty was on the point of execution, an accident broke off the negotiation, which was resumed the succeeding year with a happier event. One of the deputies was slain in a tumult that happened in the city, and the others, imagining their lives were in danger, fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving matters just as unsettled as they found them. *Margaret* soon convinced their constituents, that the murder was not premeditated, by bringing all the delinquents to strict justice. To this contributed the little success they met with in their military operations. A second time the *Vandal* deputies waited on the queen; and it was at length agreed, that *Albert* and his son *Eric* should be released, on condition that he paid *Margaret* the sum of sixty thousand silver marks, renounced all his pretensions to the *Swedish* crown, withdrew his garrison from *Stockholm*, and all the other fortresses, and engaged the *Vandal* cities to guarantee the treaty. *Peace concluded with the cities.*

A. D.
1394.

As soon as the two princes were delivered to the deputies, they solemnly swore to a strict observance of every article stipulated. *Barnim* of *Pomerania*, *John* of *Mecklenburg*, and several other princes, joined themselves to the *Vandal* cities as guarantees; and this addition was made to the treaty, that neither part should for the term of three years erect any new fortresses, but that liberty should be granted mutually to re-

A. D.
1395.

pair the old ; and with respect to the island of *Gottland*, it was agreed that each party should retain what they at present possessed.

Margaret
crowned
queen of
the three
kingdoms.

Her policy
in appoint-
ing a suc-
cessor.

THIS treaty restored tranquillity to the three kingdoms ; and *Margaret*, imagining she would best prove her gratitude to heaven, by pouring her favours on its ministers, made several considerable donations to the sees of *Lunden*, *Roskilde*, and *Odensee*. Still she found the services of the clergy necessary ; and she neglected no opportunity of binding them to her interest. Towards the close of the year she passed over to *Sweden*, and was there solemnly crowned queen, with all the solemnities observed on her accession to the thrones of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

IMMEDIATELY after this ceremony she observed, that as she was considerably advanced in years, it would be a great satisfaction to her to see her succession confirmed ; she hinted her grand-nephew as a proper person, and met with all the obedience she could require from her subjects, who immediately passed an act to that purpose. Pleased with their complaisance, her majesty studied to gain the affections of her new subjects, by applying proper remedies to all the evils occasioned by the late tumults, and establishing matters in the best footing. With this view it was that she convoked a diet of the states at *Nicoping* ; at which were present the archbishop of *Upsal*, and all the bishops and senators of the kingdom. Here it was agreed, that all the crown lands and fortresses alienated by *Albert*, should be forthwith redeemed ; that the new fortresses erected during the civil war should be dismantled ; that all those enjoying the privileges of *Swedish* subjects, and the benefit of the laws, immediately take an oath of allegiance to the queen and her successor *Eric* ; that the sovereign restore to all the vassals of the crown whatever they possessed before the civil war, and lost by their adherence to *Albert* : that the lawful proprietors enter into possession of all that had been usurped by others during the late commotions ; that the states should assemble at the pleasure of the queen and young king, wherever their majesties should appoint, in order to deliberate with the states of *Denmark* and *Norway* for the joint interest of the three kingdoms, and in particular to declare *Eric* sovereign of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*. To these were added some particular regulations ; after which the queen and young king departed for *Denmark*.

HER majesty's principal care was now to visit the different provinces, to administer justice, and redress grievances of

every creature, which she did with admirable prudence. While *The queen* was in *Jutland* all the exiles were summoned to appear, *care in ad-* and take their trial according to law. All men were forbid, *miniftring* under severe penalties, to screen criminals; but if they sub *justice, and* mitted to justice, her majesty always inclined to mercy. Here *enforcing* she enacted, that no new fortresses should be raised; that *the laws.* those belonging to the crown should be restored if usurped, and redeemed if mortgaged; and that all those who had not sworn allegiance to king *Eric*, should perform that duty within the space of fourteen days.

AMONG other salutary regulations, the affairs of commerce were not forgot. It was decreed, that all ports lately opened to the prejudice of established marts, should be shut up; that no duties should be exacted but where they were imposed by law; that all manner of assistance should be given to foreign merchants and sailors, particularly in case of shipwreck and misfortune, without expectation of reward, except what was provided for by law: in a word, that every circumstance enjoined by humanity and sound policy should be strictly observed with respect to strangers. Such was the wise conduct of this glorious princess. *Pontanus* relates, that the antient laws neglected during the late commotions were renewed in their full force; that pirates were treated with great rigour, in order to deter them from that dishonourable profession; and that a perfect and sovereign judge were appointed in *Jutland*, for the more easy and effectual execution of the laws. The same writer relates, that she likewise rectified an abuse which immediately before her accession crept into the *Swedish* government. Several of the gentlemen of that country had seized the opportunity of extending their power, and of exempting their lands from all taxes. Many of them acknowledged no fealty to the crown, and claimed an absolute jurisdiction within their own estates. This was an abuse that greatly diminished the power of the sovereign and strength of the government; *Margaret* therefore, with the consent of the senate, ordained that all jurisdictions should be put on the antient footing, and every man contribute his proportion towards the support of that government by which he was protected^a.

BUT while we are enlarging upon the many excellent regulations made by *Margaret*, we must not forget that she was not infallible. Notwithstanding her prudence, policy, and other shining virtues, her government was not without error. During the reign of *Olaus*, she had consented that

^a Vid. PONTAN. & MEURS; in locis citat.

Gerhard of Holstein should be invested for life in the dukedom of *Sleswick*; the war in *Sweden* had produced the weakness of that measure, and yet she now granted the perpetuity of *Sleswick* to the princes of that house, on no other condition than that they acknowledged the sovereignty of *Denmark*. Happily, indeed, these princes preferred a pecuniary subsidy, as appears by an act passed in *Fionia*, whither *Margaret* convoked the *Holstein* princes; but this we are not to ascribe to her policy, but to their necessity. It is true, her conduct admits of some palliation, if we consider that the chief aim of all her pretensions was to unite the three crowns, every obstruction to which she resolved to remove at all events. The *Holstein* princes were the great stickers for *Albert*, and against this union; and their friendship she endeavoured to win by so important a grant. At present the three northern crowns were actually united upon her head; but she laboured to render this act permanent. Besides the advantages which she proposed drawing from the joint strength of these kingdoms, a variety of other reasons occurred to induce her to wish that a fundamental law was established for the perpetual union of the three crowns. Such a law would transmit her name with admiration and glory to posterity, would render her absolute mistress of the North, and one of the greatest sovereigns in *Europe*. She therefore laboured to gain a sufficient party in each kingdom to answer her purpose; and when she believed she had accomplished this, she convoked the states-general of each kingdom to meet at *Calmar*, and forty deputies from each attended the assembly.

Her speech
to the as-
sembly.

HER majesty opened the congress, by introducing the young king *Eric* to the deputies one by one, whom she requested to confirm his election to the succession. She then represented to them, with abundance of address and eloquence, the advantages that would necessarily result from their having but one monarch, which would entirely abolish the cause of all those wars that had so often been fatal to each of the kingdoms; render them entire masters of the commerce of the *Baltic*; keep in awe the hanse towns, grown powerful by the divisions of her people; and, in a word, consolidate them into one nation, with all the conveniencies which flow from a perfect uniformity of customs, laws, and interests. The majesty of the queen's person, the strength of her arguments, and the sweetness of her eloquence, together with the applauses bestowed by her creatures, gained over the deputies. They approved and confirmed the election of *Eric*, and esta-

that a fundamental law, which was received by the three kingdoms, and solemnly confirmed by oath. This was the law celebrated in the North, under the name of the *Union of Calmar*, and which afterwards gave birth to wars that lasted for an age between *Sweden* and *Denmark*. It consisted of three principal articles, which were established for the security of each nation. •The first imported, that the three kingdoms, which were in a manner elective, should henceforward have but one and the same king, who should be chosen successively by each of the kingdoms, and then approved by a general assembly of the whole. The second article consisted in the obligation upon the sovereign to divide his time equally in the three kingdoms, and to spend in each the revenue arising to him from each crown, without being able to apply the savings but for the good of that particular kingdom. •The third and most important was, that each kingdom should retain its own laws, customs, senate, and privileges of every kind; and that the expences of every kingdom should be maintained at the expence of that particular state, and defended by its forces; and that the subjects of one kingdom should not be raised to posts of profit and power in the other, but should be reputed foreigners, except in their own native country.

WHILE the congress sat at *Calmar*, *Albert's* son *Eric* died; *Albert* received a melancholy accident that made such an impression on the unhappy king, as to make him give up all hopes of remounting the throne of *Sweden*; for notwithstanding the conditions on which he obtained his liberty, he never despaired till he recovered his crown. *Stockholm* was not given up agreeable to the treaty, but he now wrote to his garrison to surrender to the necessity of the times, and surrender themselves to *Margaret*. The example of *Stockholm* was followed by all the other strong holds, possessed by *Albert* in *Sweden*; but till the queen could not recover *Gothland*, this island being retained by the grand-master of the *Teutonic* order, who pretended to hold it by right of conquest, as he had driven the pirates from thence. First it was mortgaged to him by *Albert* for a sum of money; but he refused to deliver it to that prince, when he offered to redeem it. *Margaret* determined to recover it by force of arms. She sent an army thither, under these experienced officers *Algot Magnus* and *Abraham Bröder*. *Visby* the capital was immediately besieged, the *Danes* pushed the attack with ardour, and the knights defended the city with intrepidity, when the emperor interposed, in quality of protector of the *Teutonic* order, and offered his mediation to accommodate all differences. He called a congress at *Helsingburg*,

A. D.
1397.
*The union
of Calmar
concluded.*

*signs all
thoughts of
recovering
his crown.*

A. D.
1398.

burg, whither he invited the queen's deputies. Here at length stipulated that the island should be surrendered to Margaret, on her paying a certain sum of money to the knights: but as the money was not paid for some time, the knights kept possession, which however did not prevent the queen from renewing her old alliance with them.

A. D.

1399.

THE following year deputies from the *Vandal* cities, which had exercised piracies during the late disturbances, came to *Nicoping* in the island of *Falst*. A treaty was concluded between her majesty on the one part, and the deputies on the other, in which it was stipulated; that a general pardon should be granted for all disorders committed during the late troubles, and that the preceding treaties between the contracting parties should subsist in full force; particularly that treaty in which the *Vandal* cities engaged to guarantee the promises made by *Albion* in obtaining his liberty.

FOR the four succeeding years the three kingdoms enjoyed profound tranquillity, and Margaret applied her mind to works of piety, or rather of policy. She was well acquainted with the natural disposition of her people: accustomed to an extreme of liberty, she knew they would with difficulty bear the restraint of authority, which, however, was necessary to carry on government, and suppress perpetual insurrections. To establish herself firmly, she gained over, by affability and liberality, the principal persons in each kingdom; made them her creatures, and opposed their influence to all factions formed against the court. The clergy were especially essential to her views, on account of their wealth, their power, and their credit with the people. In these days all devotion consisted in donations to the church, and piety was estimated by the will and ability to enrich the clergy. Margaret was aware of this: she founded monasteries, endowed churches, augmented the power and privileges of the bishops, admitted them to a great share in the administration, and intirely won their hearts by her largesses. Filled with gratitude for the numberless marks of favour and distinction shewn them, the bishops fell into all her views, and were followed by the inferior order of the clergy, who found their interest consisted in coinciding with the sentiments of their superiors; both on account of their dependance on them, and because the protection of the court, and the queen's recommendation, were the surest means of obtaining bishopricks, and other dignities.

THE nobility and gentry, already jealous of the high power and credit of the church, beheld with chagrin this addition

Margaret's designs in gaining over the clergy.

the authority of the bishops: they, however, durst not express their resentment. Equally politic and powerful, *Margaret* had her creatures concealed among the discontented, who gave her notice of all their proceedings, broke and disconcerted their measures.

One remarkable occurrence is mentioned by historians to have fallen out about this time. A report prevailed that *Olaus*, the queen's son, was not dead: it was propagated by many of the nobility, and supposed to be first set on foot by them, in order to punish *Margaret* for her liberality to the clergy. The impostor laboured to pass for the king, and every day gained credit, by making discoveries which could possibly have been known only to *Olaus* and his mother. *Margaret*, however, was too many for him: she proved him to be son to the nurse of *Olaus*, and to have got these secrets from his mother, whom she had made her confidant. She next proved that *Olaus* had a large wart between his shoulders, which mark did not appear on the impostor. Lastly, she farther proved, by a cloud of witnesses, that the king actually died upon a certain day, and was buried at *Soora*. In fine, the impostor was seized, put to the torture, and publicly burnt at a place between *Falsterbo* and *Scanora*.

MARGARET was not happy enough to rid herself so easily of the continual inquietudes excited by the house of *Holstein*. All her munificence to this family could not extinguish antient animosity, or engage their gratitude. She could not depend on treaties concluded with them, though solemnly sworn to, nor in their fealty, nor fidelity. In one word, she severely felt the imprudence of that act, whereby she confirmed strangers in the possession of a duchy so important to her dominions as *Sleswick*. Count *Gerhard* of *Holstein* fell in a battle, fought with some of his neighbours in the year 1404, leaving a widow and three young children; *Henry*, the eldest of whom, was no more than seven years of age; *Adolphus*, the second, but three; and *Gerhard*, the youngest, then in the cradle. Several guardians were appointed in his will; but *Henry*, bishop of *Osnaburg*, uncle to the young princes, excited great troubles, by claiming a right to the administration of *Sleswick*, till his nephews arrived at a proper age. He found means to raise a faction, by means of *Segeburg* and *Rendsburg*.

ON the other hand, *Margaret* beheld with uneasiness those commotions excited in a duchy which had been a fief of *Denmark*. With a view to apply healing remedies, as well as to

An impostor claims the crown of Denmark.

A. D. 1404. Fresh disputes with the house of Holstein.

profit by the present situation of affairs, she tampered with the widow *Elizabeth*, who she knew was ignorant of it. They, thus she obtained possession of certain castles in *Holstein*, and likewise of the strong citadel of *Appenrade*, by marrying *Elizabeth*, widow of count *Nicholas*, who possessed this place, to *Eric* duke of *Saxony*, paying her portion, and keeping in her own hands the fortrefs. She likewise, by a stroke of policy, got *Gottsbach* into her hands; but this she dismantled, and presented to the cathedral of *Sleswick*. In a word, she at length disposed of every thing in the dutchy according to her own pleasure. The oldest of duke *Gerhard's* sons was carried to *Denmark*, and had three of the principal nobility appointed his guardians: *Adolphus*, his second brother, lived with his uncle, who conceived a strong affection for the boy, and had him at length raised to a high place at the emperor's court (A). Some writers allege, that the dutches *Elizabeth*, and all the great lords of *Sleswick*, put themselves voluntarily under the queen's protection, acknowledged her sovereignty, and did homage to her as superior of the dutchy. They add, that she divided between the dutches, the young duke's guardians, and the chief nobility, all places of honour and profit in the dutchy, with certain yearly salaries, with which they became in a short time dissatisfied. What however is certain, and agreed upon by all historians, is, that peace was at this time proclaimed between *Denmark* and *Sleswick*; and that neither the queen nor king pretended to any other rights within the dutchy, besides those of superior and sovereigns merely nominal, without power to enact laws, or impose taxes.

A. D.
1405.
A dearth
and pesti-
lence in
Denmark.

In the following year *Margaret* annexed several places to the crown, which had either been mortgaged or usurped during the last reign. This year had almost proved fatal to *Denmark*. The summer, and especially the autumn season, had been so rainy, that the fruits of the earth were decayed, and the air corrupted, insomuch that above a tenth of the inhabitants of *Denmark* perished of famine and pestilence. Yet,

(A) *Cranzius* relates a circumstance of this young prince that merits notice. *Margaret*, when he was an infant, gave him a mark of her friendship, by adorning his cap with a string of fine pearls, which the child rejecting, she offered to tie them round his arm, but to this he was equally averse; she

then attempted to suspend the pearls round his neck; but *Adolphus* struggled so hard, that the jewels were broke against the wall. Hence, says our author, the sage *Margaret* drew an omen that the young prince would one day prove a bitter enemy to *Denmark* (1).

amidst these afflictions, there occurred two events which afforded some consolation to the court and people. *Albert of Mecklenburg*, former king of *Sweden*, published a writing, whereby he renounced all claim to the crown of *Sweden*, and engaged never to take arms against *Eric*, or his successors; but to live upon a footing of the strictest amity with them. The next circumstance was the marriage of king *Eric* with the daughter of *Henry IV.* king of *England*, which was celebrated at *Lunden* on the twenty-fifth of *October* this year. This princess, if we may credit the *Danish* historians, brought the king an immense fortune.

A. D.
1406.

NOTWITHSTANDING peace had been proclaimed between *Denmark* and *Sleswick*, the *Danes* and *Holfsteins* were continually in arms, and committing perpetual ravages upon each other's frontiers. Wearied with these disorders, king *Eric* resolved to apply effectual remedies. He invited *Henry*, bishop of *Osnaburg*, the chief author of these disturbances, amicably to terminate them by an interview at *Kolding*; but this conference breaking off abruptly, a second interview was appointed in *Fionia*. Here it was agreed, that eleven thousand marks in silver should be paid to *Denmark*, to indemnify the losses sustained by the insults of the *Holfsteins*; that the towns of *Flensburg* and *Menhus* be put into the king's hands, until payment of the above sum; or, at least, until the bishop proved that the *Holfsteins* had been equal sufferers by the incursions of the *Danes*. Some writers indeed alledge, that *Elizabeth*, dutchess dowager of *Holfstein*, put these towns into *Eric's* hands, without stipulating any conditions.

Peace between
Holstein
and Denmark.

SOME differences arose this year between the queen and the dutchess dowager. Women seldom agree long, where they are rivals in beauty or power. *Margaret*, imagining that the dutchess wanted to prevaricate about the promise of surrendering *Gatorp*, advanced to take possession of that city; but whether it was that she dreaded a body of armed men, reported to have been lodged in a certain tower, or apprehended some secret designs upon her person, certain it is that she immediately abandoned the town, and threw out some severe reflections upon the dutchess. A misunderstanding so slight soon broke out into a war, and the pretext was, that *Eric* by fortifying *Flensburg*, lately put into his hands, gave suspicions of having designs upon the whole dutchy. Nor did the conduct of four *Holfstein* gentlemen, in the queen's service, contribute a little towards accelerating the rupture. These officers, withdrawing themselves suddenly, persuaded *Henry* bishop of *Osnaburg* that the dutchy of *Sleswick* would speedily be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*, if proper measures

A. D.
1409.

Differences between
Margaret
and the
dutchess
dowager of
Sleswick.

measures

asures were not taken to subvert the designs of *Margaret* and *Eric*. *Elizabeth* began her operations by a stroke of policy, which may well be deemed treachery. She found means to draw the consuls of *Flensburg* into her power, and then detained them prisoners, till they engaged the citizens to put the town into the hands of the *Holsteiners*. Her scheme succeeded; the gates were opened to her forces, and every inhabitant revoked the oath of allegiance sworn to *Eric*. Hostilities were now commenced, several places were surprised, and among others the fortrefs of *Swabsted*, and the citadel belonging to the bishop of *Sleswick*, the usual place of his residence.

The Danes
defeated by
Adolphus

A. D.
1410.

No sooner had *Eric* notice of these transactions, than he resolved to make reprisals. Accordingly he invaded the islands of *Arrhö* and *Alsén*, of both which he soon became master. Next he concluded a treaty, offensive and defensive, with the inhabitants of *Dithmarsh*, and immediately sent a body of troops against the *Frisons*, under the conduct of general *Monk*, who had for lieutenants three very experienced officers, *John Scarpenberg*, *Nicholas Thuon*, and *Henry Cabdt*. This corps, amounting to eight thousand men, without cavalry, had orders to march to *Tunderen*, *Eric* being desirous of subduing the country round. They came loaded with booty to the neighbourhood of *Husum* and *Bredstedt*, where they were suddenly attacked by *Adolphus* of *Schawenburg*, and cut in pieces. *Monk* the general, and *Nicholas Thuon*, were left dead on the field, together with fourteen hundred inferior officers and private men. *Scarpenberg* was taken prisoner, and at length obtained his liberty at a ransom of eight thousand marks in silver. It was reckoned that this unfortunate expedition had cost *Eric* two hundred thousand marks, besides the loss of so many brave soldiers (A).¹

¹ MEURS. I. v. 16

(A) *Crantzius* differs considerably from the *Danish* historians in his relation of this action. According to him the *Danes* amounted to fifteen hundred cavaliers; but no mention is made of the number of foot soldiers. *Schawenburg's* army did not exceed eight hundred men, raised in a hurry at *Lunenbürg*, in the diocese of

Bremen and *Westphalia*. He adds, that about this time *Eric Crummedick* surprised *Flensburg*; that the king's troops, however, defended the citadel; and that the *Danish* fleet laid siege to the town, but were not able to force the garrison, which, in spite of all hardships, remained firm to the young duke (1).

(1) *Vid. p. 129.*

After

After the defeat *Eric* followed the advice of his senate, and made overtures to accommodate differences with the *Holstein* princes. His proposals were embraced by the dutchess *Elizabeth*, who consented to refer the matter to arbitration. A certain number were appointed by each side, but no conclusion was formed till two years after.

THE tumult of arms gave place for some time to public rejoicings and festivals on account of the marriage of the princess *Sophia*, or according to some writers *Catherine*, sister of *Eric*, to *John* duke of *Bavaria* and *Newburg*, son to the Denmark emperor *Rupert*. The marriage was celebrated at *Ripen*, married and forty thousand florins given for the princess's fortune. *John* of *Bavaria*. Provided she survived her husband, a jointure of an equal sum was settled on her; four weeks were allowed her before consummation, and in the mean time her fortune was to be paid into the hands of her husband.

NOTWITHSTANDING the propositions for peace, and the conferences held for terminating the differences between *Denmark* and the house of *Holstein*, both sides did not fail to commit numberless hostilities. It was neither perfect peace nor declared war, yet each side bore the most inveterate hatred to the other. Some gentlemen of *Holstein*, to whom the king had committed certain towns in trust, upon their taking an oath of fidelity to him, perfidiously surrendered them to the dutchess, and took all opportunities of insulting the king's garrisons in these parts. Enraged with these disorders, *Eric* was forced to come to the last extremity, and declare to the dutchess, that, unless they were speedily redressed, he would employ all the force of *Denmark* to reunite the dutchy of *Sleswick* to the crown. His menaces had the desired effect: the dutchess and princes declared publicly, that they would endeavour all in their power to accommodate matters to his satisfaction; for which purpose a new congress was held at *Kolding*, where a truce for five years was concluded, during which time the umpires were to give their verdict, and final decision, respecting the fortresses raised or taken by either party, as well as all other grievances. Immediately several treaties, of little consequence, were concluded between queen *Margaret* and the dutchess. They served, however, to distinguish the ability, the moderation, the solid judgment, and active disposition of *Margaret*. All the *Danish* historians are full of her praises upon this occasion; but they neglect the relation of those circumstances which alone could form our judgment of her conduct. It was soon after these transactions that she was carried off by a sudden death, in the fifty-ninth

A. D.
1411.

A truce
concluded
between
Denmark
and the
dutchess of
Sleswick.

Margaret's death
and character.

ninth year of her age, and thirty-sixth of her reign, if we include the time of her regency.

THE characters drawn by the *Danish* and *Swedish* historians are very different. According to the first, *Margaret* was possessed of every virtue belonging to a sovereign: steady, penetrating, active, and bold, she gained the love of her subjects, commanded the respect of her neighbours, and was the terror of her enemies. According to the latter, she was so ambitious as to endeavour the extension of her power at the expence of public liberty. She was pious from policy, moderate from interest, affable and familiar only with her creatures, proud to all besides; rigid and inflexible in the administration of private justice; but regardless of oaths and treaties, when placed in competition with her interest or ambition. In a word, a woman of great ability, but little integrity; of a sound head, but a corrupted heart. It is probable, that too much prejudice prevails in both these characters. The *Swedes* flattered themselves, that the union of *Calmar* would have extended their liberties, and they found them retrenched by *Margaret*. She was too ambitious, too powerful, too rest satisfied with a limited authority. No sooner was she declared queen of *Sweden*, than she formed schemes for extending the prerogative: she recovered, by degrees, the chief fortresses out of the hands of the gentry, by seasonable grants to them of another nature, which did not render them independent on the court. Most of the *Swedish* governments she disposed of to the *Danish* nobility, contrary to the express words of the treaty of *Calmar*; removing, insensibly, the native nobility from all places of trust and profit. *Abraham Broderfon* was the only favourite among all the *Swedes*. He was a young nobleman of fine address and handsome person; but otherwise of little consideration, either in influence or ability. On him she bestowed the government of *Halland*, honoured him with a great share of her confidence, and heaped favours upon his family; a conduct that increased the discontent of the *Swedes*, and gave room for suspicion, that her majesty regarded only the personal attractions of *Broderfon*. It furnished them with fresh causes of complaint against the queen, and additional reasons for lamenting the union, which occasioned the loss of their liberties, at least of their own weight and influence in the scale of government. They presented themselves in a body to her majesty, with a remonstrance of their rights, and a copy of the treaty of *Calmar*, the infraction of which was the subject of their complaints. All the answer they received was, that they might guard those rights with the same diligence

diligence she would maintain the fortresses of the kingdom. Thus the ambitious and haughty princeis reigned with an almost despotic authority in *Sweden*. She imposed taxes before unheard-of in that country, and strengthened her own power by removing the nobility from public affairs, and reducing the people to so low a condition, as deprived them of the ability of redressing themselves, or seeking a change in the government.

MARGARET has likewise been reproached with exerting excessive cruelty against certain *Danish* lords, whom she persecuted out of resentment, until she took away their lives in a manner the most ignominious and excruciating. But these are the malicious suggestions of envy and calumny. The three lords were justly put to death for crimes of the worst complexion: she even would have interposed her clemency; but justice, and the public good, required that they should suffer. In a word, if *Margaret* was inferior in some of the qualities of the heart, which gained a few of her predecessors the glorious title of Father of their People, she was exceeded by none in prudence, in policy, justice, and true magnanimity; qualities which distinguished themselves so early in this princess, that her father *Valdemar* said on a certain occasion, "That Nature had erred in producing her a woman, since she was originally intended for a man."

* PONTAN. l. ix. MEURS. l. v. JOHN GOTH. p. 109.

S E C T. X.

Containing the public Transactions until the Reign of Christopher III.

E R I C X.

DENMARK lost a great princess at the death of *Mar-Eric X.* *garet*; but it was generally believed that this loss, great *surnamed* as it was, would be happily repaired in the person of *Eric*, of *Pomerania*, formed to reign by the counsels and example of a mistress so *skilled* in the art of government. No prince ever ascended the throne with greater applause and expectations from the people than *Eric*. The *Danes* flattered themselves they should experience in him the same qualities *admired* in the queen: the *Swedes* and *Norwegians*, especially the former, hoped for the recovery of those privileges, the loss of which had occasioned

sioned all the murmurings in the preceding reign. *Eric* succeeded to the crown and dominions of *Margaret*; but he inherited neither her power nor policy. Far from recovering their liberties the *Swedes* found the yoke of oppression rendered more grievous. He did not, however, run immediately into excess; but suffered himself to glide gently into the measures of despotism and tyranny.

ON his accession we see him promising to conform to all the treaties made with *Margaret*, to confirm her donations to the church and clergy, to preserve the people in their rights, and to see all wills duly executed agreeable to the intention of the deceased. We see him aggrandizing the city *Seby* in *Schonen*, and endowing it with the same privileges and immunities as *Lunden* and *Malmogen*. In a word, we behold him pursuing the steps marked out by his predecessor of glorious memory, the interest of his people, and the true conduct of a politic prince. At this time *Eric* resided at *Stockholm*, and the *Swedes*, sensible of the advantages resulting to them from the presence of the court, strove to give him new proofs of their attachment. Jealous however of their liberties, they did not omit seizing the favourable opportunity of confirming them. The nobility, bishops, and senate, all endeavoured to obtain a general diet of the states; but in vain: for *Eric* apprehended lest measures contrary to his designs might here be concerted. He therefore returned to *Denmark*, without granting this ardent request of the whole nation.

Congress
for establishing a
solid peace
with Hol-
stein.

ERIC found full employment in this kingdom. The truce between *Margaret* and the house of *Holstein* had for a time suspended hostilities; but yet the cause of their mutual animosity subsisted. The umpires were to give judgment within five years after the date of the truce, and now there was no time to lose. Accordingly *Wratislaus* duke of *Pomerania* and *Stetin* appeared for *Eric*, and *Henry* duke of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, on the part of the dutchess *Elizabeth*. They met to give final sentence at *Flensburg*, and the first thing determined was mutually to release all prisoners made since the peace mediated by *Ulric* of *Mecklenburg*. This was perfectly consistent with the measures taken in the life-time of *Margaret*; but the posture of affairs was greatly altered. The king was no longer in the humour to compromise pretensions which he was in a condition to enforce by arms. He likewise held it dishonourable to treat and negotiate with vassals, nay, with rebels, who had taken arms against him, neglected their oath, and, contrary to the respect due to their

year, the investiture of *Sleswick*; vacant by the death of *Gerhard*. Such were this prince's notions of the royal prerogative. Thus, instead of submitting the difference to umpires, *Eric* took a method totally different; but agreeable, as he imagined, to his dignity. He cited the duke of *Lunenburg*, the dutchess *Elizabeth*, and the princes of *Holstein*, *Henry*, *Adolphus*, and *Gerhard*, to appear at the next diet to be assembled at *Nesburg*, in order to terminate matters before that high tribunal.

THE parties met on the day appointed, attended by the dukes of *Pomerania*, *Mecklenburg*, *Sietin*, *Saxony*, and *Brunswick*; this last taking an oath in quality of uncle and guardian to *Gerhard*, the deceased duke of *Sleswick*. He represented, that *Gerhard* received the investiture of the dutchy as a voluntary bounty of the king and kingdom, and that his children now claimed the same favour. To this *Eric* replied, that *Margaret* had indeed formerly granted that dutchy to the house of *Holstein*, as a fief of the crown; but that the princes had refused to accept it under that title. *Henry* denied this in fact; and the king made answer, that it was to no purpose to deny facts that could be proved by authentic documents. It was notorious, he said, that the duke had preferred the function of a soldier during the wars, to the possession of *Sleswick* as a fief. He then ordered the proofs to be produced; to which *Henry* having nothing to oppose, he had recourse to intreaties and prayers, that the affair might be submitted to arbitrators, promising solemnly to stand by their award, or by the articles of the last treaty, whereby it was agreed, that all conquests made on either side should be restored, and matters put on the antient footing.

Eric's conduct at the congress.

As this proposal was not agreeable to *Eric*, he again cited before the diet all the princes of the house of *Holstein*. They appeared, and the king from his throne opened the assembly with a full explication of the circumstances of the dispute. When he had finished his speech, he ordered the archbishop of *Roschild*, chancellor of *Denmark*, to deliver his sentiments, and what the laws of the kingdom required. The archbishop made a laboured harangue, in which he insisted chiefly on that statute which ordains, that all subjects of the crown, who have connected themselves with foreigners and joined against their sovereign, made incursions into the country, or otherwise disturbed or infringed the laws, should be punished with the loss of their effects and estates, and be deemed guilty of high treason. He then pronounced the following sentence, as president of the diet, that the prince's *Elizabeth*

The sentence passed with respect to Sleswick. beth and duke *Henry of Brunswick*, as tutors and counsellors to *Eric's* children, had forfeited all right to the dutchy of *Sleswick*, in consequence of having taken arms against their lawful sovereign; that all expences occasioned by the late tumults should be indemnified to the crown by the house of *Holstein*; and lastly, that the dutchy in question reverted in full right, and should hereby be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*^a.

SCARCE had the chancellor pronounced sentence; when the young *Henry* threw himself at the king's feet, and besought him to grant the investiture of the dutchy as a fief; but the king only replied, that he must first gain possession, that he might then have full power to grant it upon the terms he might think proper. As this method of bestowing fiefs was new to the *German* princes, it appeared unjust, and confirmed them all strenuous defenders of the *Holstein* family. An alliance was formed between *Balthasar* prince of *Vandalia*, *Henry of Brunswick*, the uncles and guardians of the young princes, and *Albert of Mecklenburg*, who was ravished with the opportunity of revenging on the person of her successor the affront put on him by *Margaret*, in driving him out of the throne of *Sweden*. On the other hand, *Eric Cronandeck*, *Otton Sisted*, and several other nobility of rank and power, deserted the *Holstein* family, and went over to *Eric*. This was a considerable loss; but not sufficient to divert their intention of seriously preparing for war.

A. D. 1414. THIS year the celebrated council of *Constance* sat, during which time the emperor *Sigismund* wrote to *Eric*, requesting him to employ all his interest and power to induce the city of *Lubec* to re-establish their senate, which they had abolished about seven years before. To oblige the emperor, *Eric* used all his endeavours to restore the senate; but finding the *Lubeckers* obstinate, he declined using force, not chusing to increase the number of his enemies. He contented himself with sending *Sigismund* an account of his proceedings, and requesting that he would not protect the house of *Holstein*. Pleased with *Eric's* compliance, the emperor confirmed the sentence passed against the *Holstein* princes, declaring, that all the proceedings of the diet were perfectly regular, and consistent with equity and law. This letter bears date the fourteenth of *June*, 1415.

A. D. 1415. *Eric enters Sleswick with an army.* SURE of *Sigismund's* countenance, *Eric* did not long deliberate in what method he was to act. Immediately he took the field, and entered the dutchy of *Sleswick* with a numerous

^a MEURS. & PONTAN. *ibid.*

army. Perceiving that all the *Holstein* forces were assembled round the cities of *Sliswick* and *Gottorp*, while the rest of the country was left defenceless, he hastily erected two fortresses at the mouth of the *Sley*, the one called *Sleymand*, and the other *Conigsburg*. The same he did on the western side of the dutchy, where the fortresses of *Fresenberg* and *Wildspang* were built on the banks of the *Tride*, a method which he took to possess himself the more easily of the dutchy.

HAVING taken these precautions, he again applied to the *Lubeckers* in favour of the senate. It is probable, that *Sigismund* renewed his instances upon this head; for we find *Eric* now entering upon more vigorous measures. He ordered all their fishermen in *Schonen* to be seized, and their effects confiscated; giving at the same time directions to the governor of *Bergue* to seize all the effects belonging to the merchants of *Lubec*, within his jurisdiction. Thunder-struck with this sudden blow, the *Lubeckers* recalled the senate; and thus the king laid an obligation on the emperor, while he at the same instant strengthened his own interest by the fast friendship of the senate, who owed their liberty and present felicity to his conduct.

IN the mean while the affairs of the *Holstein* family were *A view* upon the decline. *Henry* of *Brunswick*, uncle to the young of the as- princes, held the towns of *Gottorp*, *Ploem*, *Honraw*, and *Hassfeldop*, in security of a sum of money which he had lent *Holstein* *fairs of* the princes; and as he now wanted money, and they were unable to redeem the towns, he offered them to *Eric* on the same conditions: but the king rejected his proposal, by the advice of *Crommedich*, who persuaded him that he would soon reduce them by force, as they were every way unprovided for a long defence. Besides this, all the cities of *Vandalia*, *Hamburg* excepted, were in alliance with the king, and of consequence enemies to the princes of *Holstein*. The duke of *Saxony*, on account of a private quarrel, marched at the head of an army to burn *Odesloe*, and pillage the adjacent country. The dukes *John* and *Albert* demanded payment of the marriage-portion of their niece *Ann*: in a word, every thing seemed conspiring to effect the downfall of this family. Nothing indeed could be more unequal than the contest between *Eric* and the young princes. On the one side was a powerful monarch, master of three great kingdoms, and in alliance with the greater number of his neighbours: on the other, a greater number of princes it is true, but sovereigns only of petty states, at variance with each other, and now united rather out of pique to *Eric*, than attachment to each other, or any well-digested scheme of policy.

licy. Still, however, the *Holsteiners* maintained a good countenance, and determined to make vigorous efforts in their own defence *.

A. D.
1416.

EARLY this year the king a second time entered the duchy of *Sleswick*, and immediately besieged the cities of *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*; and to cut off all communication between them, he erected a fortress called *Halberst*, in the intermediate space. All his endeavours proved abortive; for these places being well provided with every necessary of defence, made several brisk and successful sallies, which obliged the king to withdraw his army. Nor was this the only disappointment he sustained. On the one side *Albert of Mecklenburg*, and *Balthasar of Vandalia*, were marching at the head of an army to the assistance of the *Holsteiners*. On the other, the *Frisons*, induced by *Henry of Osnaburg* to take arms against the king, were making a diversion. The former besieged and took *Fresenburg*, and the latter formed the siege of *Tonderen*, and soon got possession of a place too weak to make any long defence.

Eric's
losses in
Sleswick.

INCENSED with these losses, *Eric* decamped from before *Gottorp*, resolving to lay the country of the *Frisons* in ashes; and this reason the *Danish* historians assign for raising the siege of that city. When the king was preparing to cross the *Eyder*, he discovered *Henry of Osnaburg* posted in such a manner as to obstruct his passage. This prince had narrowly watched the motions of the *Danish* army, and seemed determined to make a stand, which obliged *Eric* to relinquish his design and plan of revenge upon the *Frisons*. Instead of entering their country, he attacked *Henry's* army, and was received with so much unexpected resolution as quite disconcerted him, and forced him to return to his fleet, and embark for *Denmark*; fully determined, however, to revenge the following year all the disgraces he encountered.

Eric re-
pulsed.

His retreat encouraged the *Holstein* princes to enter upon action. They first made a descent on the island *Femeren*, all which they reduced, except the fortress of *Glambeck*, which *Ivar Brusk*, the governor, bravely defended. They had invested this place for the space of two months, and finding all their endeavours to take it by the regular method of siege, frustrated, they determined to starve the garrison. *Brusk* was obstinate, and his soldiers reduced to the last extremity, when he received advice that a *Danish* squadron was hovering along the coast. Immediately he took boat, escaped the besiegers, and presented himself before the king, from whom he obtained se-

* Vid. PONT. lxi. p. 578.

veral ships laden with men, provision, and ammunition. On his return he found all the passages to the fortress closely blocked, the princes who had got notice of this motion giving directions to that purpose. He tried every means to force his way; but being constantly disappointed, the garrison almost starved to death, at length capitulated, upon no other condition than that their lives and liberty should be granted. During the winter the king was busied in preparations for the ensuing campaign, which he resolved to push with the utmost vigour. His fleet was formidable, and his army so numerous, that it amounted to an hundred thousand fighting men; but as he knew that the enemy consisted of foreigners who could not be long maintained, he contented himself with annoying them by sea. This would have been admirable policy, if the princes had no other resources than what *Eric's* heated imagination presented to him. But as soon as they discovered his design, they cantoned their army in the dutchy of *Sleswick*, where they were plentifully supplied with every necessary. Finding this project disconcerted, *Eric* landed his army, which he divided into two bodies, forming the siege of *Sleswick* with the one, and of *Gottorp* with the other. The first of these cities capitulated on the 17th of July; duke *Albert* of *Mecklenburg*, who commanded the garrison, making a particular treaty with the king. It was said, that he had liberty to retire wherever he pleased, on condition that he never should carry arms against *Denmark*.

A. D.
1417.

As soon as the bishop of *Osnaburg* was informed, that *Sles-* *Eric in-*
wick and *Gottorp* were invested, he posted to *Hamburg*, and *vests the*
represented to the magistrates, that if these two cities were *cities Sles-*
taken, the *Danish* forces would over-run all *Holslein*, and the *wick and*
city of *Hamburg* would then have every thing to fear from *Gottorp*.
such neighbours; but not being able to obtain any more than
a promise of a sum of money, he harangued the people in the
market-place with so much eloquence, and energy of diction,
that they instantly resolved to declare war against *Eric*, and
raise forces. The *union* of the *Hamburgers*, the army *Hamburg*
they were preparing to march into the field, and the operations *joins in*
of the *Holslein* family to attack him as soon as they were re- *the conse-*
inforced, made a strong impression on *Eric's* spirit, and de- *deracy*
termined him, without hesitation, to raise the siege of *Got-* *against*
torp, which he had now twice unsuccessfully invested. His *Eric*.
reputation was greatly affected by this measure, the conse-
quences of which became more visible every day; for the
enemy's courage increased in proportion as they observed him
seized with fear. They now took the field with an army of
thirty thousand men, besides cavalry, marched straight to

Halleusburg, and took it sword in hand. Thence they marched to *Sleswick*, and met with equal success. They likewise forced *Conigsburg*, and several castles in the diocese of *Sleswijk*, which they pillaged and destroyed.

Proposals for a peace. IN the autumn some overtures were made for establishing a peace. *Dalman*, bishop of *Lubec*, was charged with a commission from the pope, to mediate a reconciliation between the houses of *Denmark* and *Holstein*. He waited for this purpose on *Eric*, and found him disposed to listen to terms of accommodation; nor were the princes at all averse to reasonable propositions. A truce was signed till the month of *September* in the following year, in which time several conferences were held between the two powers. At last the affair was submitted to the arbitration of two *German* princes, and the deputies of four of the *hanse-towns*; but on condition that if they could not come to any decision, the final determination should be left to the dukes *Bernard* of *Brunswick*, and *Bugislaus* of *Pomerania*. It was also agreed, that, during the truce, both sides should actually lay down their arms, as if in the midst of profound peace; that no annoyance should be given to commerce, or the subjects of either power, and that no new fortresses should be erected.

THE appointed day being come, the king's deputies did not appear; they were driven to sea by a storm, and detained a day beyond the time proposed. Pleased with an opportunity of breaking off the conference, the *Holstein* princes took instruments of their having appeared to the day, and departed. Thus all the endeavours of the bishop of *Lubec* to establish peace were rendered abortive, by an accident on the one side, and from want of inclination on the other (A).

Treaty broken off by the Holstein princes.

The *Holsteiners* did not remain long inactive, after this open declaration of their intentions. They did not, however, in their own persons commence the first hostilities; that would be too palpable a violation of the truce; it was sufficient for them that the *Frisons*, their allies, made incursions into the king's territories. An attempt was made to surprise *Swabside*,

(A) It was about this time that *Eric* received *Martin* the fifth's decree for founding an university in his dominions, with the same privileges as that of *Paris*, excepting only theology, which the *Danes* were required to study at *Rome*. But though the prince was strongly inclined to patronize learning and science, the continual wars in which he was engaged, prevented the execution of his projects, until *Christian I.* put the finishing stroke to them (1).

(1) *Ponten. l. ix.*

a fortress belonging to the archbishop of *Sleswick*, who had joined with *Eric*, but it proved unsuccessful.

• His majesty, irritated with the prince's obstinacy, again took arms, and made an attempt to recover *Femeren*; but finding that the inhabitants joined with the *Holfsteiners* to oppose his landing, he relinquished the design, landed his troops at *Hel-ligerboven*, and made terrible incursions into the country round *Oldenburg* and *Wolstadt*; after pillaging those two cities, encouraged by the large booty, he renewed his attempt on *Femeren*, but was repulsed, and insolently treated by the scoffs of the inhabitants. This treatment wrought the king up to the highest pitch of rage; he exhorted his soldiers either to revenge the affront, or perish in the attempt. Another onset was made with such desperate fury, that a landing was effected, and the inhabitants driven from the shore with great slaughter; which advantage was immediately succeeded by the reduction of the whole island, and the severe punishment of several of the leading persons among the inhabitants. The country was pillaged, the villages set on fire, churches destroyed, married women and virgins given up to the lust of the soldiers, and every disorder committed, that rage and the power of revenge could dictate. The citadel of *Glanbeck* alone remained unconquered; and it was attacked with so much vigour, that the garrison surrendered prisoners of war in less than two days.

A. D.
1419.

• *PONTANUS* makes mention of a treaty concluded this year, between *Eric* and *Vitold*, king of *Poland* and duke of *Lithuania* *. In this they engaged mutually to defend each other against all enemies, especially the knights of the *Teutonic* order. It was also stipulated, that when either king infringed the treaty, their subjects should be absolved from their allegiance; that neither should declare war, or conclude peace, without the consent of the other. That all conquests should remain with those to whom they belonged; that is, with the party who could produce the most authentic documents of right; that the booty should be divided equally between both nations; and that neither party should claim to be reimbursed for the expences of marching to the assistance of the other.

Treaty be-
tween
Denmark
and Po-
land.

On the other hand, *Eric* published a writing that furnished room for speculation. It regarded the dowry of his queen, but is not material to our design, farther than that it created a suspicion in the minds of the people, that he was desirous of extending his prerogative, and rendering himself independent on the diet of the states.

* L. ix.

A. D.
1420.
Eric de-
feated by
the Hol-
steiners,

ALL this time the *Holsteiners* were in arms, and the king was meditating how to come to a decisive action with them. This he attempted near *Immerswed*, and was defeated with great loss, insomuch that his flight became a proverb, *At Immerswed the Dapes were driven to the devil*^b. Although this defeat did not terminate the war, it occasioned a suspension of hostilities, and produced a truce, in order to settle preliminaries for a peace. Umpires were chosen, and the whole affair of the dutchy of *Sleswick* again canvassed. The emperor had confirmed the sentence passed by the archbishop of *Roschild*, at the diet; it was indeed agreeable to law, but a very disputable point in equity. However, the princes had urged no unanswerable arguments why it should be repeated, and they now rather chose to decide the difference by the sword. They had consented to a truce, only to prevent increasing the number of their enemies by their obstinacy; but they embraced all occasions of frustrating the intention of it. *Eric* perceived this, and accordingly equipped a fleet with design to invade the island of *Alsen*. Here he met with little success or honour; the troops were repulsed in attempting to land; *Ivar Brusk*, admiral of the squadron, died on shipboard, and at last a storm dispersed and shattered the whole fleet. Nor was *Eric* more happy in an attempt on the herring fishers on the coast of *Schonen*; for the *Vandal* cities, apprized of his design, sent powerful succours to their countrymen: at the same time a squadron from *Hamburg* ravaged the coasts of *North Jutland*, and took three of the king's ships.

A. D.
1421.

It must be owned, that *Eric* had a better turn for civil policy than for military operations: in the latter he was seldom successful, but almost always in the former. Sundry wholesome regulations were made in several cities of *Denmark*, and the police of *Copenhagen*, in particular, placed on the best footing. One law was passed prohibiting mechanics to be raised to the dignity of consuls or senators; another, depriving the populace of the right they assumed of deposing their magistrates; and a third, whereby the city was endowed with all the privileges granted to *Lunden* and *Calmogen*. Besides these, several private regulations for the good order of the city were made, but though excellent in themselves, they scarce merit attention in a general history.

As to arms, every new attempt of *Eric's* produced fresh disgraces. *Tondern* was long besieged by his troops, without making any considerable progress in its reduction. *Crommedijk*, who commanded the *Danes*, wearied out with the length

of the siege, resolved upon scaling the walls in different places. No annoyance was given by the besieged, while he was fixing the ladders; but as soon as they perceived the trenches filled, and the ladders crowded with soldiers, they poured such quantities of burning pitch, and heaps of large stones upon them, as killed and wounded great numbers, occasioned the utmost confusion among the *Danes*, and gave an opportunity to the besieged to make terrible destruction with their arrows, without any danger to themselves. In a word, the siege was raised, after it had cost *Crommedie* near half his army.

THE *Danes* were also obliged to raise the siege of *Dorning*, on hearing that *Henry* of *Brunswick* had thrown in supplies of men, ammunition, and provision. They likewise lost *Hadersleben*, taken by the same prince. *Eric* was every where discomfited and disgraced; he endeavoured therefore to repair his losses by forming powerful alliances. The first he concluded was with the cities of *Vandalia*. With these he struck up a treaty offensive and defensive, intended to be perpetual, as the king included all his successors, and the magistrates of the towns, with all their descendants. The cities engaged in this alliance were *Lubec*, *Wismar*, *Rostock*, *Stralsund*, *Lunenburg*, *Gripswald*, and *Anclam*; all of which stipulated, that independent of this treaty, they should have liberty to perform all prior engagements to other princes and states.

In the next place *Eric* sent complaints to the pope, the emperor, and neighbouring princes, of the obstinacy of the *Holstein* family, which refused all terms of accommodation, and violently retained the duchy of *Sleswick*, though legally annexed to the crown of *Denmark*. His remonstrances gained him the friendship of almost all the princes and cities to whom he had wrote; *Hamburgh* alone continuing firm to her engagements to the *Holsteiners*. Among others, the duke of *Lunenburg* published an edict, prohibiting all his subjects, under heavy penalties, to enlist in the *Holstein* service, or any way to assist them against the crown of *Denmark*. The regency of *Lubec* went farther. They wrote to the *Holstein* princes, acquainting them, that his *Danish* majesty had laid before them certain complaints, which they must submit to arbitration, or stand the consequence of their joining the whole power of the hanse-towns to the king's forces, to procure redress of grievances, now become insupportable, through their obstinacy. To this they were answered by the *Holstein* nobility, that although it was notorious their lords were in possession of *Sleswick*, duke *Gerhard* having obtained the investiture of that duchy from king *Olaus*; yet there seemed no necessity

A. D.
1423.

sity for submitting to arbitration an affair which admitted of no difficulty.

On the other hand, the inhabitants of *Dithmarsch* exhorted the princes to restore *Sleswick*, and threatened, in case of refusal, to declare in favour of *Eric*. They received the same answer as the *Lubeckers*, and seemed perplexed in what manner to act, as the point in question was a case of right, which they could not pretend to decide.

JOHN, archbishop of *Lubeck*, armed with the pope's authority, pursued the steps of his predecessor, and endeavoured to negotiate a peace; but with as little success as such an attempt had hitherto met with. At last the emperor, at *Eric's* request, sent *Rumpold*, duke of *Silesia*, to take cognizance of the affair in his name. *Rumpold* passed through *Lubeck* to *Flenzburg*. While he resided at this last place, the *Holsteiners* attacked the town, forced open the gates, and soon became masters of the garrison. The *German* deputy was not disconcerted with this violence. He went up to the princes, and told them, that he was come by the emperor's orders in quality of a mediator; that his instructions were first to visit the king, of whose good intentions, and pacific disposition, he was satisfied; so that he had no doubts of effecting an accommodation advantageous and acceptable to both parties. He exhorted the princes heartily to embrace the same sentiments, and to labour in bringing over the nobility and princes of their house to terms of peace, so salutary and necessary. His eloquence wrought such an effect, that the princes yielded to the force of his arguments, and consented he should pursue his journey to the king. *Rumpold*, and the bishop of *Lubeck*, prevailed on *Eric* to grant an interview to *Henry* of *Holstein*; and things went in an excellent train, when the death of the *German* deputy put a stop to the negotiation: for though the emperor immediately supplied his place by another, into whose hands the king put all the papers and proofs relative to the duchy in question, yet the princes of *Holstein* refused to produce their titles, and in effect broke off the treaty.

A. D.
1424.

In the year 1424, the king made a voyage through *Pomerania* to establish some regulations, and conclude certain treaties with the princes and cities of that country. From thence he went to *Buda*, by the emperor's invitation, to be present at the decision of the dispute concerning *Sleswick*. According to *Crantzius*, *Eric* cited *Henry* and his brothers to attend at this judgment. On the contrary, the *Danish* historians allege, that *Henry* went thither, contrary to the advice of his council, who were of opinion that, as a prince of the empire, he could not be cited out of the bounds of the empire.

nor culpable for refusing to comply with such a summons. Besides, they looked upon his imperial majesty as a partial judge, and therefore advised *Henry* to submit his cause to the pope. Be that as it will, *Sigismund* pronounced sentence on the twenty-eighth day of *June*, in the following manner: That all *South Jutland*, containing the cities of *Sleswick*, *Gottorp*, and others, together with the *Danish* forest, the island of *Alsen*, and the province vulgarly called *Frischeiden*, with all their rights and dependencies, should henceforward be annexed in full right to the crown of *Denmark*: that the king be put in immediate possession of the said dutchy and dependencies; and the *Holstein* princes, *Henry*, *Adolphus*, and *Gerhard*, neither have nor lay claim to any right over any part of the said dutchy. The *Holstein* annals add, that, after passing this sentence, the emperor offered, in the king's name, in order to facilitate an accommodation, to cede to them the island of *Laaland*, together with a sum of three hundred thousand marks; but the princes rejected the proposition.

HERE it was that *Eric* resolved upon a pilgrimage to *Palestine*, which he only deferred to attend the coronation of queen *Sophia*. This religious progress had almost cost him dear; for he was led into a snare by an artful *Syrian*, and forced to extricate himself by the immediate payment of a large sum of money. Nor was this the only bad consequence of this unseasonable journey. The absence of princes is generally injurious to their subjects, and it proved so to the *Danes*. He had appointed the queen regent of the kingdom, and advantages were taken of a female government. On the one side, the bishop of *Arhus* claimed jurisdiction over certain lands, which the king had committed in trust to his predecessor. This dispute, however, was amicably terminated by certain mutual concessions. On the other side, the *Holstein* princes were dissatisfied with the emperor's award, although they promised to stand by it. They complained loudly, and sent ambassadors to pope *Martin V.* of whom they obtained an order for the bishop of *Arhus*, and a certain cardinal, whose name is not mentioned, to take cognizance afresh of the dispute, and revise the sentence passed by *Sigismund*.

IN this situation of affairs *Eric* returned to his dominions, and immediately consented to an interview with the princes at *Flensburg*, where each party should be attended by four assistants, two ecclesiastics, and as many laics, who should exert all their endeavours to bring this tedious affair to an amicable and definitive issue. Nothing, however, resulted

A. D.
1425.

from the congress. The king refused to grant the investiture of the duchy, but as a personal fief; and the princes insisted upon having it hereditary. Such was the consequence of that imprudent grant of *Olaus*, that intailed an expensive and ruinous war on his successors. Both sides were obstinate, and recourse was had again to the sword, the final resort of princes. *Eric* raised a powerful army, without declaring its destination, or indeed intimating where the storm would fall; but the princes, rightly judging that his preparations were intended against them, took measures for standing in their own defence. Not contented with reinforcing the garrisons of *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*, they new-modelled the fortifications of the former, and drew a deep ditch around. To give an appearance of justice to their cause, they published manifestoes, setting forth their willingness to end the dispute by arbitration, as was plain from the letters obtained from his holiness, appointing the bishop of *Cologne* umpire. After giving this gloss to their own conduct, they solicited the *Vandal* cities to arm in their favour; and found means to persuade them that justice was wholly on their side: for what could be more extraordinary, said they, than that an emperor of *Germany*, where all fiefs are hereditary, should judge that *Sleswick* alone was personal. Yet all their reasoning would have made but a slight impression, had not the *Hamburgers*, constant in their attachment to the house of *Holstein*, represented to them the injury that would arise to their commerce from the oppression of the princes, and the increased power of the king; demonstrating, that the only method of terminating a destructive war was to hold the balance equal, by which means both parties would soon tire of military operations, and return with eagerness to trade, agriculture, and whatever could repair the losses and poverty consequent on the war. An alliance with *Holstein* was struck up; but before they declared war, they sent deputies to the king, in the name of all the hans towns, exhorting him to conclude peace. *Eric* replied, that he was ready to stand by the emperor's decision: the deputies returned with this answer, and their return was a signal to the cities for declaring war.

A.D.
1426.

*Eric enters
Sleswick
a third
time, and
lays siege to
the cities
Sleswick
and Got-
torp.*

IN the mean time *Eric* entered *Sleswick* with a powerful army, with which he hoped soon to reduce the princes to reason. Immediately he invested *Sleswick* and *Gottorp*, and drew lines, which secured him against the attacks of the *Holstein* army without. Both sieges were pushed with great vigour; and the cities would probably have been forced to surrender, in sight of their army, had not *Eric* suddenly broke up his camp, on receiving menacing letters from the *Vandal* cities, in which they

they told him, that, finding all their remonstrances to him despised, they determined to join with his enemies, and oblige him by force to hearken to reasonable terms of accommodation. It was in vain that *Eric* wrote circular letters to the hans-towns in his own vindication: these had no other effect than exciting popular tumults in the cities, which ended in the destruction of one or two of their magistrates; but produced no salutary effects to *Eric*.

EARLY in the spring the *Vandal* cities sent a strong fleet to sea, which committed dreadful ravages on the coasts of Denmark. *Gerhard* of *Holstein* commanded this fleet, and his brother *Henry* was at the head of an army, with which he laid siege to *Flensburg*, where he was killed with the shot of an arm in farrow; a blow which had almost proved fatal to his family. Immediately his army was seized with the utmost consternation; the soldiers disbanded themselves, notwithstanding all the promises and intreaties of *Adolphus*, who put himself at their head. On this occasion might be seen what had frequently before been observed, the destiny of the general determining the fate of a whole army. A general rout began; and the auxiliary troops of *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, who the moment before had shewn inconceivable ardour, were now the first to lead the flight.

A. D.
1427.

ERIC, in the mean time, gained some considerable advantages at sea. His fleet defeated a squadron of *Vandal* ships: after which success the *Danes* attacked thirty *Lubeck* merchantmen, all of whom they took or destroyed, after an obstinate engagement; yet was he no less desirous than before of accommodating matters with the hans-towns. He knew their power, and the difficulty he would have in reducing the house of *Holstein*; supported by such an alliance. Even his victories afforded no satisfaction, since they more firmly rivetted the hans-towns to *Holstein*. He therefore not only wrote himself, but induced the emperor *Sigismund* to exert all his influence and authority with those cities, in bringing them to a right understanding with Denmark; but neither arguments, influence, nor the imperial authority, could prevail. *Sigismund's* menaces served only to inflame them the more, and made them write sharp letters to *Eric*, that breathed nothing but war and vengeance.

THE emperor, who thought his honour was engaged in concluding this affair, and who was particularly incensed at a war undertaken to frustrate the effects of his sentence, now resolved to go through with the work he had begun. Accord-

^a MAURS. l. v.

^b BONTAN. l. ix.

The emperor mediates a peace.

ingly he sent *Nicolas Stock*, one of the lords of his bedchamber, to negotiate a peace. The ambassador set out for *Lubeck*, where he declared to the senate his imperial majesty's instructions. He set forth, that his master was extremely exasperated at the war declared against *Denmark*, to the great prejudice of all *Christendom*: that he was astonished the subjects of the empire should, without his consent or knowledge, take arms to prevent the execution of an imperial decree, contrary to the laws and constitution of the empire. He exhorted them to recal their fleets, disband their armies, and consent to a truce for six months, during which a general peace might be negotiated on an amicable footing. *Stock* concluded with representing to the senate, that it was their interest in particular not to offend against the laws of the empire, or to incur the displeasure of his imperial majesty, from whom they deduced so many advantages. He next went to the *Holstein* princes, and urged the same arguments to them; but without effect. He then returned to *Lubeck*, and demanded the senate's final resolution. This however they declined, under pretence of its being requisite to know the king's disposition before they gave their answer. *Stock*, who was indefatigable in executing his commission, set out for *Denmark*, and found *Eric* in the very sentiments he could wish. That prince desired nothing so much as peace: he granted full powers to *Stock* to appoint a congress for adjusting preliminaries. Accordingly the ambassador fixed upon *Flensburg*; but this the *Holsteiners* haughtily rejected, demanding that the congress might sit at *Nicoping*, which was granted. A truce was agreed upon, and every thing seemed to conspire in bringing about the much wished-for reconciliation.

Treaty broke off.

THIS, however, proved otherwise. Without regarding the suspension of hostilities, the *Vandal* and *Holstein* fleets committed the most terrible disorders, burning and plundering the *Danish* coasts and shipping, giving quarter neither to men, women, nor children. *Eric* was shocked with this perfidy; but he resolved to suppress his resentment, and wait the effects of *Stock's* negotiation. A safe conveyance was demanded for the deputies; but, far from attending to the issue of the congress, or the articles of the truce, the confederates sent another fleet to sea, with twelve thousand fighting men, besides seamen, on board. Their design was to lay siege to *Copenhagen*; but the coasts were so well guarded by the king's ships, that the enemy found a descent impracticable. Instead of losing courage and presence of mind at the sight of so formidable an armament, all the inhabitants of *Zealand*, and the other islands, were assembled, arms put into the hands of all those

those who were able to use them, and rewards promised to all those who should acquit themselves satisfactorily in the defence of their country. By this animated conduct, all the enemy's attempts were baffled, and not a single *Vandal* or *Holsteiner* landed on the islands *.

THE pirates were more successful in *Schonen* and *Norway*; for after having pillaged and reduced *Landscroon* to ashes, they got possession of *Bergue*, and then retired with an immense booty to *Wismar*. Their lawless conduct, indeed, began to raise apprehensions in the *Holstein* princes and *Vandal* cities, that the emperor would put them under the ban of the empire. In order to appease his wrath, they had recourse to intreaties and supplications, it being impossible to excuse or palliate actions so contrary to the law of nature and nations. They published a manifesto, setting forth, that their view in declaring war against *Denmark* was only to preserve their own rights and liberties, without intending to countenance the doctrine of the *Hussites*, or protect pirates, whom they beheld as the pests of society, and the enemies of mankind in general. They farther declared their readiness to obey the see of *Rome*, his imperial majesty, and to assist against the heretics of *Bohemia*. They affirmed, that contrary winds, and not inclination, had prevented their deputies from attending the appointed congress at *Falsterbo*: that they were now ready to attend wherever his imperial majesty should command; but they intreated him to consider, that, being the kinsman of his *Danish* majesty, he was an improper judge of their disputes, since it would be impossible to avoid some partiality in favour of those with whom we are connected. They therefore intreated him to name some other *German* prince for umpire, or to leave the decision of the whole dispute to his holiness. Finally, they requested the bishop of *Ratzburg* to forward their request to the imperial throne.

In consequence of this manifesto the emperor published a decree, refusing to acknowledge the authority of the pope, or any other power, spiritual or temporal, over civil affairs, within his jurisdiction. He forbid ecclesiastics from at all meddling with the difference between *Denmark* and *Holstein*, it being a case purely civil; and commanded the princes of *Brandenburg* and *Lunenbourg* to assist *Eric* with all their forces, and by every way possible oblige the house of *Holstein* to submit to the imperial decree. *Sigismund's* proceedings induced the pope to withdraw the commission he had granted the bishop of *Cologne*: still, however, the *Holsteiners* continued

A. D.
1428.
Piracies
committed
by the
Vandal
fleets.

Proposals
made by
the *Hol-*
stein
princes.

Rejected by the emperor: their claim; but to shew their desire of complying with *Gismund's* commands, they consented to the conference appointed at *Nicoping*, and attended there in person; but raised so many obstructions, that nothing was determined, the king leaving the final decision to the emperor, and the princes to the pope* (A).

A. D.
1429.

The Danish fleet
defeated.

ABOUT this time the queen, encouraged by her success in defence of *Copenhagen*, and protection of the islands, resolved to avenge the affront. She equipped a squadron, on board which she embarked fourteen hundred land-forces, ordering them to pillage and destroy all the country round *Stralsund*. Courage is not always attended with success. The enterprise was attempted with spirit, and the *Stralsund* fleet was vigorously attacked by the *Danes*; but receiving strong and seasonable reinforcements, they became superior in force, made three hundred of the king's troops prisoners; and destroyed some of his ships, the rest escaping under favour of the night. This miscarriage afflicted the king in a very sensible manner. He blamed the queen for it, which she took so much to heart, that it is justly reputed the cause of her death, which happened soon after. No princess was ever more regretted by her subjects, or admired by all for the moderation, sweetness, and true magnanimity of her temper; but it was when too late that *Eric* began to entertain a due sense of her merit.

A. D.
1430.
Stralsund
and *Ros-
tock* make
peace with
Eric.

IN the beginning of the following year the cities of *Stralsund* and *Rosstock*, wearied out with a tedious war, concluded a separate peace with *Denmark*, which they promised to keep inviolable. Negotiations were set on foot for accommodating matters with the other cities; but they proved abortive, and hostilities continued as usual. A *Swedish* admiral attacked four *Lubeck* merchant-ships, richly laden, three of which he took, the fourth escaping with difficulty into the *Trave*.

[A. D.
1431.

THIS year an embassy arrived from *Henry VI.* of *England*, demanding a renewal of the ancient alliance between the two crowns. The ambassador was charged in particular with in-

* PONTAN. l. ix.

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that *Eric* this year incurred the ill will of his subjects, by coining large sums of money greatly below the standard. The queen observing the effects this produced on the minds of the people, found means, without the king's

knowledge, to procure a new coinage that compensated the baseness of the former. Other writers place this event three or four years earlier: but we chuse to follow the authority of the elaborate and learned *Pontanus*.

struction

frustrations, respecting some injuries done to the *English* merchants by the fleets of *Norway*. *Eric's* answer to the *English* monarch's remonstrance was spirited and sensible. He vindicated the honour of his crown, without derogating from the respect due to *Henry*: in a word, the alliance was renewed; but the grievances complained of remained unredressed, because they required the punishment of certain subjects of the crown of *Norway*.

THE advantages of such an alliance were rather imaginary than real, and, had they been more beneficial, would be more than compensated by the losses on the other side. *Flensburg* was surprised by the *Holsteiners*, and the citadel closely invested, when *Eric* found means to throw in reasonable supplies. Notwithstanding this, the princes, now in possession of the city, obstinately persisted in besieging the fortress; and at length the garrison was forced to surrender, after subsisting for weeks upon the flesh of dogs and horses.

It was now expected that the flames of war would have blazed out with redoubled vigour; but it happened otherwise. The *Hollanders*, profiting by the disturbances in the North, and ever watchful of every opportunity of extending their commerce, had established a footing in the *Baltic*. All of a sudden their trade became so considerable, that they trafficked to all the ports of *Muscovy*, *Livonia*, and *Prussia*; a branch of trade formerly engrossed by the hanse-towns. It was this that first opened the eyes of the *Vandal* cities, and made them now demand peace more eagerly than ever they had sought war. Their deputies were immediately sent to *Horsen*, where they concluded a truce for five years, during which proper measures should be taken for establishing a solid and firm peace. A congress was appointed to meet for this purpose at *Swinburg*, and liberty of trade was in the mean time mutually permitted.

PONTANUS relates that *Eric* appointed commissioners, towards the close of this year, to terminate the difference between the crowns of *Denmark* and *England*. They met the *English* ambassadors at *Flensburg*; and here it was agreed, that the *English* and *Danish* should give mutual satisfaction, and indemnity to each other: that all prisoners should be mutually released; that persons, of either nation, trading contrary to law, should be punished by death: finally, that perpetual amity should subsist between the nations, and mutual assistance be given, when required. This was the first treaty concluded between *England* and *Denmark* since the

PONTAN. l. ix.

Danes were driven out of *England*, at least, it is the first expressly mentioned by the *Danish* or *English* historians, although commerce had been carried on long before between the two nations. It might possibly have been too inconsiderable to merit a particular treaty.

A. D.
1433.
Congress
at Swin-
burg.

NEXT year the congress sat at *Swinburg*; but nothing was concluded. Both parties were too much inflamed with passion to reason coolly on their interest: accordingly it was prolonged, and fixed for the following year, when it was hoped their mutual resentments would subside. It appeared, by *Eric's* answer to the deputies from *Stralsund*, that he had not forgot the hostilities committed on his coasts, and the injuries done to his subjects by the troops of that city. They now demanded the liberty of trading with *Denmark* on the same footing as before the war; and to this the king replied, that they ought to reflect how lately they had put forty *Danes* to death in cool blood, whose relations and friends now breathed vengeance; that for the rest, provided they would run the hazard, he had no objection to their trading in his ports; but he thought this notice due to his own reputation, as he could not answer for the consequences.

Complaints
against
Eric in
Sweden.

ABOUT this time certain disturbances appeared in *Sweden*, which at first gave the king but little uneasiness, as they were only the murmurs of a few individuals never to be satisfied. This at last was the view in which the court represented it, though in fact the whole nation complained loudly of the extortions of the governors appointed by the king, while the court, contrary to the treaty of *Calmar*, resided constantly in *Denmark*. They treated the people like slaves, and conducted themselves like petty tyrants, despotic in proportion to the duration and limits of their authority. Every day the evil increased, new taxes were arbitrarily imposed and rigidly levied. The people carried their complaints to the throne, particularly against one *Jessen Askel*; but they were imprudently rejected, with marks of contempt, altogether insupportable to the spirit of that free and warlike nation.

Engelbert
lays their
grievances
before the
king.

The *Dalecarlians* broke out into open invectives, and *Engelberts*, a nobleman of rank, influence, and courage, undertook to go over to *Denmark* and plead their cause. He intrepidly accused *Jessen* before the king, and offered to stake his head if he did not undeniably prove every material circumstance of the charge. This bold remonstrance was not altogether without effect. *Eric* wrote to the senate to send proper persons to inquire into *Jessen's* conduct, but without displacing him before he was found guilty by the court, and a special commission issued for that purpose. The deputies went to *Dale-*
carlia,

and *Jessen* was found guilty of divers acts of violence and oppression; upon which *Engelbert* set out with the information to court, and to solicit his removal and punishment. This he did with such ardour and freedom of speech, that the king forced him his presence, and ordered him to leave *Denmark*. "That I will," replied *Engelbert*, but to return in "a different manner."

The *Dalecarlians*, ever watchful of their liberties, and the avowed enemies of oppression, were no sooner informed of *Engelbert's* reception, than they despaired of redress without a change of government. It was therefore resolved to throw off a yoke become insupportable, and rather to die like free men with their arms in their hands, than to live like slaves under the lash of tyranny. They assembled in great numbers; chose *Engelbert* for their leader, entered *Westmania*, and determined to exterminate all the *Danish*. Immediately the senate was alarmed at their proceedings; they went in person to prevail on the *Dalecarlians* to return to their duty, but could prevail only on condition, that they should be exempted from all taxes, and obedience to *Jessen*.

Dalecarlians revolt, headed by Engelbert

HOWEVER formidable such an insurrection might appear to others, certain it is, it gave the king no great disturbance. Nothing calls more loudly for the attention of a prince than the just complaints of an injured people; but *Eric* was wrapt up in negotiations, and wholly neglected *Sweden* for the interest of *Denmark*. Instead of redressing the grievances of the *Dalecarlians*, he was wasting his time in useless debates with the *Holstein* and *Pandal* deputies; useless because passion and prejudice swayed beyond reason and interest.

THE conditions on which the malcontents laid down their arms, were so injurious to *Jessen*, that, relying on the protection of the court, he exerted all the means of vengeance in his power. He contrived new taxes, and made it capital to refuse payment on a certain day, without regard to the ability of the delinquent. This was the cause of a new insurrection; but still the influence of the senate prevailed on them to lay down their arms; on *Jessen's* being removed from the government, and a promise made that every demand consistent with law should be granted.

Dalecarlians revolt a second time.

TRANQUILITY seemed to be re-established, when a report prevailed that the king was preparing to punish the rebellion of the *Dalecarlians*. Immediately they flew a third time to arms, swearing they would never lay them down until they rid themselves of the *Danish* yoke. *Engelbert* was always

Engel-
bert's con-
duct.

Engel-
bert's
speech to
the senate.

at their head : he led them into the neighbouring provinces, and reduced a great number of places, which success drew whole flocks of peasants to his standard. The nobility of *Westmania* joined him; he marched into *Uplandia*, and in a short time reduced the whole country. His conduct induced other provinces to revolt, or rather his promises to abolish taxes, and dismantle all the fortresses erected by this king and his predecessors, to secure their authority. In a word, the whole kingdom was in a ferment, and nothing but the cry of liberty was heard over all *Sweden*. By the king's order the senate assembled at *Wadefent*, to deliberate upon the means of suppressing a tumult dangerous to government. *Engelbert* informed of this, marched secretly at the head of a body of troops, entered the assembly, and publicly declared, that he was determined to deliver the nation from the yoke under which it had groaned for some years passed. He said, that from the days of *Magnus* the subject had been wantonly oppressed with taxes, and exposed to all the injustice and severity of usage that petty tyrants could suggest. He added, that it was astonishing the senate, which should be first in redressing these grievances, should remain inactive, and suffer others to gather those laurels which must necessarily result even from the attempt to rescue one's country from slavery. To this the senate answered, that they could not conceive the honour consequent on withdrawing their allegiance from a prince to whom they were bound by solemn oaths. "The king," replied *Engelbert* sharply, "has made promises by his coronation oath, which he makes no scruple of breaking. Your oath is founded on the performance of his; you promise allegiance, provided he governs according to law. Has he done so? Are these governors the instruments of law-ful authority? Has he fulfilled by his residence among us, the chief article of the treaty of union? Are not our revenues squandered in *Denmark*, and ourselves enslaved by *Danes*? Observe how well he has kept his oath, and yet you are denied equal liberty."

STILL the senate persisted in their obedience, and used many arguments to shew how dangerous it was in the least to violate an oath. They said that the breach of one article did not absolve the subjects from their duty, since in that case there would be an end to all government, it being impossible to find a king who would adhere in every particular to his promises. In a word, they stood up for the divine right of kings, their independency, and the bad consequences of subjecting their conduct to the judgment of their people. Enraged at their discourse and arguments in favour of despotism, the ge-

nerous

terious rebellion; cried out in a fury, "Tis well! henceforward I will treat as the tools of tyranny, all who refuse to succour their oppressed country; my poignard shall be plunged into the breast of the first man who opposes public liberty." Terrified with his vehemence, the senate passed an act, whereby they renounced their allegiance to king *Eric*."

ENGELBERT wanted neither foresight nor valour. He knew he must make the best use of the present temper of the people. Accordingly he seized upon a number of the king's garrisons, penetrated to the province of *Holland*, and reduced *Wardberg*, *Holmstadt*, and *Falkenberg*. The inhabitants of *Schenen* alone had resolution enough to oppose themselves against the general torrent of rebellion. They took arms, and determined to dispute the passage of the malcontents into this province. *Engelbert* drew up his army within sight of them, and both parties were separated only by a small river. Every hour it was expected would produce a bloody action; but some of the nobility from each army having held a conference, a treaty of peace was concluded, whereby the *Swedes* and *Scheneners* agreed to live in amity and friendship; and that, if either of them renounced this alliance, they should give timely intimation of their design.

A. D.
1434.

On *Engelbert*'s return he assembled the states general of the kingdom, and here *Cropelin*, governor of *Stockholm*, attended in the king's name. The great point debated at the diet was the utility of the king's fortresses, which *Engelbert* promised to demolish. It broke up in disputes, without other issue than increasing the mutual animosity between the king and his people. In supporting the royal prerogative, the officers of the crown only regarded their own interest, perceiving that any retrenchment of the former would of course invalidate the latter, and reduce their authority, unsupported by a military force, to a mere shadow of power.

ALL this while the king was flattering himself, that this sudden tumult, which arose from a gust of passion, would of itself subside into the wished-for tranquillity; but when he was informed that the diet was broke up, without determining upon measures for establishing peace, and that the malcontents were still in arms, he determined to use force, and compel them to their duty. He sailed for *Stockholm* with a formidable squadron; but heaven would seem to have taken part with the friends of liberty. His fleet was separated in a tempest, and the greater part swallowed up by the waves. With

*Eric's fleet
is destroyed
in a storm.*

* *POSTER. l. ix. PETERSEN. c. iv. l. v.*

a single ship *Eric* with difficulty made the port of *Skalholt*, where he was immediately invested by *Engelbert's* army. Not disconcerted by this unfortunate accident, he proposed obtaining by persuasion what he found was not to be gained by compulsion. He demanded an interview with the senate and chief nobility of the realm; and having this request granted, he intreated them to acquaint him what motives could induce them to take arms against him, and renounce the allegiance they had sworn. With one voice, the diet made answer, that their intention was not to throw off their allegiance, but defend their liberty and the privileges which he had solemnly sworn to maintain at his coronation. They insisted that what they had done was agreeable to the laws of nature and nations, in testimony of which they took all free nations to witness. His majesty's reply was by no means satisfactory; however, a truce for one year, or, as *Moursinet* alleges, until the following spring, was concluded; after which *Eric* returned to *Denmark*.

A. D. No sooner was his majesty departed than a new diet was
1435. held at *Abo*, and *Engelbert* declared prince of all *Sweden*.

Cropelin struck with this unexpected resolution, dispatched letters to the assembly, acquainting them that he had affairs of the last consequence to lay before them. A meeting was appointed at *Sigtuna*, and thither *Cropelin* came attended by the grand master of the *Teutonic* order. In their turns they harangued the assembly with so much eloquence and energy of argument, that they obtained a decree for accommodating matters amicably with the king. A bill of grievances was drawn up and presented to *Eric*; upon which he assembled the *Danish* diet at *Holmstadt*, to deliberate upon measures for bringing to an issue this now serious dispute. * The assembly was held on the 4th day of *May*, and the king went before the end of *July* to *Stockholm*, where, in the presence of twelve senators, he redressed the public grievances, received a promise, that all the fortresses taken from him should be restored; that he should be acknowledged king of *Sweden* on the terms of his coronation oath; and that he should swear afresh never again to violate the laws, or attempt to encroach on the privileges of the people. With respect to *Engelbert*, the restorer of *Swedish* liberty, it was stipulated, that for life he should possess the city *Orskov*, which was to revert to the crown at his death (A).

Matters
accommodated with
the senate.

PEACE

(A) *Pontanus* relates, that before the twenty-fifth of *October* *Eric* did not arrive in *Sweden* (1). He was no sooner

(1) *Pont.* l. ix. p. 599.

come

Peace was thus restored to Sweden; but the arbitrary spirit of *Eric* made it of short duration. Unmindful of what was past, he thought of nothing but establishing his prerogative above law. Promises and oaths could not bind him, as they were things of course, intended only to answer certain purposes. Immediately he turned out the *Swedish* governors appointed in the different provinces, and committed these important trusts to foreigners, on whose attachment he could rely. So sudden a violation of a solemn contract alarmed all Sweden; they sent a deputation to the king of ten of the principal lords of the realm, to beseech him to perform his obligations, and not destroy in a moment a compact, the result of much labour and bloodshed. They intreated him to observe, that the *Swedes* were perfectly disposed to comply with the late treaty; but they would hazard every thing rather than support the loss of liberty. At first *Eric* received them with indifference, and on their assuming an air of austerity, replied, that he was resolved not to be governed by his subjects. He knew the machinations of *Engelbert*, who had excited the nobility to these remonstrances, and would take care of him.

Eric again violates the union of Calmar.

From hence it was obvious to the deputies, that *Eric* had formed a plan for governing despotically, and that he breathed nothing but vengeance for what was past. His turning *Crospin*, to whom he owed his re-establishment in Sweden, out of the government of *Stockholm*, only because his conduct was moderate and agreeable to the people; his placing a *Danish* gentleman of a different disposition in his place, together with a thousand other circumstances, all concurred to convince the deputies, that Sweden could never enjoy happiness under *Eric*. But what most irritated the *Swedish* nation happened subsequent to their deputation; for the king immediately reinforced the garrison at *Stockholm*, and soon after went in person with a strong fleet to depose all the *Swedish* governors. Not contented with this infraction of the late peace, he committed the most notorious enormities, in pillaging and ravaging the country, and destroying a great number of towns and villages.

Heaven and the *Swedes* would not suffer such perversity to go unpunished. A furious tempest destroyed the greater part of *Eric's* fleet; and the inhabitants of the coasts flocked in crowds to *Engelbert* to complain of the injuries done to them.

The Swedes revolt.

More than the bill little more than we have had of grievances was presented to occasion to recite in our account him, containing in substance of the causes of the revolt.

by the king, declaring solemnly they would never acknowledge his sovereignty.

He makes
peace with
Holstein.

ON *Eric's* return to *Denmark*, he began seriously to reflect on his situation. He doubted not but a revolt would immediately succeed what had happened in *Sweden*: he considered that *Denmark* had been for the space of twenty-nine years at war with the house of *Holstein*, and upwards of nine years with the cities of *Vandalia*, without gaining any considerable advantage, to counterbalance the immense consumption of blood and treasure. He considered, that should he be attacked on these three sides, it would not be possible for him to make head against such a number of enemies: he therefore determined to make peace with the *Holstein* princes; and came soon to an agreement with that family, that *Adolphus* should enjoy, during his life, that part of the duchy of *Sleswick*, of which he was now in possession, together with the island *Femeren*, and the *Lesser Frisland*; which his heirs should likewise enjoy for two years after his decease; but that after this time the king of *Denmark*, and the house of *Holstein*, should reconsider their several claims to the duchy of *Sleswick*, and adjudge to each their rights. Other clauses were annexed to this treaty, respecting the homage to be paid by *Adolphus*, and the re-establishment of trade. Upon the whole, it was apparent, that *Eric* wanted only to suspend this war, leaving full room for commencing hostilities as soon as he found it necessary.

It was next thought necessary to accommodate matters with the northern hanse-towns; nor were the cities of *Hamburg*, *Lubeck*, *Luxemburg*, and *Wismar*, backward in making their submission, having feeling experience of the importance of the *Danish* trade to their well-being. They entreated the king to pardon the fault they committed in breaking with him, and to restore them to their former privileges of commerce. This was just what *Eric* desired; yet he artfully made some difficulty about granting their request; with which he at length complied, on their promise of paying him a yearly sum of money, by way of reparation for the damages sustained by *Denmark*.

HITHERTO *Eric* had lived in perfect harmony with his *Danish* subjects; but the plan he concerted for settling his *Danish* succession, made his best friends fall off. It was at a diet of subjects by assembled at *Wardenburg*, that he first broke the proposal. He nominating set forth, that he was now advancing in years, after supporting for forty years the weight of a triple crown, to which it became unequal. That for this reason he be sought the di-

to appoint him to succeed his nephew *Bugislaus*, duke of *Pomerania*, for his successor; in the same manner they allowed *the duke of Mecklenburg* to settle the succession on him. He added, that this *Pomeranian* prince was in the flower of his age, better able to direct the reins of authority than he was, and merited the distinguishing regard of *Denmark*, as he had ever shewn the most inviolable attachment to the interest of the kingdom in general, and even of individuals. Although the diet was not surpris'd at this proposition, having before had frequent intimations of the king's intention, yet they expressed themselves dissatisfied with it. They told his majesty, that their first prayer to heaven would be to preserve his majesty's life, during which they had no thoughts of chusing another sovereign; But that if it pleas'd his majesty to abdicate, contrary to the earnest desire of his subjects, the right of election then devolv'd upon them, and they would never permit a fundamental law of their constitution to be revers'd, by making the right of succession hereditary in the crown. An answer so explicit convinc'd *Eric*, that it would be fruitless to insist upon his request; he therefore wav'd it for a new proposition. This was that they would allow him to chuse some person to assist him in the government of the kingdom. To this the diet replied, that he certainly had a right to appoint a coadjutor, provided the person fix'd upon should derive from thence no claim to the crown. They likewise declar'd, that the king was at liberty to commit the government of the strong holds and garrisons of the kingdom to such persons as he thought proper.

The diet
offended.

WITHOUT insisting further on these particulars, *Eric* He withdrew suddenly into *Prussia*, without giving the least intimation to the senate, as if he intended to abdicate the throne. Upon the first notice of his retreat, the senate sent a deputation, intreating him not to expose the kingdom to fresh troubles by his absence, and representing to him that it would be more expedient to proceed with diligence to *Alto*, where the *Swedes* had convok'd a general diet. Although *Eric* took but little concern in the interest of his people, yet he was prevail'd on to return to *Denmark*. Probably his ambition was not yet wholly extinguish'd, though, for a time, obscur'd by a fit of disgust. On his return he made several promotions: to the duke of *Pomerania* he committed in charge the fortresses of *Nyborg*, *Helsingør*, and *Helsingør*; to duke *Barne*, that of *Ålborg*; count *Eberstein*, he made governor of all posts of *Franker*, and to duke *Wratislaus* he gave the government of *Denmark* and *Rosenburg*; a preference of foreigners no way pleasing to the *Danes*.

He returns
to Den-
mark, and
raises fo-
reigners to
reigners to
trust.

* PONTAN. l. ix. b MEYER. l. v. etiam PONTAN. ibid.

A. D.
1436.
*An account
of the
Swedish
affairs.*

In the mean time a very full diet of the *Swedes* assembled at *Åbo*, and resolved upon first trying gentle methods. With this view a letter to the king was drawn up, reminding him of the oath he had taken, and intimating the resolution of the diet to renounce their allegiance, if he persisted in violating it. What his majesty's answer was we are not informed; *Hilsons* only relate, that he soon afterwards went to *Stockholm* with his nephew *Bugislaus*, and persisted in rendering himself more unpopular. Here it was that he resolved to resign his crown to *Bugislaus*, the governor of *Stockholm* having already sworn allegiance to that prince. This news was received with equal satisfaction by the *Danes* and *Swedes*; both began to take measures for securing their liberties, but the *Swedes* first began their operations. *Engelbert* was again applied to by the populace: he raised forces, and marched with the senate to *Stockholm*, the gates of which were shut against him by the governor. The senate demanded entrance, and were refused. They next demanded to speak with the consuls of the city, who were sent to them, and confined. After this they demanded to know by what authority such an affront was put on the senate, and were answered by order of the court. This was a signal for hostilities, and immediately the city was invested by *Engelbert*. Scarce had the siege began, when the citizens, impatient at the confinement of their magistrates, took up arms, seized upon the gates, and opened them to *Engelbert*, who, marching in with the senate and his forces, erected his standard in the market-place, inviting all the friends of liberty and their country to range themselves under it. The greater part of the inhabitants flocked eagerly to him, seized upon all the advantageous posts, and drove the governor into the citadel.

CHARLES CANUTSON, grand-marshal of *Sweden*, was ravished with the prospect of his country being delivered from the *Danish* yoke. He joined himself to the senate, and entered into all their measures; but this accession of power had almost ruined the cause of liberty. A rivalry commenced between *Canutson* and *Engelbert*; each was for commanding, and each had his faction. Both were fired with the glorious emulation of being the deliverers of their country. The first was supported by the senate and nobility; the latter by the gentlemen and peasants. At length the affair was compromised by a partition of power. The grand marshal was to continue the siege of the citadel, while *Engelbert* was to attempt the reduction of the king's garrisons, and the deposition of the *Danish* governors.

ERIC in particular was extremely successful, and things were in a better state, when he was murdered by the artificer of his rival; between whom and *Eric Pache* a new dispute arose, that once more restored the king's affairs. It would be unnecessary to enlarge on all the particulars of this revolution, as we shall have occasion to relate them particularly in the history of *Sweden*. Sufficient it is for our purpose, that the senate, apprehending a civil war might ensue from the warmth and passion of these rivals, summoned a general diet at *Calmar*, and invited the king to appear there in person. *Eric* embraced the invitation, and went thither, attended by a crowd of *German* and *Danish* nobility. Here it was stipulated, that all fortresses and garrisons should be put into the hands of native *Swedes*; that the king should take a fresh oath to preserve the privileges and immunities of the people; and that he would never prefer to places of trust and profit any foreigners whatever, within the limits of the *Swedish* monarchy. Upon his consenting to these conditions, he was again declared king of *Sweden*; and other difficulties left undecided until the next diet, appointed to be held on the first of September following at *Sundercoping*^a.

ERIC was now once more restored to the throne of *Sweden*; but numberless obstructions occurred in establishing the tranquility of that kingdom. These we shall relate in their proper place, and proceed here to the general diet of the three kingdoms summoned at *Calmar*. The first act passed by this diet, was a confirmation of the treaty of union made in the last reign. To that ancient treaty were subjoined a number of new clauses, the principal of which were, that the king should frame no new laws but what received the sanction of the diet of that kingdom for which they were made; That the three kingdoms should swear to live in perpetual peace and amity; That the grand bailiff of each kingdom, should preside at all causes carried before the king: That in the king's absence, this magistrate should represent his person in each kingdom: That the grand marshal should be his coadjutor, and preside over the executive, as the grand bailiff did over the legislative authority: That only persons learned in the laws and constitution, should be chosen masters of the household, or chancellors in either kingdom: That the king should visit and reside at least three months every year in each kingdom; That he should always be assisted by a council of three senators of each nation, and judge in person the disputes of particulars: That when he is threatened with a foreign war,

*The brother
Engelbert
murdered.*

*A general
diet of the
three king-
doms meet
at Cal-
mar.*

^a *JERAM. GRAM. p. 413.*

the forces of the three kingdoms shall unite in his defence : That at the election of a new king, besides the archbishops, two bishops, grand bailiffs, and grand marshal of each kingdom, there shall likewise attend at least twenty-six persons from each senate to give their votes : That provided the deceased king shall leave a legitimate son thought capable of reigning, he shall be chosen to succeed him ; but if he should leave more sons than one, the states shall chuse him whom they believe most deserving of the crown, without regard to seniority : That in case the male line became extinct, it should be in the power of the senators, and great officers above-mentioned, to elect a stranger or native of the country : That should a native of the country be fixed upon, they might proceed to election in the manner following ; first, the names of the three kingdoms should be written on as many pieces of paper, and placed before an infant of twelve months old, and the electors proceed to chuse a king out of that kingdom whose name has been taken up by the infant : That if the electors differed among themselves, they should chuse four persons from each kingdom, two ecclesiastics, and two laymen, to meet in a certain place, after swearing they are ignorant of the business they are sent upon, and that person should be king whom they have unanimously fixed upon, or after reasoning the case, agreed upon^a. Such was the new treaty of union concluded at *Calmar*, between the three northern crowns, at which it is probable *Eric* did not preside in person ; for we are told that he soon after set out from *Denmark* for the island of *Gotbland*, in order to be nearer the ensuing *Swedish* diet. It is remarkable, that he carried a large body of troops with him, all the jewels of the crown, the immense wealth treasured up by his ancestors, and heaps of manuscripts and deeds ; nor did he forget his mistress *Cecilia*, of whom he was passionately enamoured^b.

The Swedish diet assemblies.

THE *Swedish* diet met at *Calmar*, but were not favoured with the king's presence ; upon which they deputed a number of bishops, and great officers of the kingdom, to intreat the senate of *Denmark* to labour, in conjunction with them, in prevailing on his majesty to come to *Sweden*. But there was an equal misunderstanding between his majesty and his *Danish* subjects, who complained, that he was making continual efforts to place his nephew of *Pomerania* on the throne ; that he gave away all posts of profit and power to *Germans* : in a word, that he infringed, in divers particulars, his coronation-oath, and treaty of union at *Calmar*.

^a PONTAN. l. ix. p. 605.

^b Idem. p. 606.

FINDING *Denmark* in the same situation with *Sweden*, the deputies addressed themselves directly to his majesty, and received a sharp and sarcastic answer, which sent them back greatly dissatisfied. However, their voyage was not without its advantages; for if they could obtain nothing from the king, they at least connected themselves more strongly with the *Danish* nobility. Their mutual discontents were of a nature so similar, as became hazardous to the king; and it is affirmed, that on this occasion the first plan for bestowing the crown on *Christopher of Bavaria* was concerted between the two kingdoms.

THIS year the clergy of *Denmark* and *Norway* sent letters to the council of *Basil*, complaining, that in *Denmark* there was a *Norwegian* bishop, and in *Norway* a native of *Denmark* raised to the same dignity, both chosen canonically; but the people refused to obey them. They therefore besought the fathers of the council to grant them powers to make an exchange, for the repose of both kingdoms, which was accordingly granted.

A. D.
1437.

THE year following *Eric* dismembered the isle of *Rugen* from the crown by a grant of it, which he made to his nephew *Bugislaus*. This increased the discontent of his *Danish* subjects, and occasioned the meeting of a new diet, at which his conduct was canvassed with great freedom. The chief grievance, for which they sought redress, was his introducing foreign soldiers into all the garrisons of the kingdom, in order to pave the way for his nephew *Bugislaus* to ascend the throne; and raise a civil war in the kingdom. *Eric's* deputies removed this difficulty by a solemn promise, in his name, that all foreign soldiers should be removed out of the kingdom within two months; a promise that was never performed, and indeed intirely forgot, among other disturbances that followed.

A. D.
1438.

THESE commotions had their first rise in the province of *Wrensyssel*, and from a circumstance singular enough. The peasants refused to pay the usual tithes to the clergy, alleging, that they were informed the pope had assembled a council at *Basil* to reform the abuses of the clergy, arising from their enormous wealth: they were desirous, they said, of co-operating with the pious intention of his holiness, and would therefore not make any addition to the wealth of ecclesiastics. But this was no more than the harbinger of greater disturbances. In *Futland* the peasants revolted against the nobility, whom they accused of tyranny and oppression not unjustly; and the defection was so general in this part of *Denmark*, as not to be suppressed either by gentle methods, or by force.

Insurrections in
Denmark.

force. It was suspected the king was at the bottom of this affair; but he laboured to justify himself, and, indeed, it would be difficult to assign reasons for such a conduct. In short, matters were pushed to such extremities, that the nobility were forced to take shelter with the *Holstein* princes against the fury of the peasants; and to put the city of *Hadersleben*, and isle of *Arroe*, among other places, into the hands of *Adolphus*.

*A view of
the affairs
of Swe-
den.*

SWEDEN was in a state still less tranquil. *Canutson* had the direction of public affairs, by means of which he grew rich, insolent, and detested by the people. The grand bailiff *Nilson*, and several of the first nobility, formed a league against him, and engaged the *Dalecarlians* and *Wermelandians* to take arms. But *Canutson* was not long in revenging himself. After defeating the *Dalecarlians*, he surprised the grand bailiff in his bed, and conducted him prisoner to *Orebro*, where demanding of him whether he would surrender the garrisons in his hands, fear made *Nilson* reply, that he not only would do that, but likewise serve the marshal in any thing else he desired. Many other commotions appeared in *Sweden*. The archbishop *Olaus* was poisoned by order of *Canutson*, and things tended fast to anarchy and universal confusion. This, however, is not the place to dwell on the affairs of *Sweden*, with which we have nothing to do, but as they are connected with those of *Denmark*.

THE Swedish diet met, at which attended the *Danish* deputies, to represent the king. Their instructions were to insist upon having the three principal fortresses in the kingdom put into his majesty's hands: this they demanded; and the diet obstinately refused; upon which it broke up, without doing any business. 'All this while *Eric* kept close in the island of *Gothland* with his treasure, paying no regard to the invitations of his *Danish* subjects to return. He would either seem to be insatuated, or at least his intellects impaired by years; for, amidst all the troubles and confusions in *Denmark* and *Sweden*, he lived perfectly at ease; regarding with indifference, and even contempt, all the remonstrances made to him by the subjects of both nations. This it was that induced the *Danish* senate to send an embassy to *Christopher* of *Bavaria*, to desire his acceptance of the crown, and intreat him to take immediate possession of the throne. A letter was drawn up to this prince, in which they complained of the king's repeated attempts to settle the succession on *Bugislaus* of *Pomerania*, which they as repeatedly opposed; of his putting all the fortresses into the hands of foreigners, in order to strengthen the interest of *Bugislaus*; of their permitting him to appoint

*The Danes
invite
Christo-
pher of
Bavaria to
accept of
the crown.*

Bugislaus

Bugislaus his assistant in the government, but without deriving from thence any claim to the crown, a grant which both *Eric* and his nephew abused by every possible method; of his majesty's putting into *Bugislaus's* hands the garrisons of *Neoburg*, *Hensgavel*, and *Hadenkow*, contrary to the laws of the realm, and express treaties with his people; of his assembling the inhabitants of *Zealand*, and expressly enjoining them to obey the orders of the duke in every particular as their sovereign; of his majesty's retreating to *Gothland*, at the very time the states of the three kingdoms assembled to meet him at *Calmar*, and continuing there from that time, to the great prejudice of his subjects; of his carrying thither the jewels and treasure amassed by his predecessors, to support the honour of the *Danish* crown. They in the next place set forth, that, ever since his retreat, the kingdom had been torn with factions and sedition; the people risen in arms against the clergy and nobility; no regard paid to the laws, but every thing tending to confusion and anarchy. The situation of affairs, they said, was such, that they every moment expected a rupture with the house of *Holstein*, which must be of dangerous consequence at this juncture. What had they not to apprehend in such an event, from the number of foreign governors and troops in the kingdom? Besides, they were not quite easy with respect to *Sweden*, as the king had refused to fulfil his treaties with that kingdom; and the three kingdoms, so lately united for their mutual good, were now separated and divided by mal-administration. For these reasons, and because *Eric* had in effect abdicated the throne, they intreated his excellency, as the prince nearest allied by blood, to protect the kingdom in this extremity, by accepting a crown to which he had the best right, as it was offered with the hearts and hands of all his faithful subjects. But if his highness should not think proper to accept this offer, they requested he would give their deputies an explicit answer, that they might fix their choice on some other, who might think the crown of *Denmark* an object worthy his regard. This letter bore date the twenty-eighth of *October*, 1438 (A).

IN

MEURS. & PONTAN. in loc. citat.

(A) It deserves notice, that the states now insisted, for the first time, upon making elections absolutely free and independent of the will of the sovereign. This was the first step the nobility took to raise their power above the royal prerogative, and the other states of the kingdom, which they at last effected, when the royal line was extinct in *Christopher III.* and the house of *Oldenburgh* ascended the throne. We have seen,

Eric's conduct.

IN the mean time *Eric* removed from the ill of *Gothland* to *Stakeberg*; from whence he sent to the grand marshal *Canusson*, intreating him to come in person, to deliberate on the proper measures to be taken in the present unhappy posture of affairs; but as those persons are ever the most suspicious, who make themselves no scruple of breaking oaths and engagements, so *Canusson* dreaded putting himself in the king's power. *Eric* waited some time in expectation; but finding the grand marshal had no intention of coming to *Stakeberg*, he returned to *Gothland*.

IT was about this time that he received a writing from the senate of *Denmark*, acquainting him, that they had renounced their allegiance, and specifying their reasons for such a proceeding, and for electing a new king, who, they hoped, would be more regardful of his oaths, watchful over the good of his people, and more agreeable to all the subjects of the three crowns. It was dated at *Lubeck* the twenty-ninth of *June*, 1439.

He complains of the usage received from his subjects.

By the twenty-fifth of the following month *Eric* returned an answer to the senate, expressing his astonishment at the indignity done him, in not presenting their accusation in person, and in electing, without his knowledge, his nephew *Christopher*. He said, that he deserved not such usage; and took God to witness, that he was ready to answer every article of their charge, either before the senate, or commissioners appointed for that purpose, without passion or resentment. He promised to conform to whatever they could reasonably demand; concluding with a prayer, that his nephew *Christopher* might be better advised, and the senate deliberate on more salutary measures, than depriving their king of a crown he enjoyed so long, and so legitimately. He wrote the same day to the inhabitants of *Schonen* and *Fionia*, sending them likewise a copy of the writing he received from the senate, and demanding to know if they assented to their unlawful proceedings. In a word, he intreated them to use all their influence to prevent the senate from wresting from him a crown which he held of the Almighty. All this, according to *Pontanus*, happened during *Eric's* residence at *Stakeberg*, and before his return to *Gothland*.

HE no sooner arrived at his old retreat in this island, than he wrote an expostulatory letter to *Christopher*, in much the

seen, in the short sketch given of the present state of *Denmark*, to what an exorbitant height this power had risen, until it

brought about another revolution, destructive to the liberty of the people.

same terms as the two former to the senate and inhabitants of *Schonen*, and to as little purpose. To this he added a long justification of his conduct, containing eleven articles, and a direct answer to the accusation of the senate; if the denial of facts, evident to the whole world, can be called an answer. This he sent to the *Fionians*, who had always espoused the cause of *Bugislaus*, desiring they would transmit it to the senate, and support it with all their weight and influence. To conclude, he summed up his intreaties and remonstrances, in requesting, that the difference between him and the senate might be submitted to the arbitration of the neighbouring princes, of the nobility, or of deputies from the cities, provided they were dispassionate and unprejudiced. If case this just request was refused him, he protested that he would first demand justice of God, next of the pope, the emperor, the kings and princes of the universe; not doubting but he would find some powers zealous enough in the cause of equity to redress his grievances, and punish the injuries and insults put on majesty and God's anointed.

BUT all his remonstrances and menaces, unsupported by *Eric de-* power, were disregarded. He was formally deposed, and his nephew *Christopher* crowned king, according to the forms required by law; after which *Eric* spent the ten following years shut up in the isle of *Gothland*, from whence he sent forth piratical squadrons to annoy the *Swedish* commerce. At the expiration of ten years, he passed into *Pomerania*, where he lived in the same retirement, and about the same number of years, here ending his days unlamented. Never did prince experience a greater variety of fortune, or pass through more opposite characters. On his accession he was universally beloved and esteemed by the people. Bred under the eye of a queen perfectly mistress of the art of governing, he joined experience to natural talents and a quick discernment. Soon after the death of *Margaret* his ambition increased, and his prudence vanished proportionably. It was not the laudable ambition of raising his subjects above other nations in wealth, power, and felicity; but of elevating himself above their laws and liberties. His behaviour and pride engaged him in a tedious war with the *Holstein* family and northern hanse towns, during which he was unsuccessful in almost all his enterprizes, from a variety of causes. His own irresolution, the disaffection of his subjects, his dependence on foreigners, his dissipation of the public treasure, and innumerable other circumstances, concurred in spinning the war out to a period of twenty-nine years, and in rendering every negotiation, every siege, battle, and operation, whether in the cabinet or the field,

field, fruitless: circumstances that in the end deprived him of his crown, which he might have enjoyed for an uncommon course of years in ease and tranquillity, with reputation to himself and his subjects^a. But we shall have occasion to relate some transactions in the following reign, which will more distinctly mark the character of this unfortunate prince.

^a3.

^a Vid. Aut. citat. PUFFENDORF. Introd. a L'Hist. Gener. t. iv. p. 208. & seq.

S E C T. XI.

Here the Affairs of Denmark are recited down to the Year 1481, when John was elected to fill the Throne.

C H R I S T O P H E R III.

Christo-
pher III.

CH R I S T O P H E R duke of Bavaria, son of John duke of Bavaria, by his wife *Sophia*, sister to *Eric* king of Denmark, being elected king in the room of the deposed sovereign, and invited to take possession of the throne, came with that intention to *Lubec*, where he was met by the senate, and a great number of nobility, who immediately took the oaths. From thence he went to *Denmark*, and was there invested with the authority of protector of the kingdoms of *Sweden* and *Norway*; but the states declined giving him the appellation of king, or the badges of sovereignty.

Decree of
the senate
against
Eric's ad-
herents.

IMMEDIATELY on his arrival in *Denmark* the senate published a decree, whereby all those were declared enemies to their country who should visit *Eric's* court, or obey any other sovereign than *Christopher*; an act chiefly levelled against *Bugislaus*, *Barnim*, and *Wratislaus*, the kinsmen and allies of *Eric*. Accordingly they retired out of the kingdom the instant of its publication. After this an embassy was sent to the grand bailiff, grand marechal, and senate of *Sweden*, to negotiate with them about the union of the crowns, and the establishment of *Christopher* in the sovereignty of that kingdom. Commissioners were appointed to treat with the Danish ambassadors, and a congress fixed at *Jenecoping*. Here it was agreed, that, previous to all other business, the resolutions of the general diet at *Calmar*, in the year 1436, should be exactly followed; except that article which stipulated, that during *Eric's* natural life no other sovereign should be acknowledged. It was next determined, that the states of the three kingdoms should assemble on the twenty-fourth of *June* following

following at *Calmar*, to deliberate concerning the security of the rights, privileges, and immunities of the people^a.

SOON after this a manifesto was published by the senate of *Fresbo ar-Denmark*, containing fresh articles of accusation against *Eric*, *titles of accusation* which were affixed on the gates of all the northern hanc-
cations. Among other charges was that of maintaining a de-
cative war against the *Holftein* family, and the northern *Eric*.
The towns, many years after honourable and advantageous
of accommodation were offered. This, in fact, was
for *Eric* had done all in his power, for the eight last
his reign, to compromise their differences, which the
princes always declined, in consequence of some new
they had gained over the king's forces. That he
intreated, after the death of his queen, to strengthen
by another marriage; but he chose to pass his
concubine, rather than gratify the ardent wish of
that he had made several attempts to break the
the three crowns, and raise disturbances in the
favour the design of placing *Bugislaus* on the
throne, notwithstanding notice had been given him by
the bishop of *Lunden*, in the name of the senate, to with-
draw out of the hands of foreigners the strong-holds of the
kingdom, and the islands of *Fionia*, *Langland*, *Laaland*, and
Uthman: yet he despised their advice, contrary to the dictates
of religion, contrary to his solemn oath, and against the fun-
damental laws of the kingdom. Even the menaces of the
senate, that they would depose him, could not induce *Eric* to
grant them in this particular; from whence it was obvious,
said they, that he must have formed some deep and dangerous
designs: that he had alienated the isle of *Rugen* from the
crown: that he made no scruple about giving the government
of *Fusio* to *Bugislaus*, notwithstanding the pressing instances
of the senate to the contrary: and that, after consigning all
the important trusts in the kingdom to foreigners, he then re-
treated to the island of *Gotthland*, abstracting himself from all
cares of government: that he had assumed a despotic autho-
rity, by treating the clergy of the three kingdoms with the ut-
most rigour, contempt, and violence: that it was notorious
he had one day struck and disfigured the face of an ecclesiastic,
for no other reason than his innocently presenting letters from
his holiness, which happened not to please him: that he ag-
gravated the affront, by endeavouring to oblige the ecclesiastic
to drink up the blood which issued from his nose, and, on his
refusal, confined him in prison in irons: that he placed in

^a PONTAN. l. ix.

the government of provinces foreigners, whose avarice and poverty could only be exceeded by their insolence in office, who treated the people rather like slaves than the free-born subjects of an elective prince: that he altered and debased the coin, oppressed the people with taxes beyond their ability, and plundered their effects on refusing to pay what exceeded their power: and, lastly, that he neglected to assemble the diet, as ordained by law, to hear the complaints of the injured; and, in a word, suffered usurpers, oppressors, and public robbers, to live with impunity upon the vitals of the people. Such was this fresh charge against *Eric*, published in defence of their own conduct, and to prevent the hanse-towns from taking arms in behalf of the deposed monarch^a.

A. D.
1439.

It was about this time that *Christopher* published an edict, enjoining all those who held fortresses in his name, instantly to surrender them to the senate, under pain of forfeiting life and effects. In particular he sent a copy of this edict to the governor of *Korsør*, giving him friendly advice with respect to the consequence of disobedience. From this edict we may conclude, that he had not yet taken the title of king of *Denmark*, though *Meursius* expressly affirms the contrary; for through the whole he is called only duke of *Bavaria*, protector of the kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, and the senate mentioned as the supreme power.

A. D.
1440.
*Christopher of-
ferts to the
propositions
of the se-
nate.*

At the diet of *Wiburg*, held in the beginning of the following year, *Christopher* solemnly promised, in virtue of his election, to defend the state, protect the different orders of subjects in the kingdom in their several rights, maintain their common liberties, and consent to all the conditions which should be thought necessary by the ensuing general diet of the three kingdoms at *Calmar*. The day appointed for this general diet being come, only a few deputies attended. The *Danes* were busied in appeasing the insurrection of the peasants in *Jutland*; and the *Swedes* were retarded by obstructions which the grand marechal *Canutson* had raised, who foresaw that the election of *Christopher* would be attended with the loss of the greater part of his authority. As the assembly did not find their number sufficient to proceed to business, they adjourned themselves for a certain time, appointing their next session at *Abroga*.

*A general
diet of the
three king-
doms.*

WHEN the deputies met at *Abroga*, those of *Denmark* demanded that the *Swedes* would acknowledge *Christopher* for their sovereign; they enumerated his good qualities, the oath he had taken at *Wiburg*, and his readiness to comply with

^a PONTAN. MEURS. & PUFFEND. Hist. Univ. in loc. citat.

whatever could reasonably be demanded. *Canutson*, perceiving the *Suedes* disposed in his favour, resolved no longer to retard a measure which he could not altogether prevent; but he besought them at the same time to pay some regard to his long services, and immense expences in supporting the dignity of an exhausted treasury, and protecting an enfeebled kingdom, at his own private charge. He set forth that he was encumbered with debts he should never be able to discharge without the assistance of the government, which was the only reason he had to oppose the election of *Christopher*. Pleased with finding the marshal in this disposition, the assembly declared, that, in consideration of his services, he should enjoy *Finland*, the province in which he was born, together with the islands of *Oeland* and *Bergholm*, the first during his own life, and the latter in perpetuity to him and his heirs; but on this condition, that the crown should at any time have power to redeem them for the sum of forty thousand marks in silver. The *Danes* perceived of what consequence it was to gain over the marshal, and therefore promised that *Christopher* should confirm the donation of the assembly; adding, that a decree might be passed to prohibit all persons from filing suits or preferring accusations against him, on account of his past administration.

MATTERS being thus adjusted, the senate wrote to *Christopher*, intimating their intention to elect him sovereign; but requesting that he would first meet them at *Calmar*, to confirm the rights and privileges of the people, preliminaries which were requisite to his election. *Christopher* assented; and imagining that it would be highly expedient to establish the best terms with *Canutson*, he invited him to *Helmstadt*, received him favourably, and confirmed the senate's decree, and all that had been done for him by the diet.

WHILE he was waiting for the time appointed for the next general diet, *Christopher*, in quality of king of *Denmark*, granted the investiture of *Sleswick* to duke *Adolphus* of *Holten*, the *stein*: but he had the precaution to demand a decree of the general senate, declaring that at their desire he granted this investiture. Next he laboured to compose the troubles in *Futland*, *Calmar*, where the inhabitants refused paying all taxes, unless they were suffered to pay them to their late king *Eric*. They assembled to the number of twenty-five thousand men, and came to an action with the king's troops, in which no considerable advantage was gained on either side. Some prisoners fell into the hands of the peasants, and among others a *Bavarian* gentleman, the king's great favourite, whom they treated with great cruelty. Incensed at their obstinacy, *Christopher*

The Jutlanders rebel, and are defeated by Christopher.

marched against them in person, gave them battle, and obtained a complete but bloody victory. *Henry Togon*, a senator who had always espoused *Eric*, together with several others of his adherents, were taken prisoners, and all condemned to be broke alive on the wheel. However, of the whole peasant army not above fifteen hundred were left dead on the field, though great numbers were wounded. Their main body gained a neighbouring hill, which they so intrenched with waggons and chariots, as to withstand all the attacks of the king's cavalry. At last *Christopher* was advised to offer them pardon if they would submit, which induced many to throw down their arms: the rest were obstinate, though weakened by this desertion; they were again attacked and cut in pieces^a.

His majesty had been longer detained on this expedition than he imagined. It was the month of *August* before he could get to *Calmar*, though the *Swedish* senate appointed the congress in *June*. First, he had an interview with *Canutson*, at *Helmstadt*, and both proceeded together to *Calmar*, where the duke was received with great joy and respect by the states of *Sweden*. After settling every point respecting their rights, *Christopher* was conducted to *Stockholm*, into which he made his public entry, amidst the acclamations of the people. On the thirteenth of *September*, he was proclaimed king with the usual formalities, and next day solemnly crowned, by the archbishop of *Upsal*.

Christopher sets out for Stockholm.

CHRISTOPHER was no sooner in *Stockholm*, than crowds of people of all ranks flocked round him, with complaints against the grand marechal; but his promise to *Canutson*, the great influence of that nobleman, and the esteem in which he was held by the common people, made him decline taking cognizance of these grievances. One instance of his popularity occurred on the day his majesty made his entry: the people cried out, that *Charles* better deserved a crown than *Christopher*. He had the dignity of a king, they said, but the other the stature of a dwarf. He was brave, affable, and eloquent; but these qualities were doubtful in the other. The truth was, they were displeased with the figure of *Christopher*, which was greatly eclipsed by the personal qualities of the other. The vulgar judge by the eye and ear.

A. D.
1442.
Fresh disturbances in Jutland.

His majesty's long residence in *Sweden* furnished an opportunity for new disturbances in *Jutland*. The governors treated the people with great severity, and seized the occasion of their falling under the displeasure of the court to replenish their

own coffers. To remedy these enormities, *Christopher* published an edict, advising the people to remain firm in their allegiance, and prohibiting the governors and officers of the court to exact any thing more than was required by law, under pain of his displeasure.

ALL this time *Eric* lived in the island of *Gothland*, and had fortified himself strongly in *Wisby*. He had assembled a great number of shipping, with which repeated piracies were committed on the high seas, and descents on the *Swedish* coasts. Complaints were made to *Christopher*; but they were treated with raillery, saying, he was glad his uncle could fall upon any method of amusing and supporting himself. However, the evil daily increased, and the complaints of the people grew proportionably more loud and earnest, which obliged the king to make formal preparations for war against *Eric*. He *Christopher* passed with *Canutson* at the head of a considerable armament *Christopher* *visited* to *Gothland*, and all were in expectation that he would either drive the deposed king out of *Gothland*, or at least procure some means of reducing the pirates: but he performed neither; and, it is said, that the two princes met, passed some time together with great cordiality, and parted good friends. Certain it is, that *Eric* remained in possession of the island, without ceasing to molest the *Swedish* commerce and coasts ^b.

IN *January* 1443, *Christopher* went from *Sweden* to *Norway*, receiving at *Anslo* the crown of that kingdom, and the allegiance of the people. Thence he passed into *Denmark*, and was crowned at *Ripen* by the archbishop of *Lunden*.

AFTER *Christopher* was solemnly acknowledged sovereign *Christopher* in the three kingdoms, like his predecessors, he began to attach himself chiefly to *Denmark*, but without neglecting his duty to the other two. His whole time was taken up in the concerns of his subjects, in regulating society, encouraging trade, and enforcing the laws. He began with confirming the privileges of the towns and cities, and *Copenhagen* received the first marks of his favour. Next he took into consideration certain complaints laid before him, by the bishops of *Ripen*, *Arhus*, *Odensee*, and *Wiburg*, that the tithes were not properly paid. Advocates were heard on both sides, and *Christopher* gave sentence, in such a manner as displeased neither, as it was apparent that he blended the good of the people with a just respect for the clergy. The privileges of the church he confirmed, and augmented those of *Lunden*. He entered upon a treaty with the bishop of *Roschild*, whereby *Copenhagen*, until then a dependency on that diocese, was ceded to the crown.

^b Ibid.

Next he shewed his regard for commerce, by permitting the city of *Amsterdam*, and the hanse-towns, to trade to all the ports in the three kingdoms, on their paying the usual customs. Several other regulations of a salutary nature were made, and nothing omitted that could stamp a favourable impression of his character on the minds of the people.

Christo-
pher passes
into Ger-
many in-
cog.

ALL historians mention a conference which *Christopher* held this year at *Wismar* with several German princes; but they differ with respect to the motives for this interview. *Crahtzius* and *Pontanus* however, are of opinion, that measures were here concerted for bridling the insolence of the hanse-towns, who greatly annoyed the *Danish* commerce; and that it was determined rather to use policy than force. With this view he took the habit of a pilgrim, as if he intended visiting *Palestine*, and came to the congress, attended with eight hundred horse; but what the design or effects were of such a stratagem, we are left to enquire elsewhere. In this imperfect unsatisfactory manner, do these voluminous authors compile history, and such are the materials from whence we have been painfully forced to collect our account of this kingdom.

JOHANNES GOTHUS, a *Swedish* writer, alledges, that *Christopher*, enriched with the spoils of an *English* fleet, over which his squadrons obtained a signal victory, resolved to be revenged on the hanse-towns. He collected a numerous fleet, and sent to the regency of *Lubec* that he intended making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and should be glad of a passage through their city. But as his retinue was uncommonly great, the regency prudently declined admitting such guests within their walls. *Christopher* finding his plan disconcerted, returned full of indignation to *Denmark*. What credit is due to this account we know not, though certain we are, that it is not only embarrassed in the relation, but contradicted by the testimony of other writers of equal credit; and as for the *English* historians, they pass over in intire silence the circumstance of the victory over the fleet of their nation.

A. D.
1444.
He marries
the daughter
of the
margrave
of Bran-
denburg.

THIS year we are told the king had some thoughts of marriage, and received an embassy from the sultan of *Egypt*, who offered him his daughter; but in what manner the king declined this alliance, we are not informed. The princess most agreeable to *Christopher's* inclinations was *Dorothea*, daughter of the margrave *John* of *Brandenburg*, surnamed the *Alchemist*. This was probably one part of the business of the con-

^b Jo. GOTH. p. 113. apud MEURS.
Theat. Suct. Nob. p. 268.

^c Joh. Mess.
ference

ference at *Wismar*: the match was concluded; and the greater part of the year taken up in preparations for celebrating the nuptials. The margrave promised a portion of 300,000 florins with his daughter; the marriage was consummated, but the money never paid.

IMMEDIATELY after his nuptials, *Christopher* confirmed the *German* merchants in all the privileges of trade they had ever enjoyed with his dominions; and his complaisance on this occasion to his wife was carried so far as to injure his own subjects, for the sake of her countrymen, by granting them certain immunities with respect to goods bought in his dominions, which destroyed the profits of the seller.

HITHERTO *Christopher* had lived in great harmony with the *Danish* nobility; but his marriage drew such an afflux of foreigners into the kingdom, as gave the alarm to his own subjects. Governments, places at court, and public trusts, were bestowed on them, to the prejudice of native *Danes* and *Swedes*. Both took umbrage, and complaints became frequent and loud. *Christopher* had too much understanding to neglect their murmuring: instantly he called to mind the causes of *Eric's* deposition, and determined to avoid the same fate, yet without a breach of his word or hospitality to foreigners. His conduct on this occasion was wise and moderate: so equally did he balance, that he satisfied his subjects by removing foreigners; and gave no umbrage to the latter, by the delicacy used in performing this necessary duty. He recited to them his coronation oath, enlarged upon the mutual obligations between the sovereign and his subjects, expatiated on the gratitude due from him to his subjects, for exalting him by voluntary election to his present station; assured them of the sense he entertained of their services and attachment; of the reluctance with which he removed them from trusts they had discharged with so much honour; and of his intention otherwise to reward them as soon as opportunity offered. In a word, he soothed, cajoled, and flattered in such a manner, that they resigned their places without resentment to the natives, and were succeeded by *Danes* and *Swedes*, who entertained the greatest respect for such amiable foreigners, whom they wished to continue in their office, could it be effected consistently with the interest of the public and of individuals.

THIS year *Christopher* passed over to *Laaland*, and punished some disaffected persons, who obstinately adhered to *Eric*. He made divers local laws, intended purely for the good and conveniency of *Laaland* in particular; after which he went to *Sweden*, and studied popularity and the good of his people, no less in that kingdom than he had done in *Denmark*.

A. D.

1445.

His majesty's wife conduct.

A. D.

1446.

A. D.
1447.
*The Danish fleet
shattered
in a storm.*

RETURNING from *Sweden* the following year he was shipwrecked, and immense treasures in money, and jewels which he had on board, were lost. Notwithstanding the indulgence shewn to foreign merchants, some enormities of which the *Hollanders* were guilty, laid the king under the necessity of arresting their ships in his ports. The difference was soon after amicably compromised by arbitration.

In the year 1448, *Christopher* published writs for assembling the *Swedish* diet, and was preparing to pass into that kingdom, when he was seized with a malady that put an end to his days, after a short illness.

*Christopher's
death and
character.*

CHRISTOPHER was at first greatly beloved by all his subjects, but particularly the *Danes*, for whom he could not help shewing some partiality, conducted with so little circumspection as gave umbrage to the *Swedes* or *Norwegians*. He endeavoured to subject *Sweden* to *Denmark*; but few *Swedish* writers allow, that he adhered so closely to the treaty of *Calmar*, as never to have violated their laws, except by the introduction of foreigners; a fault he soon repaired. Some, however, blame him for leaving *Eric* in possession of *Gothland*, and permitting him to molest the *Swedish* commerce and coasts with impunity. This indeed was wrong policy, and an injury to his subjects; but allowance ought to be made for his relation to that unhappy prince, and that delicacy of mind which would not suffer him to aggravate the misfortunes of a once powerful and respected monarch. All the *Danish* writers extol *Christopher* as a prodigy of moderation, prudence, and patriotism; the *Swedes* exclaim against him as a tyrant. Certain it is, that he preserved the kingdom in great tranquility and order, increased the wealth and commerce of his subjects, and greatly augmented the felicity of his people, by whom he was highly regretted. It may indeed be objected to his character, that he accepted so easily of a crown taken from the head of his aged uncle, notwithstanding his oath to the contrary; but we every day see instances of princes, minutely scrupulous of their oaths in common affairs, who hesitate not to break them in cases so trying to their ambition, as the offer of sovereignty. To them it belongs to decide, whether sovereignty can balance the shame and dishonour of acquiring it by perjury and perfidy (A).

*Great disputes in
the three
kingdoms
about a
successor to
the throne.*

CHRISTOPHER dying without issue, great contests arose concerning a successor to the crown of the three kingdoms. The *Swedish* diet assembled at *Jenecoping*; and it was the opinion of a strong party, that the treaty of *Calmar* should be implicitly followed, and nothing determined with respect to

(A) It must be observed, that we here speak of *Christopher's* conduct with respect to *Denmark* only.

the succession, before the states of the three kingdoms met. Another faction, headed by *Ganutfon*, who aspired at the crown, supported the contrary opinion, and were for proceeding to an immediate election. They affirmed, that the union of *Calmar* was sufficiently broke through already, and that it never had any other effect than to raise *Denmark* on the ruins of *Sweden* and *Norway*. Besides, they alledged that the *Danes* were guilty of a direct infraction of the union, in calling *Chriſtopher* to *Denmark*, without consulting the inclinations of the two other kingdoms. In fine, their discourse was designed to inflame the *Swedish* nation against *Denmark*, and to revive in the minds of the people the ancient animosity between the two nations.

As soon as this news was received in *Denmark*, the senate resolved to proceed to the election of a king; for it did not appear expedient to commit the government of affairs to the queen-dowager, at a time when they had every thing to fear from the two neighbouring crowns. At this time a lord of great weight, property, and ambition, sought the queen in marriage, the more easily to pave his way to the throne. This is a fact mentioned by *Pontanus* and *Meursius*, though neither takes notice of his name*. But as for a great number of years there was no precedent for electing a king out of the body of nobility, though agreeable to law, the queen entered into the views of the senate, and declared she would give her hand to no prince who should not be judged deserving of the crown by the supreme council of the nation.

THE advantages which would accrue from annexing the dutchy of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* to the crown, made the senate first cast their eyes on *Adolphus*. This matter required no long deliberation; all saw the conveniencies resulting from such an union, and gave their assent. Immediately an ambassay was dispatched with the offer to *Adolphus*; but that prince consulting the good of his subjects, whose interest would be absorbed in the superior weight of *Denmark*, declined it, with a moderation and disinterestedness altogether uncommon among princes. However, that he might not be wanting in respect to the senate, he proposed to them his nephew *Christian*, second son to *Theodoric*, earl of *Oldenburg*, a prince bred up at the court of *Adolphus* from his infancy. The proposition was so agreeable to the senate, that, without loss of time, the ambassadors were sent to *Theodoric*, to demand either of his sons he pleased for their king. *Theodoric's* answer to the ambassadors was remarkable: "I have three sons, says he, of very opposite qualities. One is passionately fond of pleasure and women; another breathes nothing but war, with-

* PONTAN. l. ix. MEURS. in Vit. Christiani, p. 3.

“ out regarding the justice of the cause ; but the third is moderate in his disposition, prefers peace to the din of arms, yet stands unrivalled in valour, generosity, and magnanimity.” To this he added, that he painted these characters for the senate’s information, desiring they would chuse which of the young princes they believed would render the kingdom happiest. It was a matter which would admit of no hesitation : with one voice the senate declared for that prince whose panegyric the father had so warmly drawn ; and under these happy auspices commenced the origin of the grandeur of the house of Oldenburg, at this day seated on the throne of Denmark ¹.

CHRISTIAN, or CHRISTIERN, of Oldenburg.

Christian I. *Sweden* as procured him a majority of votes in the diet ; in consequence of which he set out for *Upsal*, to have the ceremonies of his coronation performed. As soon as he was acknowledged king, he notified his accession to the *Danes* and *Norwegians*, sounding at the same time their inclinations with respect to continuing the union of the crowns ; but finding both kingdoms averse to his exaltation, he returned to *Stockholm*, with intention to revenge himself, and subdue the island of *Gothland*. Two thousand men were immediately embarked, under the command of two generals, whose instructions were to invade that island, and make themselves masters of *Eric’s* person. Informed of his design, the *Danish* senators sent ambassadors to him, requesting him to withdraw his troops before hostilities were committed. The ambassadors represented, that *Gothland* belonged, by right of conquest, to the crown of *Denmark* from the time of *Valdemar III.* and that queen *Margaret* had redeemed it of the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, to whom it was mortgaged by king *Albert*. They had instructions to add, that, in case of refusal, his *Danish* majesty would not fail to oppose his designs, and make reprisals. But *Charles* was too proud to acknowledge the right of *Denmark*, and too sure of conquest to relinquish his scheme. His answer was such as induced the senate immediately to request of *Christian* to come to *Denmark*, and vindicate the rights of the crown. Accordingly he proceeded to *Lunden*, and was met by the senate and different states of the kingdom in a hall called *Tollerabob*, a place antiently destined for the election of the *Danish* kings. Here he was proclaimed king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, receiving from archbishop *Rvon* the standard of the kingdom.

* MEURS. Vlt. Christ. p. 3. Des Roches, t. iv. Vit. Christ.

ERIC all this while was closely besieged in *Wisby*. Obligated A. D. 1448. to abandon the town, he retired to the citadel, with a resolution to defend it to the last extremity, leaving the care of the city to the inhabitants. Matters soon wore a different aspect on his retreat. The inhabitants, fatigued with a long siege, lost their courage. The out-posts were neglected, and they no more appeared in such numbers, or with the same spirit, on the ramparts. This did not pass unobserved by the besiegers: they easily conjectured the reason, and resolved to give the assault, which proved fatal to *Wisby*, and brought it into the hands of the enemy. Such trepidation did the fury of the assailants occasion, that, had they attempted the citadel, they would have probably succeeded. *Meursius* however alledges, that the ladders were actually placed to the walls of the citadel, and vigorous efforts made by the *Swedes*; but defeated by the vigilance and bravery of *Eric*, who exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner on this occasion.

BUT whatever countenance he might hold out to the enemy, the loss of the city greatly disconcerted and straitened him. Provisions began to fail, and courage to be rendered of no effect, when famine stared him in the face. In this perplexity he held a council of his officers, and desired their advice; but all declared themselves unable to determine upon any salutary measures. Upon this he resolved to demand an interview with the *Swedish* generals, which was granted. He told them, that, on the whole, he owed great obligations to the *Danes*, who permitted him to enjoy this retreat unmolested, whatever cause of complaint he might have for their first defection. The same he could not alledge in favour of the *Swedes*, who not only frequently took arms against him, deposed him, and placed in his throne a base usurper, but now sought to drive him out of that little spot of ground, situated in the middle of the sea, and the only place where he could end his unfortunate life in tranquillity. He represented to them, that nothing could be more inglorious than to accumulate misfortunes on those already oppressed with misery, or to deprive their king of his only remaining hope, that of dying in ease.

THE generals replied, that they could not, with honour or safety, forbear executing their instructions, which were to give him no quarter, if he refused to surrender prisoner at discretion, and give up his whole treasure. But *Eric* cajoled them with such flattering expressions, and softened them with so horrible a picture of his situation, that they granted a truce for a few days. It is said, that *Magnus Green*, the commander in chief, touched with the misfortunes of this prince, held

a private correspondence with him, and agreed to the truce, in hopes that, before it was expired, he would have put himself in a state of defence. He even connived at his laying in stores of provision and ammunition.

ERIC made the best use of the opportunity, and laid in stores and provision sufficient to stand a long siege. At the expiration of the truce, he was summoned to surrender the citadel; but on terms less rigid than were before offered. In consequence of orders from their king, the generals now permitted him to go wherever he pleased, with all his effects. King *Charles* dreaded the preparations made by *Christian*, knowing that he should be forced to withdraw his troops, if succour was sent to *Eric*; and this it was that occasioned these fresh instructions and moderate terms, which however were rejected by *Eric*. He now found himself supplied with necessities, and refused to comply with any conditions until he could hear from *Denmark*. Accordingly he sent ambassadors to acquaint the senate with his situation, to demand speedy assistance, and to offer the citadel to be garrisoned by *Danish* troops. His proposal was embraced with joy. *Christian* equipped a fleet with great celerity, and gave the command of it to *Olaus Axelson*, an officer of great reputation. His instructions were to take possession of the citadel of *Wisby*, to place a strong garrison in it, and to remove *Eric*, with all his effects, to any town of *Denmark*, or of *Pomerania*, at his option. The fleet put to sea, and arrived off the island of *Gothland*: *Olaus* had an interview with *Green* the *Swedish* general, who permitted him to enter the harbour of *Wisby* unmolested; he landed his troops, took possession of the citadel, and conducted *Eric* safe to *Burund*.

*Eric puts
the citadel
of Wisby
into the
hands of
the Danes.*

*Christian
treats him
with great
humanity
and dis-
tinction.*

ERIC was but a few days here when he received a deputation from *Christian*, which does great honour to the politeness and humanity of that prince. He was requested not to take up his residence in any place out of the *Danish* dominions. He was offered the island of *Femeren*, and an appointment, which would enable him to live in a manner worthy of his dignity. *Eric* was affected with these instances of tenderness: he was ready to embrace the proposal, according to some historians; but afterwards altered his sentiments, and retired with a slender retinue to *Rugenwäld* in *Pomerania*, to which place he was attended out of respect by the *Danish* deputies. Here he ended his days in great tranquillity, without attempting to recover his crown, or even repining at the loss. It is supposed, that some punctilious scruples prevented his returning to *Denmark*, and induced him to prefer an easy though obscure life in his own country, to one more splendid.

splendid and agreeable in an island that composed but a very small part of his former dominions^a.

THE citadel of *Wisby* had changed its garrison, without altering its real situation. Still the *Swedes* pushed the siege; and the garrison, finding provision and stores growing short, dispatched a messenger to *Denmark* to acquaint *Christian*, that, unless they received speedy assistance, they would be forced to surrender. Incensed at this account, the king raised troops, and equipped a squadron with all possible expedition, resolving to drive the *Swedes* out of the island. He put to sea with a body of choice troops, and attended by the flower of the *Holstein* nobility. On his arrival off the coast of *Gotland*, he sent *Axelsson* to treat with the *Swedish* generals, and prevail on them, if possible, to withdraw their troops, to avoid the effusion of blood. *Axelsson* laid his instructions before the generals; but could obtain no other answer than that they were ready to agree to a suspension of arms for a certain time, during which the two kings might negotiate a peace, things now remaining in their present posture; that is, *Wisby* in the hands of the *Swedes*, and the citadel in those of the *Danes*. His majesty, not satisfied with this answer, immediately disembarked the troops, supplied the citadel with all manner of stores and provision, razed some forts the *Swedes* had built round it, and then encamped before the city, to which he laid siege. One very brisk action passed, in which neither side gained any considerable advantage; however, it determined *Christian* to set fire to the city: upon which the *Swedes* retired to the large houses built with stone. Upon their retreat the king ordered the walls to be demolished, and then attacked the garrison confined in the large houses, with so much vigour, that he soon became master of the whole city, the enemy submitting at discretion.

THE conquest of the island was not, however, the sole object of this expedition. *Christian* sought the affections and friendship of the *Swedish* nation, in order to pave the way for the union of the three crowns. He exhorted the nobility and officers, his prisoners, to enter into these measures, and obtained their promise, on condition the prisoners were set at liberty without ransom. His majesty, after sufficiently garrisoning all the forts and strong posts in the island, returned victorious to *Denmark*, where he was solemnly crowned by the archbishop of *Lunden*; a ceremony hitherto omitted. The same day also he espoused *Dorothea*, widow of the late king *Christopher*.

^a *Mæurs. ibid. p. 10.*

*Affairs of
Sweden.*

CHARLES of *Sweden*, to console himself for the disgrace sustained in *Gotland*, made a descent on *Norway*, and exerted himself so vigorously, that he was crowned king at *Drontheim*, in spite of all the endeavours of the nobility, who exhorted the people to adhere to the union of *Calmar*. But fearing that *Christian* might, in the mean while, invade *Sweden*, he appointed a regency in *Norway* and returned with the utmost dispatch. But though *Christian* was by no means pleased with this proceeding, he resolved to sit down quietly, and rather support the loss of the crown of *Norway*, than harass his people with fresh disputes, already reduced very low by the long wars with *Holstein*, and bad economy under *Eric*. With a view to establish peace, he sent an embassy to *Sweden*, inviting king *Charles* to an interview at *Helmstadt*, to compose all differences between the two kingdoms. The ambassadors were ordered to demand, that if *Charles* did not chuse to attend in person, he would send two ambassadors with full powers to treat and conclude peace.

On their arrival in *Sweden* they laid their instructions before the senate, and were answered, that the business of the nation required his majesty's presence; but two ambassadors should attend the congress, with all the necessary powers. Besides the plenipotentiaries, *Charles* appointed twelve deputies to accompany them, to whom he gave peremptory instructions, to part with neither the kingdom of *Norway* nor the isle of *Gotland*, to his *Danish* majesty; but to submit that affair to the decision of the pope or emperor, or of the sword.

*Christian
complains
to the diet
of the con-
duct of his
Swedish
majesty.*

CHRISTIAN opened the congress with complaining, that *Charles*, in prejudice of all the treaties between the northern crowns, had, from an ambition to reign, procured to himself the crown of *Sweden*; a proceeding which it was evident would entail a perpetual war on the three kingdoms. He represented the advantages of the union of *Calmar*, so solemnly sworn to by the states of the three kingdoms. He affirmed it was the only measure that could be thought of, to preserve peace, repress the ambition of the great, who might aspire at the crown, and oppose all the attacks from foreign enemies. He added, that he could not, without astonishment, reflect on *Charles's* late proceedings in *Norway*, and violently obliging the states to elect him king, although he well knew, that *Norway* appertained, by right of succession, to the king of *Denmark*. He doubted not, therefore, but that prince preferred war to peace, else would he never go on in a series of such practices. His majesty then concluded, with exhorting the assembly to labour with him in avoiding hostilities, and a

war,

The History of Denmark:

war; which could not fail of proving ruinous and destructive to the subjects of the three kingdoms, a consequence, in his own opinion, not to be balanced by the most signal advantages to the king^a.

It was evident that *Christian's* harangue made an impression on the *Swedish* plenipotentiaries and deputies, already disgusted with the government of *Charles*, whom with regret they permitted to ascend the throne, only because they could not oppose his elevation. They replied therefore to his majesty, that nothing would give them so much satisfaction as the means of establishing a solid peace. They promised to use all their endeavours to procure the restitution of *Norway*, to which it was certain *Charles* had no manner of right; and they even went so far as to engage obliging him to abdicate the crown of *Sweden*, provided he could obtain the viceroyship of that kingdom. This reply was intirely correspondent to the king's wish, and indeed more than he could well expect, at the first mention of his design. He told the plenipotentiaries, that for the sake of peace he accepted their offer, provided that on their return they would exert themselves to effect their promises.

On their return to *Sweden*, they laid before the king the conclusion of the negotiation, with which *Charles* was violently enraged. He accused the plenipotentiaries of having exceeded their instructions and betrayed him: he confiscated their estates, under pretence of their having conspired against his crown, assembled a diet at *Calmar*, taking care that only his own creatures should be present, and obliged them to renew their oath of allegiance. But instead of promoting his interest by such violent measures, he seemed to labour his own destruction. The plenipotentiaries were noblemen of high distinction and great influence; the deputies joined with them, and all resolved to revenge the affront and injury done them. They made offer of their services to *Christian*, who rejoiced at an acquisition, which *Charles* despised under the false notion that his authority was too well established to receive any shock from the revolt of such a handful of his subjects.

CHRISTIAN waited for some time at *Helmstadt*, expecting an answer from *Sweden*, with respect to the conditions stipulated at the congress; but the time appointed being elapsed, he called a diet in *Zealand*, to deliberate on the necessary measures to be taken. It was the opinion of the diet, and upon this a resolution was formed, that his majesty

A. D.
1450.

^a DES ROCHEs Hist. de Danmarc, t. iv. Vit. Christ.

should not enter upon open war, but content himself with annoying the commerce, and harrassing the coasts of *Sweden* and *Norway*, which would encrease the people's distaste of *Charles's* government, of which they already complained, and make them more eager to renew the union of the three crowns. Accordingly an army was levied, and a fleet equipped. Orders were given to the generals and admirals, to make descents on all the coasts of *Sweden*, where they imagined they could be successful, but without hazard. They punctually executed their commission, having ravaged the whole sea-coast, and advanced within sight of *Sticksholm*. Here the troops were landed, and terrible incursions made to the very walls of the capital; after which they embarked again without loss, carrying with them a prodigious booty. *Johannes Gothus* alledges, however, that this booty cost them dear; for while they were dispersed in negligence and security about the country, they were attacked by a body of *Swedes*, who defeated them, took a great number of prisoners, and left some hundreds dead upon the field^a.

A. D.

1451.

THE following year *Christian* went to *Wisnar*, under pretence of performing a vow; but in reality to confer with the margrave and other *German* princes, and to labour to prevail on the hanse-towns to refuse *Charles* the succours he solicited. In one respect this journey profited the *Danish* monarch; in another it was prejudicial to his interest. He executed all he desired with the *German* states; but *Charles* taking advantage of his absence, revenged upon *Schonen* the insults committed by *Christian's* fleet on the *Swedish* coasts. He entered the province in the depth of winter, with an army said to amount to seventy thousand men, burning and destroying all before him. Men, women, and children, without distinction, were cruelly put to the sword. Such as were happy enough to escape the fury of this barbarous foe, took shelter in the mountains and inaccessible rocks, where, endeavouring to avoid the sword, they encountered a death more terrible from cold and famine. Nor did the villages and little market towns alone feel the weight of *Charles's* resentment. The towns of *Helsingburg* and *Landskroon* were reduced to ashes. *Lunden* indeed repulsed all the endeavours of this formidable army. Archbishop *Tychon*, at the head of a body of brave volunteers, made such furious sallies, as forced the *Swedes* to retire with great loss, after they had set fire to the suburbs. *Charles* continued for several weeks before this city, but the last sally he could not stand. *Tychon* had collected his whole

Charles
enters
Schonen,
and lays
waste the
provinces.

^a MEYER'S. Vit. Christ. p. 14.

force; and bursting forth from one of the ports like an irresistible torrent, drove all before him, and was seconded in the pursuit by a great body of peasants, who fell upon the flying *Swedes*, and made terrible destruction. This disgrace only served to sharpen the cruelty and sword of *Charles*. Retiring to the monastery of *Dalben*, he sacrificed in cold blood a number of merchants, who had taken shelter in the monastery as a place of security. He burnt several other religious houses in his retreat, and attacked the castle of *Wetzelstede*, where he met with a repulse from the lady to whom it belonged. This heroine collecting together her vassals and tenants, gave *Charles* so warm a reception, that he was glad to pursue his march without making any farther attempts. Thus *Charles* was twice disgraced by two persons the least fit for conducting military operations; the one on account of his sacred function, the other by reason of her tender sex.

CHRISTIAN's absence deprived the unhappy *Schoneners* of protection; and now, on his return, the *Sound* was shut up with ice in such a manner, as prevented him from giving them any effectual succour. Enraged with the barbarity of *Charles*, *The Danish* monarch meditated revenge; and, early in the ninth spring sent a strong squadron, under *Olaus Axelsson*, to lay siege to *Stockholm*, while himself, at the head of a powerful army, entered *Sweden* on the other side. His first shock fell upon *West Gothland*, where he easily reduced *Ladese*, and made some stay in order to repair the fortifications: but his time was not idly spent, though he seemed to pass it inactively. At *Ladese* he had frequent conferences with the nobility and gentry of *West Gothland*, all of whom promised to acknowledge him for their sovereign, as soon as he had conquered a certain part of *Sweden*. Others did not demand any conditions; they, without hesitation, renounced their allegiance to *Charles*, and swore obedience to *Christian*. Nor did the fortifications so wholly employ the *Danish* troops, as to prevent their making very profitable excursions into the neighbouring country, where they plundered the houses and estates of such as remained in their allegiance to *Charles*. The *Swedish* peasants sought shelter in the mountains; but receiving intelligence that the enemy were less numerous than at first they imagined, they assembled and attacked the *Danes*, whom they found dispersed in quest of booty about the country, and cut great numbers of them in pieces. Another body of *Danes*, hearing of the fate of their comrades, drew the peasant army to a battle in the open plain, and had their revenge, by obtaining a signal and complete victory. By this last advantage, the whole province submitted to *Christian*; all the inhabitants,

A. D.
1452.

whether peasants or nobles, acknowledging *Christian* for their sovereign.

Charles
returns to
Sweden
with a
great ar-
my.

DURING these transactions in *West Gothland*, *Charles* entered *Upland* at the head of his army, and descended into the forest of *Tyveden*, with intention to oppose *Christian's* progress. With this view he placed his troops in ambush on the road the *Danish* army must march; but hearing that *Stockholm* was invested, he altered his design, and flew to the relief of the capital. His arrival was seasonable: the city had been closely blocked up by sea, and the troops were just beginning to carry on their approaches by land. The besieged, encouraged by the presence of their monarch, took the most vigorous measures for their defence; and the *Danes*, perceiving that all their endeavours to reduce the place would be vain, quitted the siege, and set sail for *Denmark*.

THIS disappointment was followed by another, more important. *Christian*, determining to return to *Denmark*, on account of the approaching winter, sent before him a detachment to clear the roads, and secure the army against ambuscades. The officer appointed to this duty discharged his business so negligently, that he fell into the ambush he was sent to avoid, and was cut in pieces, with all his corps.

Affairs of
Sweden.

THIS success gave fresh courage to *Charles*, who, advancing towards *West Gothland*, detached a part of his army to attack *Ladese*, which place had been newly fortified by the *Danes*. *Thord Bonde* was chosen to execute this business, and he acquitted himself with astonishing diligence, marching day and night through thick forests, over steep rocks and mountains covered with ice and snow, until he at length arrived before the town, which he attacked, sword in hand, and carried, making the whole garrison prisoners at discretion. No sooner had *Charles* received the welcome news than he hastened with his army to *West Gothland*, and obliged all the governors, placed in the different garrisons by *Christian*, to surrender their trusts to him^a.

CHRISTIAN was not, however, disconcerted at these successes gained by the enemy. He had another game to play; it being less his intention to carry on a war with *Charles*, than by dint of policy to oblige the *Swedes* to demand the execution of the union of *Calmar*. To effect this he did not enter upon fresh hostilities; but continued to keep the whole nation under perpetual alarms, and constrain *Charles* to maintain so large a standing army as would soon impoverish the kingdom, and render his government odious to the people.

^a MEURS. *ibid.*

As last the *Swedish* troops began to murmur at the frequent marches and countermarches they were forced to make, according to the alarm spread by *Christian*. The people complained loudly of the weight of taxes, and the oppression of the military. This was precisely what the artful *Danish* monarch foreſaw; but these were not all the misfortunes to which, unhappy *Sweden* was exposed. The governors of provinces, towns, and forts, seized the opportunity of enriching themselves with the spoils of the people, under the pretext of supporting the requisite military force, and even raised contributions, as if they were in an enemy's country. All these accumulated miseries might however be thought tolerable, had it not pleased the Almighty to crown them with those two most dreadful scourges of mankind, pestilence and famine, which raged with unrelenting fury among men and cattle.

SUCH for a considerable time was the deplorable condition of *Sweden*; while *Denmark*, the neighbouring kingdom, enjoyed ease, plenty, and security. If at any time the repose of the kingdom was disturbed, it proceeded only from some slight skirmish with the enemy, or incursion into their country.

THIS year *Christian* resolved to distress *Sweden* still more, and at once to reduce *Charles* to the necessity of making peace on the terms he should think fit to grant. At the head of a numerous army he passed the borders, and laid siege to *Elfsburg*, which fortress he carried by assault. Next he repaired the fortifications of *Denholm*, the key of *Schonen*, to prevent the enemy from over-running that province a second time. Encouraged by his successes, he formed greater designs; the first step to which was the conquest of the island *Oeland*. This expedition he intrusted to general *Green*, who had left the *Swedish* service in disgust.^a He made a descent, in spite of the resistance of the inhabitants, and sat down with his army before *Borkholm*. The garrison bravely stood out to the last, and did not surrender before a large breach was made, and the *Danes* were preparing to give the assault; and then too upon honourable conditions. *Green*, however, took one precaution, and strictly prohibited any officer or soldier of the garrison, under pain of death, to carry off any thing besides his own effects.^b This he did upon receiving advice that *Charles* had lodged a considerable treasure here, to support a war against *Denmark*.^c

A. D.
1455-
Christian
again in-
vades
Sweden.

He takes
the isle of
Oeland.

On the other hand, *Christian* was making a rapid progress in the reduction of the continent of *Sweden*, inſomuch that the bishops and nobility, to avoid the horrors of war, were

^a MEURS. Vit. Christ. p. 19.

forming a design of bestowing the crown upon him. They complained, that *Charles*, naturally haughty, grew intolerable since his accession, governing in the most arbitrary manner, attacking the privileges of the different states, and regulating all things by his will, without regard to law and the constitution. Since the reign of *Margaret*, the bishops had been strongly attached to the interests of *Denmark*, that queen having raised their authority in the government above the nobility. They could not support the thoughts of a reduction of power, which *Charles* was continually attempting, nor that any of the church-lands should be sequestered for the use of the crown. That prince had appointed commissioners to examine into the titles by which the clergy held divers estates. He published a decree, forbidding all his subjects, under severe penalties, from founding religious houses and establishments, so prejudicial to the kingdom in general, and injurious to individuals, as it would put the whole wealth into the hands of the clergy.

Christian
foments
the discon-
tents of the
Swedes.

NOTHING could be more agreeable to *Christian* than this policy of the *Swedish* monarch, which was unreasonable with respect to his own interest, but salutary to his people. The clergy treated him as a heretic, and regarded his attacks on their temporal interest as an attempt against religion, in which view they artfully presented it to the people. In this consists the strength of the politics of this sacred body: whatever affects their power and wealth is immediately confounded with religion itself; the cry is raised against dangerous innovation; the flames of sedition kindled, and the real cause of their jealousy and resentment concealed, amidst a thousand other false but specious pretexts. It happened thus with the *Swedish* clergy, who openly revolted against *Charles*, though he had never meddled with religion, and engaged more than half of *Sweden* in their designs. The archbishop of *Upsal*, on account of some personal grievances, declared himself the head of this revolt. He sent privately to *Christian*, inviting him into *Sweden* to restore the union of *Calmar*, assuring him, that all the clergy would declare in his favour, and that they were ready to a man to receive him in their cities and garrisons as their lawful sovereign.

A. D.
1446.

CHRISTIAN had long watched this occasion, and now resolved to embrace it. He equipped a fleet, which he sent to *Finland*, under the command of general *Green*. *Wiburg* was besieged and taken, and then the citadel attacked with the same vigour: but *Green*, perceiving the garrison resolute and well provided, set fire to the city, and retired. Now the haughtiness of *Charles*, which hitherto was supported by power
and

and the strongest fortresses in the kingdom, began to stagger.

The late motions of the clergy gave him a violent shock, and the progress of the *Danish* arms in *Finland* opened his eyes to his own danger, and set in full view the dreadful precipice on which he stood. Immediately he called a diet at *Stockholm*, to deliberate on the most effectual means of opposing the impending storm. But the business on which the diet entered was of a quite different nature: the archbishop of *Upsal* demanded an equivalent for certain ships he had lost the preceding spring, by means of the *Danes*. *Charles*, who did not imagine himself bound to make satisfaction, referred the matter to the diet, who gave judgment against his majesty. Dissatisfied with their decision, he accused the diet of partiality and corruption, which soon put an end to their proceedings, and made the assembly break up in very ill temper, fully resolved to revenge themselves the first opportunity that offered.

Affairs of Sweden.

It was not long before the states found occasion to shew their disposition. In the spring the king went to *Calmar*, with intention to reconquer *Oeland*; and his absence furnished the archbishop of *Upsal* with the means of executing the scheme he projected. First, he arrested *Hacquin Swenson*, marshal of the household, and imprisoned him in the castle of *Solstedt*. Afterwards entering the metropolitan church, and convening the chapter, he put on his sacerdotal ornaments, and prostrated himself before the high altar; then laying aside his habit, he swore he would never again resume it, until he had driven king *Charles* out of the throne of *Sweden*, and substituted another sovereign in his room: Taking up a sword and shield, he marched out of the church at the head of all his vassals and dependants, and fixed a declaration on the church-door; by which he not only renounced his allegiance, but declared *Charles* the enemy of his country, and a tyrannical usurper, who would overthrow the liberties of the people, and the established religion. His next step was to justify these violent measures to the nation, which he did by a bitter charge drawn up against the king, accusing him of violence, tyranny, oppression, pride, arrogance, and avarice; in a word, of every crime which could render him detestable in the eyes of a free people.

A. D.
1457.

THE archbishop knew well that no time must be lost in backing so open a declaration with force: he lest no stone unturned to bring the nobility and commons into his sentiments, and he commenced hostilities by laying siege to *Arhusen* in form. *Charles* was no sooner informed of these proceedings, than he marched with the utmost expedition towards *Arhusen*,

with

Charles is
deposed.
A. D.
1458.

with intention to surprize the archbishop ; but the artful prelate, informed of his motions, made a forced march in the night, and by break of day attacked the king's forces near *Stregnez*, while his majesty believed himself at the distance of a day's journey from him. At first he was disconcerted ; but immediately recollecting himself, he encouraged his troops, and relied upon his numbers. However, a wound which he received obliged him to retire out of the field ; a circumstance that so disheartened the soldiers, as gave the archbishop an easy but no very important victory. *Charles* took shelter in *Stockholm*, and, to prevent his being pursued, ordered the suburbs to be set on fire. Thither he was followed by the prelate, who, after raising the whole country in arms, laid siege to the capital. His operations were vigorous, and the king's situation declining. At last, *Charles* despairing of relief, and finding the greater part of the nation dissaffected, concealed the public treasure in the house of the *Dominican* friars, and embarked with his own private riches in a ship, with which he set sail in the night to *Dantzic*. This event happened in the month of *March*, 1458, and in the ninth year of his reign. Immediately the *Swedish* lords in *Denmark* returned to *Stockholm*, entered upon the public affairs in consultation with the archbishop, and unanimously resolved to elect *Christian* in the room of *Charles*, who had, by his flight, abdicated the throne. Accordingly they dispatched an embassy, to invite the *Danish* monarch to accept of their crown, and come to *Stockholm*, to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. The offer was not rejected ; *Christian* equipped a fleet, and set sail, attended with a great number of nobility, for *Sweden*. On his first arrival he was presented with a writing, containing the chief articles of the privileges of the nation, which he read over and signed without hesitation, finding them perfectly consonant to reason and justice. He was then conducted, first into the church by the archbishop and senate, and then into the citadel, amidst the acclamations of the people. No sooner was he invested with the badges of authority, than he applied himself diligently to re-establish tranquility and good order. An infinity of complaints against the late king came pouring in daily, all protesting that they had taken arms against their present sovereign, only because they had been deceived by the cunning of *Charles*. The king gave obliging answers to all the plaintiffs, bid them be of good courage, for it should be his study to redress all their grievances, and render their lives happy *.

Christian
is elected
king of
Sweden,
and thereby
unites the
three

kingdoms.

THE acquisition of the Swedish crown soon gained Christian that of Norway. He had nothing more to do than present himself at *Drontheim*, and receive the allegiance of the states of Norway. To this was added another valuable acquisition, and the more so, as it had for above half a century been the cause of numberless misfortunes to Denmark. *Adolphus*, duke of *Sleswick*, uncle by the mother's side to *Christian*, dying without issue, the dutchy reverted incontestably to the crown of Denmark; but there remained disputes about the succession to *Holslein* and *Stormar*, that laid the foundation of wick much trouble to all the neighbouring states. *Christian* had a just claim upon these territories; but as they were personal, and not derived from his crown, it will be unnecessary to enter upon particulars. Sufficient it is, that the earldoms of *Holslein* and *Stormar* were ceded to the king, on condition that he paid to *Otton*, earl of *Schawemburg*, the other claimant, the sum of forty thousand ducats, buying off likewise the pretensions of *Gerhard* and *Maurice*, nephews to the late *Adolphus*, for an equivalent.

WHEN *Christian* took possession of these earldoms, it was expedient he should receive an oath of allegiance from his subjects and vassals. The city of *Hamburg* was within the jurisdiction of *Stormar*, and thither the king went to receive the allegiance of the magistrates. But they represented to him, that all the former earls were satisfied with a promise of obedience, without ever exacting an oath; they therefore besought his majesty, that he would not break through an ancient custom, which greatly affected their liberties. *Christian's* moderation profited him on this occasion: he seemed satisfied with their apology, and they, in return, not only promised obedience, but likewise to take the oaths whenever his present majesty, or his successors, should require.

*Christian's
moderation.*

THE king held his court this year at *Reinsfelden*, in *Sleswick*, where he endeavoured to compose certain disturbances, which had their origin in the free town of *Lunenburg*. The senate of this town, finding the public debt inconvenient, applied certain effects of the church to the payment of the most oppressive incumbrances. The bishops of *Schwerin* and *Lubeck* complained violently of this proceeding; laid it before his holiness, who immediately interdicted the senate and inhabitants, until such time as restitution was made to the church. This occasioned an insurrection in *Lunenburg*; the inhabitants conspiring against the magistrates, deposed them, created new officers, who were soon turned out to make room for the

A. D.
1460.

old. Seditions of the same nature happened in *Lubeck* and *Hamburg*, and were carried on with equal violence. *John*, bishop of *Werden*, who, of all the clergy, happened to incur the pope's censure, on account of his siding with the senate of *Lunenbourg*, came to wait on the king at *Reinsfelden*. At this prelate's request *Christian* interposed, and by his mediation brought about a good understanding and perfect reconciliation between the people and clergy of the hanse-towns. It was this year that he obliged the *Dominicans* to refund the treasure lodged in their hands by *Charles*, after they had for a long time denied the fact.

A. D.
1461.

His policy.

THE following year the pope's legate came to *Sweden*, with full powers to grant indulgences to all those who would contribute a certain sum towards carrying on a war against the Infidels: a state-pretext which the holy see had often successfully pleaded, to fleece the subjects of every crown that acknowledged the supremacy of the pope. *Christian*, however, put a check to the rapid progress the legate was making in levying this tax upon superstition. He pretended that money was wanted to execute an expedition he designed against certain schismatics in his neighbourhood, and came to an agreement with the legate, that the sum levied by indulgences should be divided between them; in consequence of which he replenished the treasury, without dissatisfying the people.

A. D.
1462.

ABOUT this time the two brothers *Gerhard* and *Maurice*, sons of *Adolphus*, came to a rupture about the county or earldom of *Delmenhorst*, to which both laid claim. *Gerhard* was supported by the king; but the affairs of *Sweden* requiring his return, he wrote to the duke of *Brunswick* and bishop of *Munster* to assist *Gerhard*, then besieged by his brother in *Delmenhorst*; a request with which the duke, pleased with an opportunity of obliging his majesty, immediately complied. He marched with great diligence to the relief of the besieged, attacked *Maurice* in his trenches, and, after a very bloody action, forced him to raise the siege. Next year his majesty mediated a peace between the two brothers, in which he did not forget his own interest; but we are not informed of the particulars.

A. D.
1463.

THIS year *Christian* made a tour to *Mecklenburg*, and held a congress at *Wismar*, in the marche of *Brandenburg*, with a number of *German* princes; the intention of which is not set forth by writers. It is supposed, however, that measures were concerted for humbling the pride of the hanse-towns, whose insolence daily increased with their opulence, and gave umbrage to all the neighbouring states. Others again are of opinion, that only a defensive league was formed.

IN the mean time the Swedes began to complain loudly of ^{The} his majesty's absence, and permitting the people to be oppressed by lieutenants and officers. They were astonished that a prince, so prudent as *Christian*, should have fallen into an error of government so fatal to several of his predecessors. They also blamed him loudly for applying the national treasure, recovered from the *Domiticans*, towards the purchase of *Holsten* and *Stormar*, two earldoms, with which *Sweden* had no connection. On the other hand, *Christian* was informed of the discontents of the *Swedes*, and all their motions; in consequence of which he passed suddenly to *Stockholm*, with intention to stifle the sparks of sedition, before they received strength. His project however miscarried, and he fell into the snare laid for him by his enemies. This is not the place to enter minutely upon the whole of the plan, schemed out by some artful enemies to *Christian* and their country; sufficient it is, that they produced a jealousy between him and the archbishop of *Upsal*, his most faithful subject, which was the first occasion of the revolt that followed. His majesty first seized upon the archbishop's person, and sent him prisoner into *Denmark*, making himself afterwards master of all the garrisons within that prelate's jurisdiction. *Katill*, bishop of *Lincoping*, nephew to the archbishop, wrote to the king to release his uncle, threatening in case of refusal to use force. *Christian* despised his menaces, was besieged in *Stockholm* by the prelate, and after a sharp action, forced to retire privately into *Denmark*, to avoid falling into his hands.

A view of the affairs of Sweden.

EARLY in the following spring he returned with a powerful armament to *Sweden*. *Katill*, unable to oppose so numerous an army, retired to the province of *Dalia*, and blocked up all the roads with forts built in convenient places, and trees cut down in all the avenues. *Christian*, trusting to his strength, pursued his march, imagining he should easily surmount all the difficulties raised by so slender a body of men; but upon entering the forests and narrow ways, his troops were so galled by the arrows discharged by the peasants placed in ambush, that he was forced to retire precipitately to *Stockholm*, after losing a great number of his best men and officers. *Katill* pursued him thither, and immediately laid siege a second time to the city. His majesty, not chusing to run the consequences of a siege, having fortified in the best manner possible the town and citadel, took ship and sailed to *Denmark* (A).

A. D. 1464.

The Swedes revolt.

IT

(B) This is the relation of *Murjius*, though we find it confirmed by other writers. All however agree, that after *Christian's*

Charles
recalled to
the throne.

IT was soon after his majesty's retreat, that *Katill* published a manifesto in vindication of his own conduct, filled with large promises to the people, bitter invectives against *Christian*, renouncing the allegiance he had sworn to that prince, and inviting *Charles*, his rival, again to return to the throne, from which he was so solemnly and lately deposed. *Charles* did not hesitate to embrace the proposal; he returned, and was a second time acknowledged king; a piece of good fortune that was but of short duration. Divisions arose among his subjects; he soon became as odious as ever; and he abdicated the crown with more dishonour than before, having the additional disgrace of not profiting by experience ^a.

CHRISTIAN at length perceived his own error in disobliging the whole body of the clergy, by the affront put on the archbishop. He therefore studied to repair his fault by releasing the prelate, loading him with civilities and excuses, and obtaining his promise to forget all injuries, and take up arms against *Charles*. The archbishop asked no troops, knowing that *Christian* would have occasion to employ all his forces in another quarter; he contented himself with a sum of money, and posted to *Sweden* to raise forces.

A. D.
1465.

Disputes
between
Denmark
and the
earl of Ol-
denburg.

THIS year some disturbances appeared on the side of *Holstein*. *Gerhard*, earl of *Oldenburg*, took arms to compel his Danish majesty to pay him a sum of money due to him as the heir and executor of *Maurice*. Under pretence of visiting some noblemen in *Holstein*, he entered the country with a body of troops, and seized upon several strong holds by surprise. So beloved was this prince in *Holstein*, that no one opposed his progress; only the states wrote to *Christian*, that however busied he might be with the affairs of *Sweden*, those of *Holstein* required his immediate presence. His majesty ordered a diet at *Kiel*, and attended in person. Prince *Gerhard* likewise appeared, and spoke with such force of eloquence, that the king promised to pay him the money in dispute, or give him an equivalent in land. *Gerhard* accepted the proposal, and the two princes parted extremely good friends.

BUT other matters of dispute soon arose; the more his majesty granted, the more was required by his ambitious and tur-

^a MEURS. *ibid.* PUFFEND. l. iv. Hist. Univer.

rian's second retreat, *Katill* remained master of *Sweden*; but was moderate enough in the height of his prosperity to make repeated offers to the king of

restoring him, if he would consent to release his uncle, a proposition which he constantly rejected (1).

(1) MEURS. *ibid.* *Chrif.* l. i. p. 10.

bulent

bulent brother. At the time when *Christian* imagined he had perfectly satisfied him, it was matter of surprize to hear, that *Gerhard* had seized upon *Hufum*, was at the head of a body of forces, and in hourly expectation of being joined by the *East Frieslanders*. *Christian* lost all patience at this fresh instance of disobedience and unbrotherly conduct. He marched immediately to attack the rebels; and *Gerhard* hearing of his approach with a superior army, fled precipitately, leaving the *Frieslanders* to the king's mercy, who punished only the ring-leaders and fomenters of this sedition.

In *Sweden* the archbishop performed his engagements to *Christian*: he got together a numerous army, advanced and besieged *Stockholm*, and gave battle to *Charles* upon the ice. Both sides fought with the utmost obstinacy; but at last the prelate gained a complete but bloody victory. *Charles* was driven back to the city, and forced, in a short time, to surrender at discretion. Upon this the archbishop called a diet, obliged *Charles* to renounce the crown, and swear that he never more would aspire at remounting the throne, nor even accept of the crown should it be tendered to him. Finally, he was sent prisoner to *Finland*, with a certain appointment for his subsistence.

Charles renounces his claim to the crown.

BUT although the affairs of this unhappy prince were ruined in appearance, *Christian* profited nothing by them. High disputes arose about a successor. The archbishop supported *Christian's* interest; and *Eric Axelson* espoused *Charles*, to whose daughter he was married. In the end *Axelson* was chosen protector; and the election of a king postponed. This new form of administration soon became odious, and the people loudly called out for restoring *Charles*, which the archbishop opposed with all his power. The inactivity of *Christian* upon this occasion, is indeed unaccountable; hardly any measures were taken to support his party in *Sweden*; all was referred to the archbishop, who exerted himself in a manner that shewed him equally a statesman and soldier. Only two reasons can be assigned for *Christian's* conduct; either his brother *Gerhard* gave him too much employment on the side of *Germany*, to allow him to attend to the affairs of *Sweden*, or he was apprehensive of becoming unpopular, by enforcing his claim with an army of *Danes* and foreigners. At last, after four years had passed in perfect inactivity, *Christian* fitted out a large fleet, and made a descent on *Sweden*, where he took some fortresses. His successes, however, were not proportioned to the public expectation, and the king returned without gaining any considerable advantage.

A. D.
1466.

Christian's inactivity.

A. D.
1469.

MEYER, *ibid.*

AXELSON,

AXELSON, the Protector, resolved to make reprisals, and accordingly was marching to invade *Denmark*, when he was met by the king at the head of an equal force. Both armies engaged, and the *Swedes* were defeated with such loss, as prevented their ever again making head against *Christian*, and obliged them to propose terms of accommodation (A). The propositions were; that all the states of *Sweden* should acknowledge him king; that *Charles* should rest satisfied with certain lands appointed for his maintenance; and that a congress should be held at *Lübeck*, to terminate the whole business to his majesty's satisfaction. *Christian* was naturally inclined to pacific measures. He chose rather to relinquish the certain fruits of his victory, than reject these propositions, which were made with no other intention than putting a stop to his progress in *Sweden*. He ceased hostilities, and returned to *Denmark*, to wait the execution of the protector's promise.

ON the day appointed for the congress, his majesty arrived at *Lübeck*, expecting to find the *Swedish* deputies; but they were not so punctual; and when they came, their apology carried evident signs of backwardness to the business expected from them. In a word, so many difficulties were started by the *Swedes*, that not an article was agreed upon, and the congress broke up without appointing another meeting.

THE *Lubeckers* embraced this occasion of making fresh remonstrances to *Christian* about the restitution of their ships and effects. They were more successful than before, the king having paid down a sum of money in part, and given the fortress of *Kiel* as security for the remainder. Although *Christian* expressed no resentment to the deputies, yet he took measures for revenging their breach of promise. He was unfortunate only in not chusing a proper season for executing his purpose. In the depth of winter he passed with an army into *West Gothland*, and laid siege to the strong fortress of *Öres-teen*. The *Swedes* flew to the relief of the garrison, and, by a bold push, broke through the king's lines, and threw in a considerable reinforcement, which obliged his majesty to raise

(A) This year the *Danish* sent deputies to demand restitution; but *Christian* answered, that it was impossible, the booty having been divided among his whole fleet and army; an answer with which the *Lubeckers* were forced to rest satisfied (1).

the siege, after receiving a wound, as some authors alledge^b, and return to *Denmark*.

This year *Charles Canutson*, so often deposed, yielded up his last breath, which occasioned the meeting of a diet, to deliberate on the future election. A strong party appeared in favour of *Christian*, but at length *Steen-Sture* was chosen regent of the kingdom; the nobility apprehending, that should they elect a king, he might recover all the fortresses and castles belonging to the crown, which they had usurped. They likewise flattered themselves with enjoying more liberty under a regent, though, in fact, this magistrate differed only in name from a king. *Christian* determined to support his claim and adherents by force of arms. A powerful armament was set on foot, with which he sailed strait to *Stockholm*; but here he was again amused with proposals for an accommodation, and fair speeches, until the *Swedes* had augmented their forces. The king perceived his error when it was past remedy; but enraged at their treachery, he landed his forces, engaged the enemy with great vigour, and would, in all appearance, have been victorious, had he not been disabled by the wound of an arrow in the mouth, which broke several of his teeth, and of a musket-ball in the throat, which obliged him to quit the field. He drew off his army in good order, and retreated unmolested to his ships^b. The *Swedish* historians speak different, alledging, that the *Danes* were defeated, and a great number taken prisoners. Certain it is, that *Christian* returned to *Denmark*, and never afterwards undertook any considerable enterprize against the regent, though his fleet hovered round the coasts, and kept the kingdom under continual alarms. He constantly preferred peace and tranquility to the din of war; and from a natural aversion to spilling the blood of his subjects, as well as from an ambition to leave the kingdoms of *Norway* and *Denmark* rich and flourishing to his successor, he neglected to prosecute his claim upon *Sweden*.

A. D.
1470.

Affairs of
Sweden.

Christian
enters
Sweden.

Now it was that this excellent prince applied his mind wholly to the good of the state, and works of piety. Besides enforcing the laws, and amending them where they appeared defective, he gained the affections of the clergy, but especially of the lame, blind, and decrepid, by his liberality, and generous endowments. His temper was tender and compassionate, even to weakness, if so amiable a disposition carried even to excess, can merit the appellation. His donations

A. D.
1472.
He applies
his mind to
domestic
affairs.

^a VERT. Revol. de Sweden, t. i. PUFFEN. l. v. ^b MEURS. l. i. part ii. p. 11.

to the clergy were bestowed with the utmost regard to merit, and those only honoured with his favours who were exemplary for piety, and respectable for their learning and talents.

A. D.
1472.

THE following year his majesty set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, or rather upon a visit to the pope, paying his respects to the emperor Frederick III. in his way. It was at this time he represented to his imperial majesty, that in the Danish dominions subject to the empire, were a pernicious bold set of men (*Dithmarsians*) who acknowledged no authority, and perpetually harassed their neighbours. He requested the emperor's permission to reduce them to obedience, and unite their country with *Holstein* and *Stormar*, under the title of a duchy. Frederick granted his request, and invested *Christian* in the usual form with this whole country, in the manner he desired. He then pursued his route to Rome, and was received with extraordinary distinctions by his holiness, and the college of cardinals, those sagacious ministers of *Christ* knowing well what honours and respect were due to a temporal prince of so much consideration as *Christian*.

He founds
an univer-
sity.

A. D.
1475.

His first transaction after his return to his own dominions, was founding an university for the encouragement of arts and sciences. The senate was consulted on this occasion, and all unanimously were of opinion, that *Copenhagen*, on account of the residence of the court, and its prodigious commerce, was the fittest place for the establishment of such a foundation. Whether these arguments were not rather specious than solid, it is not our business to examine: other countries have thought solitude and retirement the fittest companions of study and philosophy.

The hereditary
prince
marries
Christina
of Saxony.

A. D.
1479.

Two years afterwards *Christian* resolved to strengthen the succession by the marriage of the hereditary prince. With this view he sent an embassy to *Saxony* to demand *Christina*, daughter to the elector *Ernest*, for his son. The proposals were accepted, and preparations made for solemnizing their espousals with the utmost magnificence. It was not, however, before the year following that the marriage-ceremony was performed. On this occasion, according to *Meursius*, and some other writers, the order of the Elephant was first instituted, though some other historians attribute its establishment to Frederick I. or II. or to *Christian IV.* (A).

UNTIL

(A) Originally this order changed for a gold chain, with bore a patriarchal cross, which after the Protestant religion was introduced into *Denmark*, was only upon princes and nobility.

Christian, however, still deservedly bore the reputation of the A. D. most moderate, merciful, and mild prince, who had ever 1479. swayed the Danish sceptre; but this year his temper took a Christian sudden and very extraordinary turn, for which writers do not pretend to assign any cause. He persecuted several of his courtiers, and among others a certain nobleman, who took shelter at the court of *Albert of Mecklenburg*, where he died of grief. This person's name is not mentioned; but we are told that his children endeavoured all in their power to regain his majesty's favour, but in vain: he was no less inexorable to the innocent children, than to the perhaps guilty father.

ABOUT the year 1480, it was that *Christian* endeavoured to restore the union of *Calmar*, and obtained a congress to be held with this view at *Helmstadt*. The plenipotentiaries of the three kingdoms met, and all were perfectly satisfied of the mutual advantages that would result from the union; but it was impossible to prevail on the *Swedes* to acknowledge *Christian* for their sovereign. The *Danish* ministers, however, obtained of them a promise that they would elect *John*, hereditary prince of *Denmark*, at his father's decease. Soon after this prince *John* was associated with his father in the throne of *Denmark*, after having been solemnly crowned at *Lunden*.

THE hopes afforded by the *Swedes*, that the union of *Calmar* might one day be revived; and the prince's elevation to the throne of *Denmark*, were the occasion of great joy all over the kingdom. The birth of a young prince, named *Christian* after his father, was an addition to the public joy. Nothing but feastings, tournaments, and other rejoicings, were to be seen in *Denmark*, but his majesty's death turned all into mourning, which happened on the second day of *May*, 1481, after a short illness, from which no danger was apprehended.

CHRISTIAN wanted no other quality of a great prince, than a slight tincture of polite learning. In piety, justice, fidelity, moderation, courage, magnificence, and true dignity of mind, he had few equals. During a reign of near thirty-three years, he cannot be reproached with a single foible in his administration, except his arresting the archbishop

was. *ibid.*

of the first distinction, observing first been favoured with the maj-
one rule, which is never to be- litary order called *Danebrog* (1).
show it on those who have not

(1) *Vid. P. Buffier, p. 47.*

of *Upsal*, his permitting himself to be amused with *Axelson's* promises, and his persecution of the noble family we have just mentioned. With respect to the first, his honesty was abused. The archbishop was accused of high crimes and misdemeanors he never committed; by persons whose veracity *Christian* had no reason to doubt. As to the second, he is blameless, since the most solemn assurances were given him, both by the regent and chief nobility of *Sweden*; assurances which he could not suspect, as they were the real interest of the kingdom. But, with respect to the third accusation, we cannot pretend to vindicate *Christian*, as the fact is too obscurely related by historians. This we may venture, however, to advance, that his persecuting an unhappy family is so inconsistent with the whole tenor of his conduct, and his natural disposition, that we may very well suppose he must have had some cogent reasons for his conduct.

He left three children; *John*, who immediately succeeded to the crown; *Frederick*, duke of *Sleswick*, and afterwards king of *Denmark*; and *Margaret*, queen of *Scotland*, by whom *James IV.* had the *Orkneys* and *Shetland*, with this proviso, according to the *Danish* writers, that the kings of *Denmark* should be at liberty to redeem those lands at a certain price, and re-annex them to the crown of *Norway*, to which they originally belonged (A).

S E C T.

(A) Before we enter upon the following reign, it may not be improper that we give a short account of the house of *Oldenburg*, from which the *Danish* monarchs, beginning with *Christian*, are descended. This family then derives its origin from *Wittikind*, one of the antient princes of *Saxony*, who bravely asserted the liberties of his country against *Charlemagne* for the space of thirty years, and was at length forced to submit to that powerful and fortunate monarch. He was soon after converted to Christianity, and created duke of *Saxony*, in consequence of some signal services he did the emperor. History affirms, that he died fighting

with his sword in his hand for the same emperor, whose overgrowing power he so obstinately opposed. This happened in a battle against the *Swedes*, A. C. 800. As to the succession of the *Oldenburg* family, before its princes ascended the *Danish* throne, *Buffier* in his memoirs of the *Danish* kings, speaks in the following terms: *Haio*, descended from the dukes of *Friesland*, married *Rixa* daughter of *John* earl of *Oldenburg*, the younger son of *Walpert*, son of *Wigbert*, who was the only son of *Wittikind* duke of *Saxony*. This *Haio* left by his wife *Rixa* an only son called *Elemar*, who succeeded to the earldom of *Oldenburg*, at the death of his

Cousin

S E C T. XII.

Containing the Particulars of the Reign of King John.

J O H N.

ALTHOUGH *John*, son of *Christian*, was acknowledged king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, in his father's life-time, and the *Swedes* had laid themselves under a solemn promise to chuse him for their sovereign, yet he chose to derive his claim from a free election of the states of the three kingdoms. With the prince's permission the *Danish* diet sent ambassadors to *Sweden* and *Norway*, inviting the diets of those kingdoms to send deputies to *Helmstadt*, in order to proceed to the election of a sovereign of the three kingdoms, agreeable to the treaty of *Calmur*. *Steen-Sture* perceived that this proposition tended to the annihilation of his authority, as regent and administrator of *Sweden*, and therefore at first thought of making no reply to the ambassadors. However, to conceal his ambitious views, he determined at length to

A. D.
1481.

cousin *Frederic*. *Elmar* II. his son succeeded him; and he in his turn was succeeded by *Christian* his son, a valiant prince, who sustained long and bloody wars against *Henry* Leo of *Saxony*, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in the preceding history. *Christian* being assassinated in his way to *Jerusalem*, the earldom fell to *Maurice*, a cadet of the family, who, retiring into a monastery, left his dominions to his eldest son *Otton*. *Otton* dying without issue, was succeeded by his third brother *Christian* II. After his death *John* his eldest son became earl of *Oldenburg*, being succeeded by *Conrad*, who left his dominions to his son *Maurice*. This prince dying without male issue, was succeeded

by *Theoderic* his cousin, who by marriage came into possession of the earldom of *Delmenhorst*. *Theoderic*, or *Thierry*, upon the death of his first wife, married *Hedwig*, widow of *Balthasar* duke of *Macklenburg*, and sister to *Gerhard* and *Adolphus* dukes of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*, by whom he had several children, and among the rest *Christian*, the late king of *Denmark*, and the first of the *Oldenburg* family raised to that throne. This prince was styled king of *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Sweden*, of the *Goths* and *Vandals*, duke of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, *Wagria*, and *Dithmarsch*; earl of *Oldenburg* and *Delmenhorst*, &c. all which titles descended to *John* his son (1).

(1) Page 120, & f. 2.

His election confirmed by the states of Denmark and Norway.

perform his promise by sending deputies, but to obstruct the business of the congress by all possible methods. The more strongly to evince his sincerity, he set out in person from *Stockholm* to attend the congress; but feigned so many obstructions to the journey, and at length sickness on the road, that the day for holding the congress was elapsed.

UPON advice of the administrator's proceedings, the deputies of *Denmark* and *Norway* immediately confirmed *John's* election, swearing they would never, during his life, acknowledge another sovereign. Afterwards a general diet was held at *Cabmar*, and a fresh oath was taken by the several states of the two kingdoms, the governors of cities, provinces, and castles, and by all persons possessed of places or pensions under the government.

THE first act of *John's* reign was to assemble the states of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* at *Kiel*, to regulate some differences between himself and his brother *Frederick*, which was done to the advantage of the latter, at the intercession of the queen-mother, who expressed the utmost tenderness for her younger son. *Holstein* was given him as his hereditary portion, and *Sleswick* as a revocable fief of the crown, for which he was to pay homage. A concession so important was looked upon as a proof of the extraordinary influence her majesty had over the states, as well as of her affection for *Frederick*. It occasioned several remonstrances to the king about the illegality of the proceeding, and the injustice done to his own family, in case he died the father of male issue, who might perhaps not succeed to an elective crown, and in that case would be left destitute of all provision. This was the opinion of the *Danish* diet; but the states of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* stuck fast by the queen and *Frederick*. They carried their point, and these two valuable duchies were again dismembered from the crown, notwithstanding the inconveniences lately felt from the grant made to the children of *Gerhard*^a. It is indeed difficult to conceive how either his majesty or the *Danish* diet should ever accede to such an act. The fact however is certain, and we must leave the motives to be suggested by the reader, as we do not find them specified in history. Before the breaking up of the diet, *John* pardoned the children and family of that nobleman persecuted by *Christian* towards the end of his reign, gave them back the estate that had been confiscated, and restored them to all the titles and honours the family had ever possessed.

^a MEURS. Vit. Johan. p. 22.

On his return to *Denmark*, he requested the senate to proceed to the ceremony of his coronation; but it was deferred for above two years, perhaps because they were willing to dive into the character of their prince, before they absolutely confirmed him in the sovereignty. The tranquillity which the kingdom enjoyed inspired his majesty with the design of redeeming a number of crown lands and revenues, mortgaged by the late king. For this purpose he laid a general tax on all the subjects of *Denmark*, and summoned the diet of *Holstein*, from whom he obtained leave to impose a tax of two ducats upon every plough (A). The same was granted by the states of *Sleswick*, although this tax came afterwards to be the occasion of a war.

JOHN's assiduity to pay off the crown debts, and his attention to the public affairs, was so agreeable to the senate and people, that they resolved to defer his coronation no longer. Accordingly he was solemnly crowned at *Copenhagen*, at a full diet of the states of *Denmark* and *Norway*, a great number of *German* princes and deputies from the hanse-towns, honouring the ceremony with their attendance. Soon after *John* went to *Norway* to receive the oaths of his subjects in that kingdom, and was again solemnly crowned at *Drontheim*. At his return he was strongly solicited by several of his courtiers to carry on the war with *Sweden*, and urge the re-establishment of the treaty of *Calmar*; but the queen-mother dissuaded him from the enterprize. *Dorothea* was a woman, who, to profound skill in politics, and the business of the cabinet, annexed a moderation dictated by prudence and regard for the welfare of her subjects. She represented to *John* the difficulty of forcing a king upon a people so tenacious of liberty as the *Swedes*; and should he succeed in this attempt, the little probability there was of keeping them in obedience. She told him, that he was more powerful in being the sovereign of two kingdoms only, and possessing the affections of his subjects, than if he wore a triple crown, at the expence of employing the force of two to enforce the obedience of the third. She entreated him to rest satisfied with his present dominions, and not suffer ambition to ruin the felicity himself and his subjects enjoyed, by bloody wars, which at last

John pays off the crown debts, and studies the felicity of the people.
A. D. 1483.

(A) From this circumstance it would appear, that the sole sovereignty of *Holstein* was not ceded to *Frederic*, notwithstanding the assertions of several writers; and indeed *Maurfius* alleges, that a partition of the dutchies of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* was made between *John* and his brother (1).

(1) *Maurf. l. ii. p. 8.*

would only impoverish the kingdom in men and money. She added, that it was highly probable the *Swedes*, tired of their dependence on the regent, and wearied out with the inconveniencies of a form of government not suited to the genius of the people, would of their own accord throw themselves in his arms, in which case he would be more secure of their fidelity and attachment.

John enters upon negotiations with the administrator of Sweden.

SUCH were the sage counsels of this politic princess, which diverted *John* from entering upon a war with *Sweden*. He did not fail however to begin negotiations for renewing the treaty of *Calmar*; and at length matters went so far, that a congress of deputies from the states of the three kingdoms was appointed to sit upon a certain day. The *Swedish* clergy had strongly espoused *John*, and the senate urged the congress so strongly, that the regent could obtain nothing more than inserting certain articles in the deputies instructions, with which he imagined *John* would never comply. The chief articles to which his majesty was to swear, previous to his election, were, that he should first of all pay the debts contracted by his father, while king of *Sweden*; that he should repair all the losses of the people; that he should put a final issue to the differences between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, concerning the island of *Gothland*; and those with *Norway*, respecting *Skardal* and *Swarto*. It was believed by the regent, and his friends, that neither *John* nor the *Danish* diet would digest these terms; but the eagerness of the king and kingdom to see the crowns united, and the treaty of *Calmar* renewed, made them overlook every difficulty, and accede without hesitation to all the propositions. The regent finding himself disappointed in his expectations, set all engines at work to frustrate the resolution of the congress. He applied in person to all the nobility of the kingdom, requesting that they would not receive *John* before he had executed all the conditions stipulated; and to give the more specious colour to his disobedience, he published a report that *John* had refused to pay his father's debts, or to terminate the dispute about *Gothland*. In a word, his arts succeeded so happily, that we hear no more of the congress for two or three years.

Plague in Denmark.

THE year 1484 was ushered in by the most terrible plague and famine that *Denmark* had ever felt. Near half the people were swept off; all the great towns, and even villages were almost depopulated, no part of the kingdom having escaped the ravages of these two most terrible afflic-

tions. The plague, in spite of all endeavours to check its progress, continued to rage for the space of two years. On the third it subsided, and in a short time after wholly disappeared, to the great joy of the whole kingdom. His majesty did every thing that became a wife and humane prince, for the relief of the poor; and to his excellent regulations, and liberality, historians attribute the short continuance of the famine, which ceased long before the plague. John's humanity.

THIS year the king called a diet at *Copenhagen*, to deliberate on the means of preventing the regent's gaining possession of the isle of *Gothland*. *Steen-Sture* was using all his endeavours to reduce it under the obedience of *Sweden*. He beheld with jealousy a place of so much importance to *Denmark*, in a *Swedish* war, in the hands of his enemies: he began therefore to tamper with the governor, offering him a valuable equivalent in any part of *Sweden*, if he would resign the island, and his government in *Finland*. *Ivar Axelsson* was governor of both. He was a *Swede*, promoted for his good services by the late king; but now suspected, and not without cause; for he gave up *Finland*, at the regent's pressing instances; but refused to listen to any propositions about the island. The regent threatened to use force, which *Axelsson* resented so highly, that he said he would surrender *Finland* to the *Russians*, if the *Swedes* in the least incommoded him.

A. D.
1486.

AXELSON's resentment burst forth at the next *Swedish* Affairs of diet, where he joined with several of the nobility, well affected to king *John*, to depose the regent, and place *Arsfued Trolle* at the head of affairs. This was only a pretence; their real design being to put the kingdom, according to their promise, in the hands of his *Danish* majesty: but the regent's address parried off the thrust, and disappointed the friends of *Denmark*. Sweden.

KING *John* had exact intelligence of all the proceedings in *Sweden*. The enmity between the regent and *Axelsson* left him no room to doubt but attempts would be made on *Gothland*, and the *Danes* run the hazard of disgracefully losing an island they possessed ever since it was conquered by *Valdemar III*. It was therefore resolved, in a full senate, to take the government from *Axelsson*, and declare war upon *Sweden*. Immediately a fleet of forty ships were ordered to cruize off the coasts of the island: yet, after all, the security of *Gothland* was only a pretence of the king's, to cover a design more important; at least this was the opinion of the *Swedes*, who immediately assembled a diet, at which some of the leading persons warmly insisted upon avoiding the impending storm, by

A. D.
1487.

calling *John* to the throne, and renewing the union of *Calmar*.

His majesty, having joined his fleet before *Gothland*, had the town and citadel of *Wisby* immediately surrendered to him by *Axelson*. The regent, dreading the consequences of a war with *Denmark*, requested that *John* would grant him an interview and passport. He declared to the king, that his coronation was deferred on account of the senate, and not from any fault of his, who was no more than the servant of the senate, forced to act according to their pleasure. Finally, he took an oath of allegiance to the king, and solemnly promised, if it was possible, to prevail on the senate to do the same. *John* was duped by these large promises, and specious appearances. *Steene-Sture* made oaths only to deceive, and to promote his own interest; for after prevailing on the king to procure from *Axelson* the surrender of the island *Oeland*, and the fortress of *Borkholm*, to the *Swedes*, he then exerted all his influence against *John*, knowing that his own grandeur depended upon excluding him from the crown *.

The king is suddenly seized with a malady, that affects his intellects. AFTER this *Denmark* enjoyed profound peace for several years; nor does history furnish us with any considerable transaction, foreign or domestic, until the year 1494, when the king was seized with a kind of phrensy, without any apparent cause. His illness did not, however, continue long; but went off, without the assistance of art, in the same extraordinary manner it first appeared ^b. As soon as he recovered the use of his understanding, he sent to demand a categorical answer from the regent, with respect to the resolutions of the last *Swedish* diet, and his own intentions with regard to *Oeland*; giving him to understand, that he was no longer in a humour to be put off with promises. In consequence of this message, a diet met; and a great majority, headed by the bishop of *Upsal*, appeared in favour of *John*, which created a mortal enmity between that prelate and the regent. Nothing however was done, besides appointing a congress of the states of the three kingdoms, on the twenty-fourth of *June* in the following year.

A. D.

1494.

A. D.

1495.

A congress of deputies from the three kingdoms. WHEN the deputies of the three nations met, they waited long for the regent, who was detained by no adverse winds, bad roads, nor sickness, but want of inclination, as was now evident to all. His repugnance occasioned the congress to be adjourned to the month of *November*, when such measures were taken by the king as, he persuaded himself, must infal-

* MEYER. *ibid.* p. 28.
part. ii. p. 25.

^b MEYER. *Vit. Johan. I. ii.*

libly secure to him the crown of Sweden. Accordingly he set sail with a fine fleet for the coast of Sweden; but was obliged to return, after losing one ship by fire, and several more in a dreadful storm. The misfortune of one ship in particular greatly affected him, as on board her were all the papers and titles he proposed producing at the diet to justify his claim. Steen-Sture was so elevated with John's disappointment, that he now openly refused to enter upon any negotiations, and even absented himself from the diet, which he assembled by writs signed with his own hand.

JOHN, perceiving that it would be difficult to force the regent into terms, while he was connected in alliance with the hanse-towns, fell upon divers stratagems to break the treaty between them. But all proving unsuccessful, he engaged the Russians to enter Finland, where they made terrible devastation. Against these barbarians the regent opposed himself, at the head of an army; but though he thirsted for revenge, he dreaded coming to a battle, or engaging in open war with a nation so potent as Muscovy. John's friends took advantage of the regent's absence, a diet was assembled, and Steen-Sture solemnly deposed, which laid the foundation of a civil war we shall have occasion to relate in the history of Sweden.

A. D.
1497.

DURING these transactions in Sweden, John did not waste his time idly in his own dominions. A second time his son Christian was declared hereditary prince of Denmark and Norway, and a war resolved upon with Sweden. The army he raised upon this occasion was composed of Germans, French, English, and Spaniards; in a word, of soldiers of fortune, introduced into Germany by Magnus, duke of Lower Saxony. No pay was given them; and, as they were to subsist wholly on plunder, they were esteemed rather a banditti of robbers than a regular army. With this mixed corps he laid siege to Calmar, while his fleet ravaged the island of Oeland and the coasts of Sweden. The citizens of Calmar, finding resistance in vain, capitulated upon honourable terms. Borkholm next surrendered to the Danish fleet. The most terrible ravages were committed by the king's army all over the country, where the soldiers dispersed themselves: even the forests were set on fire, and every hostility committed which his majesty thought would force the Swedish nation into his terms, and render them weary of the regent.

In the mean time the regent pressed hard on the king's adherents in Sweden, and blocked the archbishop of Upsal closely up in the fortress called Sienka. John flew to the

*Defratts
the Dale-
carlians.*

prelate's relief, raised the blockade, and then pursued his march to *Stockholm*, with intention to lay siege to the city; ordering his fleet to block it up towards the sea, and by every possible means to assist his operations. When the regent found the capital invested by sea and land, he immediately applied himself to the *Dalecarlians*, the most warlike people in *Sweden*, and, by large promises and specious arguments, excited them to take arms for the relief of *Stockholm*. *John* was no sooner informed of their march than he summoned a council of his general-officers, and was rejoiced to find them all eager to come to an engagement. It was the cry of the whole army not to wait in their trenches to be attacked, but bravely to march out, and engage the enemy in the open field. The king made his advantage of this eagerness of his troops. Marching the cavalry out of his camp in the utmost silence, he covered their motions from the besieged, by the disposition he made of his infantry. In the night the infantry filed off, and before break of day joined the horse, drawn up at a post some distance from the camp, thro' which the enemy must pass.

It was not long before the scouts brought notice that the *Dalecarlians* were near; upon which his majesty went through the ranks, encouraging his troops, by promises of reward, to maintain the honour of their several countries, and exhorting them to put an end to a destructive war, by an exertion of their valour for a few hours. He was answered by a shout, which convinced him of the ardour of the soldiers. Immediately he led them on, and attacked the enemy at *Rootebroe*, the *Dalecarlians* standing the shock with great firmness. A cloud of arrows was discharged, that covered the whole *Danish* army, and made such slaughter as would certainly have wrested victory out of the king's hands, had the enemy been supported with cavalry. Having nothing however to oppose to the king's horse, they were attacked in flank, broke, and put in disorder: after this the carnage became dreadful; the repeated endeavours of the brave *Dalecarlians* to rally, only prolonged their fate, and made their destruction more complete. Too obstinate to quit the field, they were hemmed in on every side, most of them preferring a glorious death to flight or captivity. The king, satiated with blood, ordered a retreat to be sounded, and returned in good order to his camp, without permitting his army to plunder the baggage, lest the desperate *Dalecarlians* should seize this opportunity of rallying the few remaining dispersed troops. Immediately he ordered the standards and other trophies of his victory to be erected in view of the garrison of *Stockholm*, thinking by this means to intimidate them to surrender. The effect this action

produced was directly contrary to his expectation, but not less successful. *Steen-Sture* imagining that the *Dalecarlians*, after defeating the king, were now pillaging the camp, opened the gates, and permitted all the inhabitants to pour out in flocks to partake in the general joy and plunder. His majesty fell upon them, drove them back to the walls, and made prodigious slaughter; the regent himself escaping with great danger in a little boat. In consequence the city capitulated; the nobility, most averse to *John's* election, came and sued for pardon, and the regent himself intreated the king to grant him an interview. Their first conference passed in reproaches from the king, and excuses on the side of the regent. In the end, however, he was pardoned, and *John* crowned king of *Sweden*, in the manner we shall relate more particularly in the history of that country.

At a feast which his majesty gave the *Swedish* nobility after his coronation, he asked a *German* officer at table, whether any thing was wanting to render the solemnity complete. "Nothing," says the *German*, besides an executioner to cut off the heads of some of those lords, and impress the rest with just notions of the fidelity and obedience they owe to their sovereign." The king was so enraged with this speech, that he continued for some time silent, with his eyes fixed on the ground. At last, darting a look full of resentment at the *German*, he replied, "I had rather see all my evil counsellors hanged on a gibbet, than be overwhelmed with the shame of an action so barbarous as that you recommend. God forbid I should ever be the oppressor of liberty, or deny any free people the right of choosing their own governors." an answer that sets the character of this prince in the most conspicuous point of view, and deserves to be engraved on the hearts of all princes.^a

Is elected king of Sweden.

A. D. 1498.

A noble saying of John's.

ABOUT the beginning of the following year, the king entered upon a war, which terminated little to his honour or advantage. It was occasioned by the grant made by the emperor *Frederic* to the late king, of that country inhabited by the people called *Dithmarshians*. For many ages this brave people, fond of liberty, had thrown off the *Danish* yoke, and aspired at perfect independency, never acknowledging themselves subject to the archbishop of *Bremen*, except when they dreaded the arms of *Denmark*. The late king's death prevented his intention of reducing them; and the desire of extending his frontier induced *John* to attack them. He communicated his plan to his brother *Frederic*, and engaged him

He marches against the Dithmarshians.

^a MEURS. *ibid.*

A. D.
1500.

to join the *Danish* army with the troops of *Holstein*. *John* began his march in the month of *February*, accompanied by his brother *Frederic*, and the flower of the nobility of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*. When joined by the auxiliaries, his army was so numerous, that he expected the *Dithmarshians* would make their submission, without striking one blow. He could not persuade himself, that a handful of militia would presume to meet in the field a powerful well-disciplined army, flushed with victory, and the conquest of a potent kingdom. But he was mistaken, and greatly astonished, when he found that this determined people disdained submission; and the inhabitants of a district, not seven miles in extent, prepared to face the sovereign of three respectable kingdoms. So sure did the *Danes* make themselves of victory, that they shared the booty before the engagement; and every one brought carriages for moving off his proportion of the spoil. Merchants attended the army, having with them large sums of money, imagining they might purchase things of value at a low price from the soldiers. A kind of insatiation possessed the whole: all proposed immense riches to themselves, without dreaming of the danger, or the chance of war. Even the senators were so insatuated as to divide among them all the benefices, wantonly assuming the title of abbots; a piece of temerity which gave birth to the saying, "Never was battle so fatal to the abbots." The truth is, jealousy and faction prevailed in the king's army. Many persons dreaded his aggrandizement by new conquests, not doubting but a series of wars would be the result, instead of peace and tranquility. Ambition, said they, is boundless, and the hanse-towns will be the next object of conquest. Others, who believed their services in the *Swedish* war but ill requited, went so far as to conspire against the king's life; but their villainous design was happily discovered by an infant, just as it was on the point of execution.

SUCH was the condition of the king's army, while valour and unanimity supplied the place of numbers among the enemy. They thoroughly weighed the strength of the *Danes*, and sought the means of resisting them with the utmost caution and vigilance. *Meldorp*, their capital, was neither fortified by art nor nature to their satisfaction, so that they were afraid to trust to its walls and stand the siege. On the other hand, their want of cavalry made it hazardous to give battle in the open plain. They resolved therefore to retire into the heart of their country, where the canals and dykes would serve for ramparts, and greatly incommode the enemy.

AFTER the king had passed some days at *Ham*, expecting the *Dithmarsians* would offer their submission, at last he began his march towards *Meldorp*, which he took almost without resistance, the inhabitants having deserted it with all their valuable effects. The consternation of the *Dithmarsians* was great upon the loss of their capital; some talked of surrendering, while others were for making a desperate push, and risking all. While the king staid to refresh his troops at *Meldorp*, he sent out a detachment to examine the country, and discover the enemy. Hardly a man of this corps returned, with such fury did the *Dithmarsians* attack them. Upon this the king set out with his army to chastise their insolence, and was first obliged to attack a narrow pass, which the enemy had diligently fortified. His body-guards led the van, the infantry were in the center, and the cavalry marched in the rear, through narrow rough roads, lined on both sides with wood. At first this was the only difficulty his majesty encountered; but on approaching the enemy, he found them strongly entrenched, and inaccessible on all sides; besides, the narrowness of the roads, and disposition of the cannon and baggage, in the front and rear, rendered it now hazardous either to advance or retreat. His embarrassment did not escape the enemy: they were prepared for it, and played their batteries with great vigour and success. Showers of arrows were likewise poured among the king's troops, and the endeavours of the *Dithmarsians* were greatly assisted by a violent shower of hail, directly in the faces of the king's troops. In a word, every thing co-operated to effect the disgrace and ruin of the *Danish* army. Cold, fatigue, and despondency, universally prevailed. Baffled in their endeavours to retreat, there remained no means of safety but cutting their way through the midst of the enemy's camp, which was immediately attempted. The attack begun with great vigour, supported by the king in person, and it was sustained with no less courage and firmness. Whole ranks of the *Danes* were hewn down by the grape shot of the enemy, while their fire was vainly spent upon dykes and batteries. Encouraged however by the presence and example of their king, one rank advanced upon another of their slaughtered companions, and soon met their fate. Confusion began to follow this terrible carnage, and even the king himself was dismayed. His falling back was the signal to a general rout, and now it was that the most dismal terror and disorder appeared. The cannon and baggage in the rear blocked up every passage, and the men fell back upon each other in one tumultuous crowd. The infantry threw themselves into the ditches to make room, and

John defeated by the Dithmarsians.

and the cavalry, finding themselves blocked up, trod down the foot, as if they had been enemies. To give the finishing blow to the distress of the *Danish* army, the *Dithmarsians* sallied out among them, sword in hand, hewing them down without pity, remorse, or resistance. At the same time they opened their sluices, and almost overwhelmed them with a torrent of water, which however had this unexpected good effect, that clearing the ditches, and carrying away a great part of the baggage in the rear, it opened a passage for the cavalry to retreat. Nothing indeed could be more providential than this last action of the enemy, which alone prevented the *Danes* from being killed or taken prisoners all to a man. Some writers alledge, that this opening was made by the garrison the king left at *Meldorp*, who now came to his relief, and removed the cannon and baggage that blocked up the rear. What we can affirm for a certainty, upon the authority of all writers, is, that the king was totally defeated, and the ditches filled with dead bodies; a circumstance that facilitated the escape of the survivors, by diminishing the crowd, and forming a kind of foot path in the deep and muddy trenches.

'ruefly of
the Dith-
marsians.

THE *Dithmarsians* did not enjoy their victory with the same magnanimity they gained it. All sorts of cruelties were committed on the bodies of the wounded and slain; their eyes were plucked out, their noses slit, and their ears cut off, with a barbarity unworthy of a warlike people. It was with difficulty they were prevailed on to bury the dead; nor did they at last comply with these last duties of humanity, but to avoid the inconveniency of the putrid exhalations arising from the corrupted bodies. After all, the infantry alone were interred, while the cavalry were left a prey to birds and beasts.

WITH respect to the number of slain, we have no certainty; but the most common opinion is, that four thousand *Danes* were left on the field, besides the wounded and prisoners. Among the former were *Adolphus Otton*, and the earl of *Oldenburg*, together with three hundred and sixty officers of less note. The king lost likewise an infinity of standards, colours, and other trophies, besides all his artillery and baggage. Such was the event of this unfortunate expedition, undertaken from motives of ambition, and unsuccessful for want of foresight, unanimity, and from too great confidence in the superiority of numbers.

care con-
sulted.

JOHN having collected the remains of his scattered forces in *Holstein*, was meditating another invasion, in order to wipe

* MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

off his disgrace, and revenge the manes of so many brave soldiers, when a peace was mediated by the German princes between him and the *Dithmarsians*, which continued until *Frederick II.* made another expedition into their country.

A. D.
1501.

THE rumour of this defeat once more roused the ambition of *Steen-Sture*, and excited a rebellion in *Sweden*, which ended in a revolution, and the elevation of that nobleman to the rank he before held. He was adored by the peasants, as the protector of their liberties, and encouraged by the nobility as the necessary tool of extending their own privileges. But we shall postpone the relation of particulars until we come to the history of *Sweden*, that we may avoid repetition. Sufficient it is, that this revolution was effected in the year 1502, and forms one of the busiest and most interesting periods in the annals of either kingdom.

Sweden
revolts.
A. D.
1502.

BUT the ambition of *Sture* was not satisfied with being the first person in *Sweden*, he must also acquire the supreme authority in *Norway*, to fill the measure of his designs, and gratify a soul wholly occupied with the lust of power. No obstacles could discourage him, and he panted after the accomplishment of this enterprize, with an eagerness proportioned to the difficulty of attaining his ends. The people had always testified an inclination to the union of *Calmar*, and a strong attachment to the kings of *Denmark*; but *Steen-Sture* was not to be repulsed by obstructions which must melt away before the heat and fervour of his genius. He wrote to the nobles; he employed emissaries to debauch the minds of the vulgar: to the former he promised unlimited privileges; and to the latter, an exemption from taxes imposed by the *Danes*, and every thing else that could cajole, amuse, and engage them in his interest. Motives so powerful as these wrought the desired effect; the *Norwegians* loved ease and liberty: here in imagination they saw a happy prospect; they pushed forward with eagerness, declared themselves, and joined the *Swedens* against *Denmark*, choosing *Canute Adolphus*, a powerful lord of the country, their leader.

Disturbances in
Norway.

JOHN was grieved and astonished at the first report of this revolution; but he did not despair of regaining the *Norwegians*. With this view he deputed the bishop of *Roschild* and *Henry Crommeditz* to them, after obtaining passports from *Canute Adolphus*. They had an interview with this nobleman, which ended in reproaches, and his assassination, without its ever being known whether the *Danish* deputies had the king's instructions for committing this barbarous and insidious act. Confusion and tumults were the immediate consequences of this murder: the *Norwegians* retaliated on the

Danes;

Danes; and such were the heats produced, that no time could be afforded to inter the body of *Adolphus* for the space of twelve years; with such rage did they pursue their mutual animosity (A). As the king never took much trouble in discovering the murderers, it was conjectured that he was privy to the design; and thus he lay under the imputation of being at least an accessory to two horrid assassinations, without perhaps having any share in either; nor indeed can we at all conceive what purpose the latter murder, in particular, could have answered. We find it however related, that on his death-bed he was so touched with remorse, at being instrumental in the marshal's death, that he often called upon his name in a kind of phrenzy^a.

ALL this year the king was busied in the *Swedish* war, and blocking up *Stockholm*; the loss of which place, and the queen's imprisonment, greatly affected him. We shall see, in its proper place, how *Sture* came into possession of the capital and of her majesty's person, who defended it for some time with the valour and skill of the greatest general. He now had some intelligence, that the hanse-towns were ready to join the administrator; and he applied every engine to prevent their designs, by a renewal of the treaty subsisting between them and *Denmark*. The bishop of *Odensee*, accompanied by two gentlemen of the court, were sent to *Lubec*, to lay before the regency the series of *Sture's* perfidy, his breach of treaties and oaths, his rebellion against his sovereign, in defiance of gratitude, repeated obligations, and the laws of his country, to which he had solemnly sworn; his imprisonment of the queen, in open breach of a particular treaty with her before she surrendered the citadel of *Stockholm*, together with a thousand other articles of impeachment. In fine, he demanded of the regency, out of respect to him, and the friendship subsisting between *Denmark* and the hanse-towns, that they would promise not to favour the administrator, by sending supplies of warlike stores and provisions to *Sweden*. He assured them of his friendship, if they would comply with this reasonable request; and on

John's negotiations with the regency of *Lubec*.

^a MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

(A) About this time two Norwegians came to *Denmark*, one of whom stabbed the grand marshal as he was passing from the citadel to the city of *Copenhagen*. He afterwards flung his body into the sea, saying, that land was not so natural an element for a fish as the sea, alluding to *Saumond*, which was the first part of that nobleman's name (1).

(1) MEURS. Vit. Johan.

the other hand declared, that he could not avoid holding as enemies to him whoever should openly countenance and support rebels against their king and country.

To all this the regency answered, that their city being in peace with both kingdoms, it was unjust to put a stop to their commerce on account of their particular quarrel; and, indeed, neither his majesty nor the administrator had any right to lay restrictions on their trade. From this answer it was obvious the regency had taken their resolution; *John*, however, did not fail soliciting them by fresh instances, and the same negotiation he carried on by his ambassador with all the *Vandal* cities, and with much the same event.

KING *John* was provoked at the conduct of the hanse-towns, and gave orders immediately for a squadron to be sent to sea to intercept all their commerce with *Sweden*. This squadron had scarce entered the *Baltic*, when it fell in with a rich *Lubecker*, bound for *Sweden*. This the *Danish* commander seized, and carried into port. *Lubeck* was immediately in arms upon this news. The people insisted upon *He quarrels* declaring war on *Denmark*, and the regency inclined to their opinion, but were deterred from pursuing it, from motives of *with the* prudence, and the exhausted state of the public treasury. It was therefore thought adviseable to try the effects of a negotiation; and deputies were accordingly sent to *Denmark*, which *John* treated with great haughtiness in his turn. He gave them to understand, that he had no particular quarrel with *Lubeck*, or any of the free towns; and it was by no means his wish to break with them; but they were before apprized of his intention if they continued to assist his enemies, a proceeding which he could not avoid construing into an indirect alliance against *Denmark*. In a word, he gave the deputies to understand, that he had it in his power to be revenged on *Lubeck* in particular. "This city, said he, had its privileges from the kings, my predecessors, in reward of its attachment to the interest of *Denmark*; it is possible it may lose them, as the just punishment of its ingratitude."

ON the return of the deputies with this answer, the citizens of *Lubeck* cried out with one voice for war; but the regency foreseeing the inconveniencies of a rupture with *Denmark*, made repeated remonstrances to the king by letters of request, and every other possible method. Finding him inflexible, at length, with reluctance, they determined to take arms, and keep no measures. The diligence with which they levied troops, and equipped a fleet, made it apparent that

they resolved on vigorous measures; nor was the king less diligent in preparations to resist them.

IN the mean time *Frederick*, duke of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*, offered his mediation between *Denmark* and the hanse-towns. He came with that view to *Lybeck*, and omitted nothing to prevent a rupture; but the minds of the populace were too much inflamed to admit of the equitable proposals of this pacific prince. They persisted in demanding liberty of trade with *Sweden*, the confirmation of the privileges in the ports of *Denmark*, and restitution of the ships taken by the king's squadrons. Incensed with their obstinacy, *John* augmented the fleets, intended to cruize upon their coasts. He sent likewise for aid to the kings of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*. But though no succours arrived, except from the latter and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, the rumour of such powerful alliances discouraged the *Lubbers*, made them lay up their fleet, and disband their armies.

A. D.
1503.

Prince
Christian's suc-
cess in
Norway
and Swe-
den.

Two stout ships of war were sent from the king of *Scotland*, and several battalions of infantry by the elector of *Brandenburg*; but the king not thinking it adviseable again to rouse the spirit of the hanse-towns, who seemed disposed to lie by, resolved to employ his auxiliaries in the conquest of *Norway*. Prince *Christian* was appointed to command the armaments destined for this enterprize. The first attempt made by the prince was attended with uncommon success: he took prisoner the chief of the malcontents, condemned him to death, and ordered him to be broke on the wheel. *Sture* sent succours to the rebels; but the *Swedish* troops being defeated on their first arrival, *Christian* was left at full liberty to reduce the rest of the kingdom. In a word, the rigour with which his highness treated the rebels, and especially the nobility, a great number of whom he put to death, gave so rapid a progress to his arms, that in one campaign he saw himself master of all *Norway*.

THENCE he passed into *Sweden*, where he laid siege to *Elfsburg* and *Oeresteen*. His operations were so vigorous, that the garrisons soon offered to capitulate; but he refused to grant any terms to rebels, resolving to impress terror by his severity. *Sture* perceived of what consequence it was to relieve these two places. He marched with a body of horse and foot with great secrecy and diligence, towards *Elfsburg* (A).

(A) Some writers affirm, that this party was commanded by one *Achon*, and not by *Sture* in person (1).

(1) *Murf. ibid.*

THE *Swedish* corps came within a few miles of the *Danish* camp, when they were discovered by a peasant, who gave immediate notice of their approach to *Canute Thimée*, the *Danish* officer upon guard for that night. Immediately he carried the news to the commander in chief; for the prince it is said lay that night in the citadel of *Elfburg*, which had been surrendered the day before. But as it was now the hour for relieving the centinels, the enemy had time to approach the camp, and seize upon an eminence from whence they could overlook the *Danes*, before word came to the commanding officer. Nothing could be more favourable to *Sture's* designs than this opportunity. The whole *Danish* camp was overwhelmed with sleep, and the prince absent. *Sture* however imprudently relying more upon the bravery of his men, than upon the surprize of the enemy, ordered the trumpets to be sounded, and the charge given; an order so ill-timed, that one of the trumpeters took the liberty of asking, whether it were not more adviseable to fall upon the enemy asleep than to awaken them, and give them time to put themselves in a state of defence. But the general would have his orders implicitly obeyed, saying, that he disdained attacking the king's son, and so many noblemen, otherwise than in fair combat; a circumstance that renders it probable, that the administrator did not command in person. The *Swede* soon felt the consequences of this boasted delicacy. He broke in with fury into the camp, made great slaughter at first, but was soon overpowered and forced to fly, after losing more than half his cavalry; for his infantry had not yet joined him. It was the prince's arrival that gave this sudden turn to affairs. He instantly rallied the *Danes*, and gave them fresh vigour by his presence. Nor was he contented with repulsing the *Swedes*, and securing his camp; but pushing the siege of *Oeresteen* with redoubled efforts, he took the fortress in a few days, putting the garrison to the sword, as he had done that of *Elfburg*. After that he led his victorious army into *East-Gothland*, where he burnt villages, took and pillaged towns and castles, and then passed to *Schonen* to refresh his troops.

THE success of this expedition occasioned great joy in *Denmark*; nor was there any thing to allay the public satisfaction, except the enmity between the general of the cavalry and the commander in chief of the artillery; the former complaining loudly, that he had been deserted in the heat of the action by the other, from motives of treachery or cowardice. All possible means were used by the friends of

* MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

these two officers to reconcile them; but to no purpose, until the king interposed his authority, and acquitted the commander of the artillery both of cowardice and treachery.

*Further
advan-
tages
gained by
the Danes.*

A SHORT time after this, the same general of the cavalry performed some signal services to his country, by surprising the Swedish fortress of *Olzburg*, which the administrator had erected for the defence of the frontier. In recompence of his conduct and valour, *John* gave him his conquests in perpetuity; and thus rewarded a faithful servant, and defended his frontier, without expence to the government.

ALL this while *Sture* was not idle in Sweden. The *Lubeckers* had joined him with a squadron, consisting of six men of war; and he raised a body of land-forces, with which he became master of almost all the fortresses in the kingdom, except *Calmar* and *Borkholm*, the sieges of which places were raised by the seasonable succours sent by *John*. Still however the Danes continued their incursions, to put a stop to which, and gain time, *Sture* set a negotiation on foot concerning the queen's release. The pope's legate coming to Germany about this time, it was thought a general peace would be established, as he laboured to unite the Christian princes, in order to engage them against the infidels. The legate wrote to king *John*, desiring he would send ambassadors to a congress at *Lubeck*, to which he had summoned deputies from Sweden, and all the Vandal cities. The deputies of the several states met accordingly; but *Sture's* agents equivocated so grossly, that the legate declared, unless the administrator released the queen, surrendered his authority, and returned together with the whole kingdom of Sweden, to the obedience they had sworn to king *John*, he would engage his holiness to pour down upon them all the thunders of the church.

THESE menaces operated powerfully on the minds of the regency, and the Swedish deputies; the former requesting leave to accompany the latter into Sweden, to treat with *Sture* in person concerning her majesty's release. They likewise sent deputies to *Stralsund*, to treat with king *John*, concerning certain preliminary articles of peace.

*The queen
of Den-
mark set
at liberty.*

IT was a matter of less difficulty than was imagined to procure the queen's liberty; the whole Swedish nation having long endeavoured to prevail on the administrator to send her back to Denmark. Her majesty was attended at *Helmstadt* by crowds of the nobility; and his majesty, followed by the prince and court, met her at a considerable distance, and conducted her to *Copenhagen*, amidst the joyful acclamations of the people, who loved the person, and greatly respected the abilities of this heroine.

THE sudden death of *Steen-Sture* on the following year effected a total change in the affairs of *Sweden*. Warm disputes arose whether his *Danish* majesty should be called to the throne, or the management of affairs put into the hands of *Suante Sture*, grand marshal of the kingdom. The latter opinion prevailed, and the new administrator began his government by renewing the war, and laying siege to *Calmar* and *Borkholm*. More than common vigour was exerted in finishing those sieges; but all the efforts of *Sture* were baffled by the bravery of the garrison and the strength of the fortifications. Yet some writers pretend, that *Calmar* was taken by assault^b; an opinion we find contradicted by the best authorities.

A. D.
1504.

KING *John* was foiled in his endeavours to reduce *Sweden* to his obedience, and terminate the war; he therefore ^{John's de-}deliberated upon the most effectual means of punishing this ^{signs} rebellious nation, by striking some decisive blow. The island *Sweden*. of *Bornholm* was the great security of their commerce in the *Baltic*, and of this he proposed to deprive them. While he was busied in preparations to execute this plan, the duke of *Mecklenburg* declared war on the *Lubeckers*. The regency, ^{Peace with} terrified at having two enemies at once to deal with, made proposals of peace, and agreed to whatever his majesty demanded; but the rest of the hanse-towns, particularly *Dantzick*, *Riga*, and *Revel* refused to sign the treaty, pretending that their union would not permit them to accede to articles which respected the interest and conveniency of one city only. *Lubeck* however concluded the peace; and as this was the only city that had powerfully supported *Sture*, his majesty was now at liberty to turn his whole force against *Sweden*. However, he gave ear to the arguments of the *Scottish* ambassador, sent to mediate peace among the northern crowns. A congress was fixed at *Calmar*, for the deputies of the three kingdoms. The king, the *Scottish* ambassador, and senates of *Denmark* and *Norway* attended; but they were disappointed in the usual manner by the *Swedes*, who thought proper not to keep their engagement. *John* was incensed at this indignity? he read to the congress the proofs and other documents of his title to the crown of *Sweden*, and the oath of allegiance that nation had sworn. He accused the *Swedes* of rebellion and perjury; but that he might not give judgment in his own cause, he left sentence to be passed by the senators of *Denmark* and *Norway*. Accordingly they passed the following decree, that *Suante Sture* and the other members of the

^a Hist. de Danemarck, par. M. Des Roches, t. iv. p. 373.

Swedish senate, who had signed the oath of fidelity to the king, and were guilty of perjury by exciting rebellions in the kingdom against their sovereign, should be degraded from their nobility, have their estates confiscated, and be obliged to surrender the kingdom into his majesty's hands, by a certain day. This sentence was sent to the emperor *Maximilian*, with a request that he would examine and confirm it, if he thought it was founded on equity. His imperial majesty complied with the king's desire; the decree was canvassed before the aulic council, and solemnly ratified.

A. D.
1506.

WHEN *John* found himself supported by the emperor's confirmation of the decree, he ordered it to be printed and published, and then took the necessary measures for enforcing it, beginning with degrading the persons levelled at, and confiscating their estates. He caused to be published in all the hanse-towns, the imperial decree of ratification, declaring at the same time, that if they continued their intercourse with *Sweden*, or any ways aided or abetted the rebels in that kingdom, he would immediately revoke the privileges granted by his predecessors to their shipping in the ports of *Denmark*.

IT appears, that the *Swedes* were troubled at the publication of this decree in the empire. It created confusion in the kingdom, and alienated the minds of numbers from the regent. Dreading the consequences of their disaffection, *Sture* sent deputies to *Denmark* to negotiate peace; but as he had before broke his faith to the king, the deputies could only obtain a suspension of arms.

A. D.
1507.
*The Lu-
beckers
break the
late treaty.*

LUBECK sought now to break the late treaty concluded with *Denmark*; but history does not specify the reasons for which she opposed the growing interest of *John* in *Sweden*, which was the real occasion why the regency desired to come to a rupture with *Denmark*. This city received all the *Swedish* ships that came to her ports, and furnished them with ammunition, provision, and every implement of war, in open defiance of the king. *John* remonstrated to the regency, and they replied, that the ships he spoke of belonged to the *Vandal* cities. It was plain however, that the trade of *Sweden* was carried on clandestinely in neutral bottoms; and *John*, to put a stop to this evil, ordered a squadron to cruize in the *Baltick*, and seize upon all the *Lubek* shipping that came in their way. Several rich vessels were taken, the regency was alarmed, and sent to demand restitution. The other cities followed their example; but all the deputies were dismissed with this answer, that the ships and ~~goods~~ were lawful prize, as they carried on a traffic with *Sweden*, in direct violation of the late treaty. The populace of *Lubeck*

beck pressed the regency to make reprisals; but they more prudently contented themselves with an assurance to the administrator, given under their hands, that they would not fail of embracing every opportunity to aid and assist Sweden*.

ENCOURAGED by this promise, *Swen-Sture* broke the suspension of arms between him and Denmark: he made an irruption into *Bleking*, took the fortress of *Lych*, pillaged and set fire to the surrounding villages, and retired precipitately den. with his booty to Sweden. This insult did not pass unrevenged. *Norby*, admiral of the Danish Squadron, cruising in the *Baltick*, entered the port of *Abo* in Finland, and reduced the capital to ashes. He then set sail for the island *Aaland*, razed the fortress of *Custleholm*, took *Steen Tourson*, a Swedish senator, and his family prisoners, and carried them to Denmark, with a great deal of rich plunder. *Steen Tourson* was connected with the best families in Sweden, and they all exerted themselves to bring about peace, as the only means of procuring his release. But the administrator frustrated the effects of all their endeavours, and after a tedious negotiation, ordered matters so artfully, that only a suspension of arms for a year was concluded; only it was stipulated before this cessation of hostilities was granted, that at the expiration of the truce, the Swedes should either acknowledge *John* for their sovereign, or give sufficient reasons for their refusal of him or his son. Other articles of less consequence were likewise agreed upon, all of which were burthensome to Sweden, and grievous to the hanse-towns; too much so indeed to expect any good effects from them. The Swedes were the first who declined performing the agreement; upon which the king, finding he was trifled with, again took arms, and entered *Weserogoth* about the middle of December, at the head of an army. Here he burnt and pillaged *Ladese*, and all the country he laid waste; but *Sture* did not venture to oppose him, or at all to appear in the field before his majesty returned to Denmark. Then he entered *Schonen*, and carried ruin and devastation wherever he marched. Apprehensive however that the king would amply revenge himself, he dispatched deputies to Denmark, to demand a diet of the states of the three kingdoms to meet on the twenty-fourth day of June following at *Calmar*. Although it was easy to perceive that fear alone drove the administrator to this measure; yet so desirous of peace was his Danish majesty, that he would not reject any overture that had a tendency to re-establish the public tranquillity.

* PUFFEND. t. iv.

*The Lu-
beckers
assist Swe-
den.*

A. D.
1508.

SUCH was the situation of affairs, when the *hanse-towns* interposed in the beginning of the year 1508, and by their conduct destroyed all hopes of accommodation. The city of *Lubeck* sent a fleet laden with all kind of stores to *Stockholm*; they renewed their alliance with the administrator, and even dissuaded him from giving ear to any propositions that might tend to the diminution of his own authority. The administrator was easily persuaded to break off a treaty for which he had no inclination; and the king was astonished at so abrupt an infractiⁿ of a truce obtained by so much solicitation. He laid the affair before the diet, who immediately resolved upon declaring war against *Lubeck*. Ambassadors were dispatched to *England* and *Scotland*, to solicit naval assistance from both these kingdoms. In the mean time the *Lubeckers* had procured the emperor *Maximilian's* protection, and prohibition on all *German* princes and subjects from entering into the service of *Denmark*. His imperial majesty likewise wrote to king *John* not to molest the commerce of the *Lubeckers*; but at length, at the intreaty of the *Danish* king, he withdrew his protection from this city.

*John
blocks up
the river
Trave,
and the
Lubeck
commerce.*

KING *John* block^d up the *Trave* with a squadron, and took three rich merchantmen belonging to *Lubeck*. The *Lubeckers* unadvisedly made reprisals, by seizing all the *Tranish* subjects and effects in their city; a step which induced the king to give similar directions with respect to all the merchants and effects of *Lubeck*, in all the different ports of his dominions. At this commercial city carried on a prodigious trade with *Denmark*, nothing could be more contrary to their interest than a measure which provoked the king to put a stop to their traffic, and seize on their merchandize. Immediately their insolence was checked, and they wrote to king *John* in the most supplicating manner, requesting that their merchants and subjects might be set at liberty: but these letters had no effect; the king insisted upon such terms, that for the present the negotiation was dropt^d.

WITH respect to the congress appointed at *Calmar*, the *Swedish* deputies did not appear; but the whole nation, ashamed of so many breaches of their word, which would render them infamous in all the courts of *Europe*, thought to make reparation, by sending ambassadors to the king to demand peace. King *John* desired the deputies to acquaint the senate, that he would transact the business at *Helsingburg*, if they would send commissioners with full powers thither. His proposal was accepted, and at this congress it was agreed, that the

den should pay his majesty a tribute of thirteen thousand *Treaty* marks of the standard weight of *Stockholm*, until such time as *with Swe-* himself or his son were chosen kings of *Sweden*; that until then *con-* this time the prince should have possession of *Calmar* and the *cluded.* islands of *Gotland* and *Oeland*, in which they promised not to disturb him. Several other conditions were stipulated, and this treaty was in fact only a renewal of the overtures made at *Wandeberg* a few years before. The chief motive which induced the commissioners to accede to such conditions was, that now they hoped the *Swedish* commerce might be carried on without interruption, the nation being almost reduced to despair by the total stagnation of trade for some years past.

The treaty, however, was of no effect. *Suante Sture* ex- *Treaty* pressed again the free nation's tamely submitting to pay tri- *broke.* bute, and claimed that the commissioners exceeded their instructions. In a word, whatever the situation of *Sweden* might be, he chose rather to hazard a war than ratify so disadvantageous a treaty. In this resolution he was confirmed by the deputies sent by *Lubeck*, and the other hanse-towns. Thousands of ships got into the harbour of *Stockholm*, almost all of which were dispersed and shipwrecked in a storm that overtook them on their return.

The news of this revived the hopes of the *Danes*. The fleet belonging to the nation rode at anchor in the *Belth*, and the *Queen* intended to enter the river as soon as a favourable opportunity offered. In the mean while the *Danish* admiral landed his troops and burnt a great number of villages round *Lubeck*, but still some advantages gained by the *Lubeck* fleet convinced his majesty that this force was insufficient to awe the fleets of *Sweden* and *Lubeck*. He therefore again applied to the kings of *England* and *Scotland*, publishing at the same time a declaration, whereby he permitted the ships of all nations to cruise against *Lubeck* and *Sweden*, promising them by way of encouragement an exemption from duties in the ports of *Denmark*. In consequence of this declaration, the *Baltick* was covered with privateers, and the *Swedish* and *Lubeck* fleets dreaded shewing themselves out of port.

BESIDES this, king *John* acted with his own fleets against the enemy. A strong squadron was sent to *Lubeck* under the command of admiral *Norby*, who took *Aboe*, after pillaging and destroying all the adjacent country. At last the *Swedish* senate, afflicted with the miseries of the people, applied *Peace* again *con-* themselves so warmly to the administrator, that he permitted *cluded* ambassadors to go to *Denmark* to solicit a peace, which was *with Swe-* soon after concluded, upon terms less advantageous to them *den.* than

than those which the administrator refused to comply with the year before. The self-same tribute was insisted on; but he found it dangerous to quarrel with the senate, who had now entered strongly into the only measures that could save their sinking country; namely, an accommodation with *Denmark*. It was even stipulated, that *Sweden* should by no means whatsoever aid, assist, or trade with *Lubeck*, while his majesty was at war with that city^a.

A. D.

1510.

The administrator joins the Lubeckers, and again declares war

SUCH were the hard conditions of peace to which the *Swedes* were forced to submit: however, like all other treaties with this and the former administrator, it was but of short duration. This year, in conjunction with *Lubeck*, the administrator declared war against *Denmark*; and such diligence did the *Lubeckers* exert on this occasion, that their squadron appeared off *Langland*, before king *John* had notice of their making preparations. Here they landed their troops, and burnt some villages; but were so warmly received by the inhabitants, who assembled to oppose them, that they were forced to return to their ships, without committing farther damage, leaving all their plunder behind.

The Lubeckers invade Mona, and are repulsed.

IT was now that the king prepared earnestly for war. He laid an embargo on all the *French, English, Scottish*, and other shipping in his ports, ordering all the large vessels to be fitted out as ships of war; an unprecedented measure, which surely had the concurrence of the sovereigns to whom they were subject, else would he never have presumed to attempt it. But in the mean while, a squadron from *Lubeck* made a descent on the island *Mona*. On their approach *Andrew Bilde*, who commanded in the island, fortified the town and citadel of *Stega*, and took every other measure necessary for an obstinate defence. The *Lubeckers* landed, and finding the open country and villages deserted, imagined that the inhabitants, terrified at their approach, had taken shelter in the capital, which their consternation would render an easy conquest. Full of these hopes, they advanced, and laid siege to the city. *Bilde* had ordered matters in such a manner as to impress the enemy with still stronger notions of his panic, in order to lull them into the greater security. He even suffered them to mount the scaling-ladders, and fill the ditch with men; upon which he sallied out, poured burning pitch, and other combustibles, large stones, and showers of shot, among them; playing at the same time his artillery with such success, that, after the loss of their commander, and prodigious slaughter of the soldiers, the *Lubeckers* were obliged to fly with great precipita-

tion to their ships. Then a sally of the whole garrison was made, the fugitives were attacked with great fury, and such terrible destruction made among them, that few escaped.

WHEN the news of this transaction reached the king's ears, he was so pleased with the bravery of the governor and inhabitants, that he sent a gentleman of his court to thank and assure them, that he would never forget to signal a service, and so convincing proofs of their courage and loyalty. After this it was that he gave instructions to all the governors of islands to place centinels at certain distances along the coasts, to prevent being surprized.

THIS repulse did not prevent the *Lubeckers* from endeavouring to revenge the affront by a descent on *Langland*; but the inhabitants kept so good a countenance, that, after frequent attempts, they were forced to weigh anchor, without setting foot on land, and sail to *Elsmore*, where they met with no better success.

WHILE the regency were scheming the means of retrieving their disgraces, the soldiers mutinied, refusing to serve in a war which was undertaken without any apparent reason, and to the utter ruin of their country. This unfortunate accident occasioned some change in the measures of the regency, but none in their sentiments; for, perceiving themselves in no condition to man the proposed squadrons, they sent deputies to the administrator, exhorting him to attack *Denmark* by land, while the hanse-towns were giving him full employment by sea. This was a proposal which *Sture*, always averse to the late treaty, embraced with pleasure (A). He detached general *Achon* into *Halland* with a body of horse, ordering him to carry fire and sword through every place he marched. *Achon* had scarce entered the province when *Piche Crabbe*, a gentleman of family and influence in the country, fell upon Swedes him with a body of hardy peasants he had assembled, and entirely defeated him, making great slaughter of his men^a.

A DEFEAT so unexpected caused great consternation in *Sweden*. The people apprehended, that *John* would invade them with the whole strength of his kingdom on the one side, and engage the *Russians* to attack them on the other. To remove this last inconveniency, the administrator concluded,

* Vid. MEYERS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

(A) It appears, that *Sture* had not, by any act of hostility, broken the treaty before his time; though we are told he declared war against *John* in conjunction with the city of *Lubeck*. We may therefore conjecture, that he only secretly abetted their designs, without committing a direct violation of the treaty.

with

with all expedition, a treaty for sixty years with the czar *George Betim*.

ON his side, king *John* employed a great number of foreign shipping, for the defence of his coasts, against the attacks of the hanse-towns, whom the city of *Lubeck* had engaged to declare war against him: he erected the fortress of *Engelburg* in *Laaland*, to serve as a retreat for the inhabitants of the island, in case of a descent: he renewed the prohibition on any of his subjects trading with *Lubeck*, or the allies of that city; and took such vigorous steps, as effectually distressed the regency of *Lubeck*. But the very circumstance which almost occasioned the ruin of this city, proved the means of its preservation; for the regency, taking advantage of the deplorable condition to which the populace were reduced, engaged them to enter in their fleets and armies, their only resource against famine and death. To this armament the *Swedes* joined a squadron, and a plan of operations was concerted between the administrator and the regency. Twenty-six sail of *Lubeckers* landed in *Bleking*; and after setting a few villages on fire, and making a slight booty, retired, on advice that the inhabitants were assembling to oppose them. *Meursus* says, that a report of the king's approach, with a numerous fleet, made them embark with such precipitation, that, leaving their booty on shore, the soldiers insisted on being immediately carried back to *Lubeck*. The admiral proposed a descent on *Fionia*, a place so rich as amply to reward all their toil; but his remonstrances were ineffectual: even the reinforcement of a strong squadron, which joined them as they were leaving the coast of *Bleking*, could work no change in their minds; all, with one voice, crying out, *Lubeck! Lubeck!* and threatening to throw their officers overboard, if they made any resistance.

Engage-
ment be-
tween the
Danish
and Lu-
beck fleets.

TOWARDS the end of the year a squadron of the king's, consisting of eight ships, had a sharp engagement with a *Lubeck* squadron of equal strength. They fought obstinately the whole day, and were separated by the night, without any apparent advantage on either side; though it is judged, from the hurry in which the *Lubeckers* put into port, that they were sick of the rough usage of the *Danes*.

A. D.
1511.

NEXT spring the regency of *Lubeck* licensed a great number of pirates to cruize upon the *Danes*, to supply in some measure the room of a regular fleet, which the great expences of the preceding year rendered them incapable of equipping. This piratical squadron was commanded by one *Conrad Regulus*, who manned and fitted up near thirty merchantmen at his own expence. In order to block up or destroy this fleet, king *John* sent *Haliger* with twenty men of war to *Travemunde*,
but

but the *Lubeckers*, having advice of his approach, drew all their ships within the interior harbour of the city, where they bid defiance to all the attempts of the *Danish* admiral. *Haliger*, however, had his revenge on the surrounding country, which he pillaged, and, after setting fire to the suburbs, set sail for *Stralsund*. Here he committed many excesses; and the regency of the city, to retaliate upon him, raised an army, which was defeated and cut in pieces by the *Danes*.

In the mean time, the administrator sent a fleet and army to lay siege to *Borkholm* in the island of *Oeland*, where *Canute Rudy* commanded for the king. The siege was conducted by three *Swedes* of distinction, *Hemming Goede*, *Breme Oeftry*, and *Eric Abraham*. It continued from the twenty-fourth of *The June* to the twenty-fifth of *November*, although his majesty *Swedes* neglected no expedient to succour and relieve the garrison, which was at length forced to capitulate, on honourable terms, for want of provisions. To indemnify himself for this loss, the king meditated an expedition against *West Gothland*, with a body of infantry. This detachment penetrated to *Scara*, pillaged, laid waste, and burnt the country; but was forced to return, on advice that the *Swedes* had laid several ambuscades, and were taking effectual steps to cut off their convoys of provisions and retreat. take Borkholm.

In the autumn the *Lubeckers* had put a fleet to sea, and the king sent the admirals *Haliger*, *Norby*, and *Gisel*, in quest of them. *Haliger*, who was the commanding officer in chief, set sail with a favourable wind, and soon came in sight of the enemy; upon which he exhorted his men to do their duty, promising them the whole booty. The men expressing their ardour to engage, the signal was made, and both fleets fought with the utmost fury. *Haliger* had placed his largest ships in the wings of the line, filling up the center with smaller vessels manned with soldiers, and keeping besides a small squadron in reserve; whereas the *Lubeck* admiral fought too impetuously to observe the proper disposition. In the end, the *Lubeckers* were defeated, with the loss of five ships; but the victory was not decisive, as night interposed, and *Haliger* found them drawn up next morning in the port of *Bornholm* in order of battle, and with a countenance that made it not very advisable to attack them. He was, however, fortunate enough to fall in with three men of war off *Stralsund*, who were sent to join the *Lubeck* fleet. They had mistaken the *Danish* squadron for that of their allies, and *Haliger* took two of the ships before they discovered their mistake.

As the *Lubeck* fleet was returning home, they met with a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen, consisting of two hundred and fifty

The Lubeckers seize on a large fleet of Dutch merchantmen.

fifty sail, under convoy of four men of war. The sight of so rich a prize excited their avarice, and roused their antient animosity to this people, the rivals of their commerce. They attacked and soon made themselves masters of the whole fleet, except the men of war, with which the admiral escaped, on finding himself unable to oppose the powerful squadron of *Lubeck*. These four ships went straight to *Bornholm*, and acquainted *Haliger* of what had passed; upon which the *Dane* assembled his officers, and obliged them to swear they would rescue the prize, or perish in the attempt. Immediately he set sail, taking with him the four *Dutch* men of war, came up with the enemy, found several of the *Dutch* merchantmen set on fire, others a-drift, after being emptied of the richest part of their cargoes, and the *Lubeck* squadron wrapt in full security, meditating upon nothing but the enjoyment of so rich a booty. *Haliger* gave the signal to engage: and the *Lubeck* admiral, perceiving himself attacked, led the flight, and, by a providential accident in his favour, gained the mouth of the *Trave*, in spite of all the endeavours of the *Danish* squadron to intercept him. *Haliger* had sprung a leak, and lying-by to repair his ship, the rest of the *Danish* squadron mistook it for a signal to stop the pursuit, by which means the enemy got clear off; but left behind all the *Dutch* vessels, which were immediately returned to their owners, and sent home under the escort of their own admiral. Thus the *Danish* fleet rode triumphant in the *Baltick*; and such was the king's superiority by sea, that notwithstanding the war continued for the space of ten years, yet every thing necessary to support life with comfort was in as great abundance, and sold at as low a price, through all his dominions, as in the profoundest peace^a.

The Dutch fleet re-taken by the Danes, and re-stored.

A. D.
1512.
Revolutions in Sweden.

THE death of *Suante Sture*, administrator of *Sweden*, occasioned fresh revolutions in that kingdom. The nation was divided in their choice of a successor. The archbishop of *Upsal* supported the interest of *Eric Troll*, a man of the most distinguished merit and family; while many senators, suspecting *Troll's* attachment to *Denmark*, espoused young *Stenon*, son of *Sture*. *Stenon* carried his point by a majority of voices: but the other party did not relinquish their claim: and while they were thus struggling in civil disputes, the regency of *Lubeck* determined to break off the alliance, and make peace with king *John*. The people became clamorous from their poverty, and those who but the last year were loudest in the cry of war now became mutinous for peace. A letter was

^a CHYTRÆI, Chron. ibid.

wrote to the king, requesting his majesty to appoint a congress for terminating their differences; and *John*, naturallyaverse to war, could not reject any propositions that afforded a prospect of peace. He told the deputies, that the regency might safely send commissioners to *Flensburg*, where he would negotiate a peace with them, and the rest of the hanse-towns. A few disputes arose at the opening of the conferences; but his majesty firmly maintaining his point, obliged the *Lubeck* deputies to comply with all he proposed. In consequence a peace was signed, by which the city of *Lubeck* engaged to assist the king with all its force, in case the *Swedes* persisted in refusing to acknowledge him, or the prince, for their sovereign; or, at least, to pay the yearly tribute of thirty thousand marks of silver; to afford a retreat to none of the enemies of *Denmark*; and to compromise amicably all future disputes arising between his majesty and the republic.

SWEDEN was thunder-struck with the conduct of *Lubeck*. Immediately the administrator and senate wrote to the king to appoint a congress, to deliberate on the means of establishing peace on a solid foundation. The *Swedish* deputies went further, and even began to negotiate with the king, whom they found disposed to listen to reasonable terms. In short, peace was concluded on one of these three conditions: That *Sweden* should acknowledge *John*, or his son, for their sovereign; or pay the tribute of thirty thousand marks: but little regard was had to this treaty until after *John's* death.

His majesty now, at length, relaxed himself from public cares, at least from foreign concerns; and applied his mind to cultivate religion, morality, and learning in *Denmark*. He augmented the rights, privileges, and revenues of the academy founded at *Copenhagen* by the king his father. Experience having taught him the advantage of employing men of letters in public affairs, he made it a point to chuse his ambassadors and ministers out of this learned seminary. As a farther encouragement to the university, he prohibited his subjects from sending their children to foreign academies, or indeed to any other except *Upsal*, and even then made it necessary that they should first have studied three years in *Copenhagen*.^b

John's domestic conduct.

HAVING settled the affairs of *Zealand*, his majesty, accompanied by the queen, the prince, and a great number of the nobility, passed over to *North Jutland*. In this voyage he was overtaken in a tempest, which put the ship into so great danger, that as soon as the king set his foot on shore he turned

^b MEURS. Vit. Johan. ibid.

round to the sea, and cried out, "Farewel sea! farewel for ever! you have treated me in such a manner to-day, that I have little hopes of again repassing you." words that were afterwards looked on as prophetic. While the king resided at *Ripen*, the high tides overflowed the country, and detained him longer in the city than he proposed. It is reported that on this occasion, his majesty walking with some noblemen along the shore, said to them, looking at the sea, "It must be confessed that this is the work of the King of kings, who wants neither cannon nor instruments of war to block us up. This element alone is sufficient. We who never submitted to an earthly power, humbly prostrate ourselves before this heavenly master, whom the seas and the earth obey."

His exhortation to his son.

WHEN the waters retired, his majesty, going to *Olburg*, was thrown off his horse; an accident which brought on a fever, that terminated with the life of this excellent monarch, who bore his last agonies with a resigned firmness of mind, that does honour to his memory, and credit to that innocence and integrity of life, which could alone inspire him with so calm a resolution at the approach of death. When he found his end drawing near, he spoke to his son before a great number of senators and noblemen. "My son, said he, I exhort you to worship God, and pray to the King of kings to inspire you with wisdom adequate to the heavy charge I am going to devolve on you. I recommend it to you to govern your people with equity, and above all things to be tender of their privileges. What glory is there in being the king of slaves! Let it be your ambition to be thought worthy to govern freemen. Do nothing by violence, consult your faithful subjects, and attach them as well by friendship as by duty. Administer justice in person, and let your ears be ever open to the complaints of the oppressed, and the groans of the injured and indigent. Fill all places of trust and profit with your natural subjects: God has given you charge of their interest; they called you to the throne, and gratitude requires a return from you. Reward my faithful servants, and attach them to you; they will then have a double tie to serve you with fidelity, love of my memory, and a sense of their obligations to you: and now, my dearest son, I pray God to bless you, to direct you, and to grant you a long reign, prosperous to you, and happy to your people." With these words he expired on the twentieth day of *February*, 1513, universally beloved, esteemed, and regretted. It would be unnecessary, after what we have related, to draw the portrait of this worthy

worthy prince: sufficient it is, that he was just, prudent, His death pious, liberal, brave, and humane; in a word, possessed of and every quality that could endear him to his subjects, render his life amiable and easy, and last moments happy. In all his wars, which were numerous, he was successful, except against the *Dithmarsians*, where the misconduct lay wholly upon his officers. Here, in particular, he exerted his courage; and distinguished his personal bravery in the repeated attacks he made on their trenches. His regard to his promises was so great, that foreign states never required more than his word; and so scrupulous was he in this respect, that he often became the dupe of the two administrators. It was perhaps his only weakness, and a generous one it was: he loved truth so much, that he could not persuade himself but others paid the same regard to it: even the repeated perfidies of *Suante-Sture* would not convince him but his breach of oaths and promises arose from necessity. The *Swedes*, indeed, accuse him of giving the best governments in that country to *Danish* subjects, contrary to the treaty of *Calmar*, and his last instructions to his own son; but this they probably intend as a tacit apology for the senate and administrator, who stand greatly in need of some pretences to justify their rebellion. Admitting the fact was true, need we be surprised at the little confidence he placed in a set of people who had scandalized themselves by their perfidy, and breach of word, in every court in *Europe*, before ever he came to the throne, and during the reign of his father? To conclude, *John* was of a middling stature, strong built, and lusty: his chest was broad and elevated, his face round, and his eyes modest. He despised dress; but was fond of neatness. His œconomy was frugal; his table plentiful, but not splendid; however, when he assumed the sovereign, all was great, rich, and magnificent. He was so great an admirer of the simplicity of the antient *Danes*, that he even imitated their dress, and always wore an antique sword over his robe. He promoted science, encouraged men of learning, had them always at his table, sought their conversation, and, on these occasions, laid aside the sovereign for the character of the pupil. In a word, he was at least as wise, as amiable a prince as ever swayed the *Danish* sceptre.

* Vid. MEYER Vit. Johan. ad fin.

S E C T. XIII.

Containing the Reigns of Christian II. and Frederick I.

CHRISTIAN II.

Christian II.

A. D.
1513.
State of
Denmark
on Christian's
accession.

CHRISTIAN II. succeeded by election to his father's crown; and his first care was to put himself in a condition to resist the enemies to his person and people. He could not imagine that the *Swedes*, who had so often revolted against his father, would shew more fidelity to him, nor that they would be in any hurry to execute the articles of their last treaty with *Denmark*. He knew that little confidence was due to the professions of the hanse-cities, as want of ability to prosecute the war compelled them reluctantly to sue for the late peace. Already the crown of *Denmark* was in alliance with the kings of *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, with the dukes of *Saxony*, *Frederick*, and *John*, and with the margrave of *Brandenburg*. *Christian* therefore resolved to strengthen his interest still more, by concluding a treaty with the emperor; by which means he would secure the friendship of the whole house of *Austria*. With this view he schemed a marriage with the emperor's daughter, *Isabella*, sister of *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, both successively raised to the imperial dignity; and the more easily to accomplish this design, he laboured to get himself crowned; a ceremony that was performed in the month of *May*.

A. D.
1514.

IMMEDIATELY after he set out with a splendid retinue to the court of the princess *Margaret*, governess of the *Netherlands*: he made her highness acquainted with the nature of his visit, and was conducted by her to *Brussels*, where her son *Charles* resided. Here he again demanded the princess, and, on obtaining a promise, hastened back to *Denmark* to prepare for his nuptials.

A. D.
1515.

THIS year was ushered in by a terrible earthquake, which was felt in almost every part of *Denmark*. A storm of wind immediately followed, that overturned the steeple of the great church at *Copenhagen*, tore up whole forests of great trees by the roots, threw down an incredible number of houses, and killed many persons. Superstitious men looked upon this as an inauspicious harbinger of the troubles of *Christian's* reign, while the more sensible part of the nation regarded it as an effect arising from natural causes. It happened indeed on this

this occasion, as it usually does, that these sagacious reflections were made long after the facts happened; a sort of retrospective conjectures in which the wise authors could not well be mistaken.

CHRISTIAN having got every thing in readiness for the reception of the princess, sent the grand marechal, the archbishop of *Isabella*, of *Drontheim*, and a great number of nobility, with a strong squadron to conduct her to *Denmark*. On their return a violent storm dispersed the fleet, and almost shipwrecked the princess on the coast of *Zealand*, near *Copenhagen*. All the lords and ladies of the court went immediately to congratulate her on her providential escape, and to welcome her into *Denmark*. She was soon after married, with great pomp, to the king, and afterwards crowned and acknowledged sovereign of *Denmark*, by all the different states of the kingdom (A).

STUDIOUS to please his bride, the king sent to the *Low Countries* for all the queen's servants, that she might enjoy the satisfaction of being attended in a strange country by persons, to whose language and manners she was accustomed. He also sent for gardeners, in order to cultivate all sorts of fruits and other vegetables for her table, and assigned them the little island of *Amag* for this purpose, which soon was able to supply, not only her majesty's table, but all *Copenhagen*, with the most delicious fruits.

His majesty then applied to matters of greater importance; His domestic and the first object of his care was to set commerce on the best footing, by establishing a general tariff. Next he forbid the exportation of corn and beer, to prevent dearths in the country; a maxim in politics established in many other countries upon false principles, and without reflecting, that the lands

(A) While the nuptial ceremonies were celebrating, a circumstance happened that afterwards became the subject of much conversation. Among the other princes who honoured the king's marriage with their presence, was *Frederick* duke of *Sleswick* and *Holstein*. With him came *Reffenslaw*, a man of birth, a scholar, a great civilian, and profound astrologer. While *Reffenslaw* was one day at dinner with the rest of the nobility, and *Frederick* happened to pass

through the room, on which he called out, "Rise, gentlemen, and salute the prince destined for your sovereign." For the present this saying was regarded as a rally inspired by wine; but after *Christian* was deposed, and *Frederick* raised to the throne, people construed it into *Reffenslaw*'s profound skill in futurity, though, in all appearance, it was dictated by a strong affection and attachment to his master (1).

(1) Vid. Vit. Christ. p. 62.

will be cultivated by the husbandman, in proportion to the demand for corn, and pieces of ground furrowed by the plough, which otherwise would remain useless. Many other regulations, with respect to trade, were made, most of which had a tendency to enrich the capital, by drawing an afflux of merchants thither^a.

*Affairs of
Sweden.*

CHRISTIAN was thus employed in his own kingdom, while the affairs of *Sweden* seemed to take a turn favourable to his claim. The archbishop of *Upsal*, not having interest enough to establish *Eric Troll* in a share of the government, had however address enough to associate his son in the regency, and devolve half the authority on him. His gaining this point was, he imagined, of so great moment to the king, that he immediately acquainted him with it, by an express. *Christian* was not however satisfied. Tied up with laws, and a limited sovereignty in *Denmark*, he viewed *Sweden* as a kingdom where he might claim despotic power as the right of conquest. Unmindful of his father's dying exhortation, this was what *Christian* panted after. Imagining that young *Troll* might be useful in performing this design, and destroying the authority of the administrator, he sent persons to congratulate him on his new-acquired dignity, and accompanied his compliments with a considerable sum of money, as a more solid testimony of his friendship. The young prelate, who had just ascended to the summit of his ambition, was vain, haughty, and loquacious, qualities of which the artful *Dane* did not fail to make his advantage. He represented his master's power, connections, and disposition, in such a light as wholly gained over the prelate, and the strongest assurance from him, that he would regard his associate in the administration, as the enemy to *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and should leave no engine unemployed to restore the union of *Calmar* in its full force.

TROLL made good his promises, and every thing was tending to a civil war in *Sweden*, when *Arcebold*, the pope's legate, arrived in *Denmark*, and by dispensing indulgencies, raised heavy contributions under the mask of religion. This pious robber was departing for *Sweden*, loaded with the spoils of the people; and *Christian* beheld, with regret, the necessity he was under to stifle his resentment at seeing his subjects thus pillaged, and his kingdom stripped of money, by an abuse of devotion, and the artful influence of the church over superstitious minds. However, he resolved to turn this circumstance to his advantage. The legate's interest in *Sweden* he knew would be of the utmost consequence, and he resolved to gain

^a MEYER. Vit. Christ. p. 61. 62. et. seq.

him by the most liberal sacrifices to his avarice. In fact he did so; the legate promised him his utmost interest, and appeared so hearty and sincere in his professions, that *Christian* put more confidence in him than prudence would seem to dictate he ought in a foreign minister. He laid before him the state of his forces and treasury, and the names of all his adherents in *Sweden*, together with the plan they concerted for reuniting the two kingdoms. The legate departed, was caressed by the administrator, and all his promises to *Christian* vanished before the dispelling power of *Stenon's* presents. The degree of intimacy into which the king received him, furnished him with the means of becoming his most dangerous enemy, and the treacherous legate did not fail to exert this advantage.

The perfidy of the pope's legate.

AFTER settling matters with the administrator, he returned to *Denmark* to raise fresh contributions, assuming the appearance of great chagrin at the little success of the commission with which the king intrusted him. *Christian* saw through the thin disguise, was incensed at it, but wanted the power of redress. Nothing now remained but to attempt the reduction of *Sweden* by force of arms; and from this he was for some time diverted by two incidents, which intirely engrossed the attention of the court. The first was the punishment of *John Foburgh*, first secretary of state, accused of extortion, and other crimes, by *Torbern Oxy*, bailiff of the citadel of *Copenhagen*.

FOBURGH was one of those men whom fortune wantonly raised from obscurity to the highest dignities, only to render his downfall more conspicuous. After passing with reputation through several private employments, he found means of being introduced to court, where he insinuated himself so artfully into the king's confidence, that he soon became one of his first ministers. His rapid elevation excited envy, and increased the number of his enemies, one of the most dangerous of whom was *Torbern*, who bore him a private grudge for his endeavours to ruin him by an accusation he lodged of his carrying on an intrigue with *Columbule*, the king's mistress.

FOBURGH's pride and avarice increased with his grandeur: his intimacy with the king easily procured him whatever he asked; and his avarice spurred him on to make *Foburgh*, daily requests. At last the king's eyes were opened; he perceived the insatiable disposition of his favourite, and ventured to refuse him the last petition he presented. Nay, he went farther, and sent the unhappy *Foburgh* with a letter to his enemy

The rise and fall of Christian's favourite.

^a MAURS. *ibid.* Puffen. t. iv.

Torbern, by which he was deprived of all his places, seized, imprisoned, and privately executed, all in one day.

THIS triumph over his adversary was but of short duration; the king had made *Torbern* the instrument of ridding himself of an insolent favourite; but he did not forget that *Torbern* carried on an intrigue with his mistress, and he was even chagrined at the readiness with which he executed his orders respecting *Foburgh*, whom he could not help loving with all his faults.

A. D.
1516.

AT an entertainment which his majesty gave the principal nobility it was, that he resolved to discover the truth of what *Foburgh* had often alledged. After a great deal of jollity had passed, "Tell me, says he, feigning good humour, tell me, *Torbern*, if what *Foburgh* accused you of has any truth in it. Say, did you ever enjoy the favours of my mistress *Columbule*; I have my reasons for asking, and hope you will speak without reserve." *Torbern's* friends immediately saw the precipice on which he stood, and endeavoured to make him comprehend his danger by signs and nods; but whether wine had impaired his understanding, or that he despised insincerity with the king, who had spoke so familiarly to him, he replied,

Christian's "but never could obtain it." Immediately *Christian's* countenance altered, but he said nothing. A few days after *Torbern* was arrested, and imprisoned. The affair was tried by the senate, and he was acquitted, because the law had assigned no punishment for simple concupiscence. When the senate's decree was related to the king, he flew into a passion, and said, that if his friends had been as numerous in the senate as *Torbern's*, their judgment would be different; but as they refused to do him justice, he knew others who would not. Immediately he assembled a number of the peasants of the neighbourhood before the gate of the citadel. Here he ordered a square of lances to be formed round them, giving orders to the grand marshal not to let them go, before they had passed sentence on *Torbern*. Fear made them give a judgment, which otherwise could never be extorted from them. They dreaded his majesty's resentment, thought they should be sacrificed, if they did not comply with his humour, and accordingly gave their verdict in the following terms: "We do not judge *Torbern*, but his own words condemn him." Upon which the king said, that since he was condemned, he must suffer the punishment.

Death of
Torbern.

THE king's resolution alarmed the whole court: it was a stroke at the very root of liberty, and no man's life was safe, if he was made accountable for intentions, and punished for

his thoughts. All met to deliberate upon the means of warding off the impending blow, and at last it was determined to have recourse to supplications. The whole senate, with the legate at their head; all the ladies of the court, preceded by the queen; in a word, every person of consideration in the capital interceded for *Torbern*, and besought the king on their knees to pardon him; but the stubborn, gloomy, and inflexible temper of *Christian*, would yield nothing to their tears and intreaties. Only the blood of *Torbern* could satisfy him; and this unhappy nobleman became the sacrifice of an inclination for the king's mistress, or rather, of an imprudent expression.

In other respects, indeed, *Torbern* cannot altogether be vindicated. It is certain that he used the power in his hands with partiality; and that, in the affair of *Foburgh*, he sought rather the gratification of his own revenge, than the public good. Besides, it is beyond all doubt, that *Columbule* was poisoned, and all the world charged him with her death, as the occasion, if not the immediate instrument of it. Be this as it will, he was innocent with respect to the crime for which he was condemned; the sentence was illegal, and a proceeding equally injurious to him, and dangerous to the public. *Torbern* was executed agreeable to his sentence; and all *Denmark* remained convinced of his innocence, trembling for their liberties, jealous of the king's arbitrary temper, and alienated from his person. The senate and nobility first expressed their displeasure at his proceedings; and soon after the people exclaimed loudly against the tyranny of his government.

The whole nation disaffected.

STILL his majesty had a few persons faithful to him, and strongly attached to his interest. These dreaded a general revolt; to prevent which, they laboured with all their power to blast the memory of *Torbern*, and actually to prove him as guilty as the people believed him innocent. An extraordinary stratagem was made use of to accomplish their design. The centinels on the walls of *Copenhagen* made oath, that they saw a light blazing about midnight like a star, under the gibbet on which *Foburgh* was hanged. The king made enquiry into the truth of the report, and finding it confirmed by an instance of the same nature the night following, he declared it was a proof of *Foburgh's* innocence, and charged *Torbern* with having been the cause of shedding that innocent person's blood. Immediately he ordered *Foburgh's* body to be cut down, and buried with great pomp in the great church of *Copenhagen*.

A STRATAGEM of so little depth had an effect the very reverse of what the king and his friends expected. Instead of believing *Torbern* guilty, this transaction only reminded

the people of a former instance of the king's severity and inflexible cruelty. This he perceived, and repented sincerely of using so mean a cloak for an unworthy action, which was only adding to his own guilt. We have been the more particular in relating the above incidents, as they had no small share in the subsequent revolution.

It was apparent from his majesty's conduct the following year, that he believed himself faulty; for when he ordered the bishop of *Odense*, and his chancellor, to be seized, he only imprisoned them, by laying an easy restraint on their motions in a private family. Yet was the cause of his being arrested of a more criminal nature than what either *Foburgh* or *Torbern* were put to death for. He was supposed to have given up the interest of his country, and sold the honour of his king to the *Lubeckers*, for a sum of money he received, when he transacted the last peace.

A. D. 1517. *Lutheranism first introduced into Denmark.* THIS year began an epoch the most important of any in the *Danish* history. From the first planting of Christianity in *Denmark*, the church of that kingdom had always acknowledged the supremacy of *Rome*, and, in all ages, kept up a constant communion with the pope, and other bishops of that persuasion. Now the inclination which *Christian* shewed for the doctrine of *Luther*, began to effect a change. It would be unnecessary to trace here the rise, opinions, and doctrines of the eloquent *Luther* whom we have already had frequent occasion to mention; sufficient it is, that the legate's avarice, and *Christian's* resentment, at seeing his people impoverished by the intrigues of that holy villain, made *Luther's* doctrines and arguments be received with double force in *Denmark*. *Christian* sent for skilful doctors and professors, to teach the Protestant religion in his dominions; but his too great eagerness in seizing some church-lands, and openly espousing the doctrine of *Luther*, cost him dear afterwards. Nothing could be more unseasonable than any innovations in religion, at a time when the nobility were disaffected, and highly incensed by the death of *Torbern*; and the clergy, by the imprisonment of the bishop of *Odense*, and sequestration of their lands. These two powerful bodies disapproved the change he endeavoured to effect in the public belief, without their concurrence; and they seized the opportunity of retrenching the prerogative, which some late acts of *Christian* seemed to enlarge beyond the natural boundaries between the king and people. With this view they raised up one *St. Brigget*, to preach prophecies concerning the king's banishment; oracles which were frequently obscure, but always interpreted in the manner most agreeable to their designs. The people took fire, and went at length

A pretended prophet appears in Denmark.

length infatuated into an implicit belief of the truth of these reveries, upon the declaration of *Christopher Rainsberg*, a person celebrated for learning and piety, that they were applicable to the king.

BUT *Christian* was not in the least disturbed by these pretended prophecies, at which he laughed publicly, and asked *Rainsberg* in a jocular manner, whether as they prophesied his banishment, they did not likewise foresee his return to his dominions. Certain however it is, that in a political light he ought to have treated an impostor, dangerous to the public and himself, in a different manner. Had he laboured hard to detect the fraud, it would have disgraced the nobility and clergy with the people, paved the way for the change of religion he was endeavouring to introduce, and established himself firmly on the throne, which now tottered with him.

IN the mean time a civil war broke out in Sweden, and the administrator besieged the archbishop in the fortress of *Stetka*, whither *Christian* immediately sent a fleet to his relief. The command of this squadron was given to *Norby*, *Giffel*, and *Morian*, who coming to an anchor before the fortress, landed their troops, raised the siege by obliging the *Swedes* to retreat, and relieved the archbishop without fighting a stroke. Indeed the *Swedish* historians speak differently, but very inconsistently of the consequences of this expedition, affirming that the *Danes* were cut in pieces, but taking no farther notice of the archbishop or garrison.^a

BUT whatever advantages the *Danish* arms might have gained in Sweden, a war with that kingdom was highly prejudicial to *Christian's* interest, as it strengthened the faction at home, while he was employed against foreign enemies. The legate *Arcembold* had likewise strongly united himself with the administrator and *Danish* malcontents, and even prevailed on the pope to thunder out his bulls against the reformists and sectarists, in which number were included all the king's adherents.

IN this situation stood the affairs of both kingdoms, when the house of *Austria*, at the king's intreaty, interceded with the holy see in behalf of *Christian*, obtained a revocation of the bull, and a decree of the pope and conclave, whereby the administrator and his adherents were laid under a severe interdiction for their disobedience and rebellion, and *Christian* empowered to treat them as schismatics excommunicated from the bosom of the church. No sooner had *Christian* fortified himself with this spiritual commission, than he de-

A. D.
1518.

^a PUFFEND. l. v. ibid.

terminated upon prosecuting the war with vigour; but the difficulty was to raise the funds, all the money in the kingdom having been paid to *Arcmbold* for indulgences.

Christian
misled by
his favourite
Sige-
brette,
who em-
brails him
with the
nation.

In this dilemma his majesty had recourse to *Sigebrette*, a lady who possessed an entire dominion over him. She was mother to his late mistress *Columbele*, of an aspiring and intriguing genius, who played so artfully on the king's passions, that the reins of government were directed wholly by her hands. She consulted, or rather she commanded the senate, disposed of all preferments and places, imposed taxes at pleasure, and had already abolished many excellent and antient laws from mere caprice. She was a native of the *Netherlands*, and had introduced the customs and manners of her own country to gratify her vanity, and make ostentation of her power. Such was the person to whom the care of raising the supplies for the war was committed. To effect her purpose *Sigebrette* laid fresh burdens on the people, and established a kind of officers called *Scouts* in every town, for the exact levying of the taxes, which they did with the most insolent oppression, and without feeling or compassion for the poor, whose beds and household furniture were taken and sold for the king's use, and themselves and families turned out naked in the streets.

HEAVEN could not behold such tyranny without indignation, and the more completely to fill the measure of its vengeance, permitted *Sigebrette* to contrive other schemes equally ruinous of the kingdom, and detestable to the people. One in particular, which had nothing to do with the supplies, raised a violent clamour; it was the abolition of the mendicant students in the university of *Copenhagen*. It had been a custom of great antiquity in *Denmark*, to train up young men of no fortune to the arts useful to society, by means of public charity. They were distinguished by a particular habit, which displeased the eye of this whimsical favourite, and she determined therefore to abolish the whole order. The matter was upon the whole of slight importance, but custom had given strength to it: the act was arbitrary; it was looked upon as a dangerous innovation, and the whole nation cried out against the king's edict, as if the bulwark of their liberties had been attacked.

HIS majesty wrote to the bishops to exhort their suffragans to a cheerful compliance with the taxes necessary to carry on a just war; but his proposition was unanimously rejected by the clergy, who complained of the sequestration of the church lands, and the frequent and heavy contributions already raised on them.

It was not the season to irritate so powerful a body; the king contented himself with exacting the usual tithes paid by the clergy; but as all he could levy on his other subjects was unequal to the expences of the war, he had recourse to foreign assistance. Ambassadors were sent to *France*, and they obtained of *Francis I.* a body of four thousand auxiliaries, with a train of artillery. After this the ambassadors proceeded to *Spain*, and demanded of *Charles* the portion of his sister *Isabella*, and he gave an order upon the town of *Antwerp* for the payment of one hundred thousand marks, or one third of the portion, which by contract was to be paid at three instalments. Soon after the two other payments were made, by which the king was greatly assisted in pursuing his designs against *Sweden*.

In the mean time great contentions arose about the election of an archbishop of *Lunden*, in the room of *Birger* deceased. The chapter recommended, or rather proceeded to the election of *Agon*, while the king supported the interest of *Lund* of *Scolberg*, and at last carried his point by dint of power and menaces. This prelate's first step was to write to the pope, requesting he would threaten *Christian* with excommunication if he did not immediately part with *Sigebrette*, the instrument of all the misfortunes which had lately befallen the kingdom. This indeed was an instance of his public spirit, but not of gratitude to a prince who had incurred the ill-will of his subjects by so tenaciously espousing the prelate; but he soon received his punishment in a manner very extraordinary.

THE archbishop's letter was entrusted to one *Lang*, who carried it to *Sigebrette*. As this woman's imagination was fertile in expedients of revenge, she immediately determined to deprive *Scolberg* of his dignity, and substitute in his room the king's barber, an unworthy sycophant, for whom she entertained a passion. By this despicable creature she prevailed upon the king to write to his holiness, representing him as the person elected to the see of *Lunden*, and imploring his holiness to confirm him in that dignity. The king's shaver presented his letter, was confirmed in the new dignity, and returned with the mitre and other badges of the archiepiscopal function, to the utter confusion and disappointment of *Scolberg*. It is true the pope, as soon as he discovered the fraud, revoked his confirmation, and reinstated *Scolberg*; but the affair ended with still more serious consequences, the clergy having highly resented this indignity to the cloth.

TOWARDS the beginning of this year, *Christian* marched a body of troops to *Schenen*, under the command of *Grumpen*,

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Christian an excellent officer. He likewise put to sea a formidable fleet, ^{renewed the} with orders to seize on all the *Swedish* ports that were accessible. Armed with the pope's authority, he gave full swing to the bloodiness of his disposition, ordering his troops to commit all kinds of cruelty and excess, in order to intimidate the enemy, and wear the affections of the *Suedes* from the administrator. His instructions were but too well observed; *Crumpen* penetrated to the heart of *Sweden*, and committed frightful disorders; after which he returned to *Denmark*, laden with rich booty, without exchanging a blow with the enemy.

CHRISTIAN's soul was wrapped up in the conquest of *Sweden*. Impatient for the return of spring, he ordered *Crumpen* to enter *West-Gothland* in the depth of winter, at the head of a numerous army, and by every possible method to endeavour bringing the enemy to a battle. In this he succeeded, the administrator marching against him with equal forces. Three battles were fought, in the first of which nothing was decided; in the second the administrator lost an arm, and was greatly hurt by a fall from his horse; and in the third the *Swedish* army was totally defeated and dispersed, the administrator dying soon after of the wounds he received. A fourth engagement happened the day succeeding the last battle. The administrator had lodged a body of infantry, strongly intrenched in a neighbouring forest, to secure a pass which *Crumpen* determined to force. The *Swedish* peasants amounted to ten thousand, and repulsed the *Danes* in the first assault. A second was given, in which the *French* auxiliaries led the van, while *Crumpen* made a tour round the intrenchments to discover some place of less strength. The prince of *Foucarmont* behaved with that gallantry that has always distinguished his nation; he leaped over the ditch sword in hand, but fell back in consequence of a wound. His soldiers were now animated with the desire of revenge, they pushed forwards, and were happily seconded by *Crumpen*'s attack on the rear, which soon put the enemy in disorder, though they disputed every inch of ground with obstinacy. At last, despairing of longer defending themselves, they sallied out sword in hand, and after prodigious slaughter on both sides, escaped under favour of the night, after losing two-thirds of their number.

CRUMPEN having nothing to oppose him marched into the heart of the kingdom. At this juncture the archbishop of *Upsal* declared immediately for *Christian*; and the people being desirous of nothing so much as a sovereign, who might re-establish the repose of the country, did not seem averse to the

The Swedish army defeated.

the motion, though there still remained a faction that used all their influence to elect a new administrator. In conjunction with some others, the prelate sent deputies to *Crumpen* to demand a truce; but the *Danish* general, fearing the intention was only to gain time, would agree to no other terms than a suspension of arms for eleven days, during which the states were to assemble at *Upsal*. Here he appeared for his master, proposed an extinction of the dignity of administrator, and re-establishment of the union of *Calmar*, in both which he met with little difficulty, in an assembly wholly devoted to *Christian*. He promised, in the king his master's name, to procure an act of indemnity, to preserve the liberties, privileges, and immunities of the several orders of the kingdom, and exactly to observe all the conditions of the treaty of *Calmar*.

As soon as business was finished, the archbishop declared *Christian* King of *Sweden*, in the name of the states of the kingdom; and he wrote to the provinces requiring them to comply with this resolution of the assembly, threatening those who should refuse to submit, with the most rigorous punishment of the law. The greater part of the kingdom submitted to the will of the states; but the administrator's widow still held the cities of *Stockholm*, *Calmar*, and others. Many bloody battles were fought, and sieges undertaken, after it was imagined that *Christian* was fully established in the government. These however we must avoid relating in this place.

IN the year 1520, the king arrived in *Sweden*, where, after reducing *Stockholm*, he was crowned with great solemnity, crowned soon after which he returned to *Denmark*. In his absence king of the disaffected in *Denmark* grew more bold: they spoke their sentiments freely of his government, and openly and insolently refused to pay the taxes to his officers. The senate and nobility, instead of opposing these discontents, seemed to countenance them: they bore with impatience the immoderate authority he assumed, and the despotism he affected, only to translate it into the hands of a haughty, capricious woman. However, his sudden return as conqueror of *Sweden* struck dumb the tongue of faction, and hushed every murmur of discontent. Every man endeavoured to conceal his sentiments, and put on a face of joy. His ministers, always ready to play on the passions of kings, told him that he must secure his conquests by abolishing the senate, and rendering himself arbitrary: there was not, they said, a single senator who was not desirous of heading a rebellion, in hopes one day of rising to the dignity of administrator; the nobility must be humbled

for the same reasons; and indeed his majesty ought, said these wicked tools, to cherish only the peasants, and those destined from their births to cultivate the fruits of the earth, and the useful arts.

BUT the suggestions of *Sigebrette* co-operated more with the king's own natural disposition, in infusing those maxims of arbitrary policy, than all the insinuations of the other courtiers. She had a particular manner of conveying her infernal instructions, which never failed in engaging the king's attention, and drawing him into her sentiments. Violent, impetuous, and ambitious, *Christian* was rendered still more so by her persuasions. He wanted to derive his authority solely from his dignity, not from the laws; and she wanted to raise him above all law, in order to elevate herself the higher, and govern both the monarch and the laws. Upon this principle it was, that she resolved to sacrifice the *Swedish* nobility and senate, the more securely to trample on the neck of liberty: but she wanted a specious pretext for the king's committing an action so cruel and so extraordinary. To murder so great a number of men, who had put themselves in his power, without the faith of treaties, required the strongest reasons to palliate it. Several schemes were projected for accomplishing this horrid massacre; but none appeared feasible to *Christian*, besides reviving the affair of the senate's excommunication, knowing well that no action can be too base and insidious to be covered under the cloak of false religion.

His horrid plan for massacring the Swedish senate. HAVING fixed on this plan, he laid it before the archbishop of *Lunden* and bishop of *Odenfec*, with whom he concerted the means of execution. He passed over to *Sweden*, convoked the assembly, was publicly crowned, and bestowed the order of knighthood and the Elephant on a great number of *German* and *Danish* nobility; but not on a single *Swede*, which occasioned loud complaints against his partiality. After this he invited the *Swedish* nobility to a magnificent entertainment in the citadel. They came, and were received with the utmost affability and politeness by the king. For two days the whole kingdom was absorbed in luxury and pleasure. At length, when matters were found ripe for execution, and the nation was lulled in perfect security, a body of soldiers were ordered, under various pretences, to seize upon the administrator's widow, the senate, nobility, and the bishops themselves; and the *Danish* commissioners, and officers of the holy see, were to prosecute them as heretics. But this process being too long for the impatience of *Christian's* temper, the executioner was commanded to do his office, without allowing the unhappy

unhappy prisoners the liberty of seeing their confessors at their last moments.

NOTHING could equal the consternation that immediately appeared in every face, when the illustrious victims marched out in the middle of the day, surrounded by files of soldiers, to be immolated at the shrines of ambition, cruelty, and perfidy. Among the first was that respectable senator *Eric Vasa*, whose son *Gustavus* was soon after raised to the dignity of administrator, and then to the throne of *Sweden*. The rest followed in a long train to the place of execution, amidst the profound silence of the inhabitants, who were struck dumb with terror and surprize. At length they arrived; and seventy senators, lords and bishops, some say eighty-four, were beheld in one day. *Christian* made no distinction between friends and enemies, the better to convince the people, that he acted less from motives of revenge than obedience to the holy see. But we cannot dwell here upon a scene so horrible, as will blast the memory of this tyrant, and transmit his name with stains of the deepest infamy to the latest posterity. In our account of *Sweden* we shall, however, endeavour to relate this transaction with all the perspicuity which an event, the most memorable on record, deserves.

BUT *Christian*, not satiated with the blood of so many noble personages, let loose his troops upon the citizens, to commit enormities which freeze the blood even in recital. A conduct so barbarous was beheld at the time with resentment, and cannot be related so many ages after without horror. It called loudly for the divine vengeance, and heaven laid up store of punishment to thunder down upon his guilty head. In his passage from *Sweden* to *Denmark*, instances of his cruelty are to be met with: it now became habitual; and *Christian* might as well refrain from food as from thirsting after the blood of his subjects. Stopping in his journey at the monastery of *Nu-Other instances of* *vac*, he was told, that a part of the corn and provision of the monastery was concealed in a neighbouring forest. Although *Christian* there remained abundance for his retinue, he gave orders to seize the abbé and monks, immediately after mass was performed, and to throw them, bound hand and foot, in the river. The abbé found means to escape out of the hands of the ruffians employed to bind him: he run towards the river; but was pursued and massacred by the king's order, before he could save himself by swimming.

CHRISTIAN's stay was but short in *Denmark*; for soon after his arrival, he set out on a visit to his brother-in-law the

emperor; the intention of which is not mentioned, except that he obtained the reversion of *Holftein* to the crown of Denmark.

IN the mean time *Gustavus*, son of *Eric Vasa*, projected great schemes for the delivery of his country from the tyranny of *Christian*. At *Mora* he raised a body of peasants with such secrecy and celerity, that he attacked and defeated the governor of the province, before he was apprized of an insurrection. His army soon increasing with his prosperity, he attempted greater matters; and over-run most of the provinces of Sweden, before any army could be got in the field to oppose him. The people, in general, cried out to revenge the butcheries committed by the *Danes*: however, the brave *Gustavus* was somewhat startled with a message sent to him by *Christian*, that unless he laid down his arms, and quelled the insurrection, he would put his mother and sisters to the most cruel tortures. But patriotic love suppressed even the feelings of nature: *Gustavus* marched on, followed by the faithful *Dalecarlians*, put all the *Danes* he met to the sword, and even gave no quarter to *Suedes* who were obstinately attached to *Christian*.

ALL this while *Theodore*, the king's viceroy, was levying forces, with which he at last marched to the river *Brunebeck*, with intention to dispute the passage with *Gustavus*: however, some motions, made by the latter, determined him to return to *Stockholm*, which city he plunged into the depths of luxury, as if it had been in the midst of profound peace. Taking advantage of the viceroy's retreat, *Gustavus* pushed on to *Westerras*, where was encamped a large body of *Danes*, whom he attacked and defeated, after an obstinate engagement. Then he entered the town, where, finding no resistance, the soldiers abandoned themselves to drinking and pillaging: an imprudence that had nearly ruined the cause of liberty, for the garrison of the citadel rallying out upon them unprepared, would have destroyed the *Dalecarlians*, had not the vigilance, bravery, and good fortune of *Gustavus* parried the impending blow. Ordering a corps of officers to make head against the *Danes*, he flew like lightning to recal his men from pillaging, rallied them, and led them on so furiously, that the enemy were soon repulsed, and the citadel immediately forced to surrender.

ANIMATED with his late victories, every day twined new laurels round the conqueror's brow, and at length encouraged him to march strait to *Stockholm*; but not with a view of besieging it, having no fleet to block up the harbour: his design was no more than to strike terror, and perhaps countenance the insurrection of his friends in the city. In this he was mistaken; but his appearance had one good effect it drove the viceroy

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and archbishop, "intimidated at his approach, to seek protection in flight, and commit the command of the city to an old Danish officer.

CHRISTIAN beheld the rapid progress of this revolt with uneasiness and chagrin; but many circumstances concurred in preventing his sending succours to the viceroy. The first was the queen-mother's death; and the next, and more powerful, the general discontent which prevailed all over Denmark. He knew that nothing but a strong standing army kept the nobility in awe, and that the moment he either sent an army or went in person to Sweden, he exposed himself to the consequences of a revolt in Denmark. In this situation were matters when the viceroy and archbishop arrived at court, where they were received with reproaches of cowardice and treachery. The viceroy was seized, put to the torture, and forced to confess a number of horrid crimes of which he had been guilty; upon which the king appointed a day for his execution. Even the tears and intreaties of Sigebrete could not save this favourite of her's; so provoked was Christian at the loss of Sweden, which he now looked on as irrecoverable. Finding himself in no condition to oppose Gustavus, he resolved upon executing his revenge in the most cruel and brutal manner on his mother and sister, both which ladies he ordered to be tied in ficks, and thrown into the sea. Next he ordered his governors of provinces and garrisons, to put all the Swedes within their jurisdiction to the sword; a barbarity which induced Gustavus to publish an edict, commanding his adherents to exterminate the Danes, without giving quarter, wherever they found them.

TOWARDS the year 1522, Christian sent Norby with a strong fleet and army to raise the siege of Stockholm, before which city Gustavus sat down with his whole army. Norby was vigilant in performing his duty, though from motives selfish and ambitious. He flattered himself, that if he could defeat Gustavus, it might pave his way to the throne of Sweden. He knew the people would never support the tyranny of Christian, and might perhaps be prevailed on to accept for their king a person whose power and military capacity would be able to protect them. Full of these notions, he debarked his troops, and led them against the Dalecarlians, whom he drove out of their lines. Gustavus however rallied his men, and fought with such vigour, that Norby embarked the Danes, and suffered him to prosecute the siege, after he had thrown in supplies of stores, men, and provision into the city.

A. D.
1522.

GUSTAVUS, finding it impossible to compass his design without a fleet, had recourse to the regency of *Lubeck*; and obtained an auxiliary squadron on such grievous terms as would have been dishonourable, in case of less emergent necessity. Now the harbour was blocked up, and the city reduced to great straits, a *Danish* convoy having been intercepted. Upon advice of this, *Norby* again set sail for *Struckholm*, and found in the road a squadron of *Lubeckers* and *Flemings*, which he attacked, and fought furiously for the whole day, renewing the combat again next morning. A storm of wind however arose, which parted the combatants before victory declared herself on either side, which obliged the *Danish* admiral to moor his ships in the creek of a little island, at a small distance from the place of action. Here in the night he was fixed by a sudden frost, that congealed the surrounding water, and exposed him to all the attacks of the enemy. *Gustavus* took advantage of the favourable opportunity, and, resolving to burn *Norby's* squadron, put himself at the head of the *Lubeck* troops encamped on the coast, passed over on the ice to the island, and advanced in the night as near as he possibly could to the enemy. *Norby*, on discovering him, began a continual fire with his cannon and small arms; which, however, did not prevent *Gustavus* from advancing boldly to the sides of the ships, some of his men pouring in volleys of small shot and arrows, while others held lighted torches in their hands to set fire to the rigging. Both sides fought with obstinate bravery; but the *Danes* had the advantage from their high situation, their cannon, and the slippery footing of the enemy. All the endeavours of *Gustavus* could not overcome these difficulties, which began to break the courage of the *Lubeck* general, and at last made him sound a retreat, in the very middle of the battle. The heat of the sun soon dissolved the ice, and furnished *Norby* with an opportunity of setting sail before another attempt could be made^a.

*Discontents
in Den-
mark.*

In the mean time all *Denmark* was in confusion. The number of the disaffected increased daily; and the king, always violent, became now furious, resolving to trample upon all law and government. He endeavoured to extort, by menaces, his dukedom of *Holstein*, and claim on *Norway*, from his uncle *Frederick*; but was disappointed by the vigilance, prudence, and moderation of that prince. He irritated the *Vandal* cities to lay siege to *Elfsneur*, which they reduced to ashes. To oppose them, he assembled an army of twelve

^a Revol. de M. VÆTØT, t. i. p. 127.

thousand men in Zealand, at the time when the general diet was assembling at *Arhus*. The *Jutlanders*, who knew the cruelty of his disposition, began to apprehend that his military force was set on foot to enable the king to sacrifice them, as he had done the nobility of Sweden. He appeared at the diet of *Holstein* in arms; and would probably have enforced his demands by dint of superior strength, had not the duke wisely taken measures to oppose him. His whole conduct assured them of his intention to govern by military laws; and they determined to risk all, rather than support so intolerable a yoke. They knew the sentiments of the whole nation concurred with their own; but they believed it glorious to arm the first in the cause of liberty. All *Jutland* rose, in one general revolt; *Christian* was formally deposed at a general diet held at *Wiburg*, and a particular decree passed, specifying the reasons for such a proceeding. *Magnus Munce*, chief justice of *Jutland*, was intrusted with the dangerous commission of acquainting his majesty of the resolution of the diet. He met *Christian* on his way to attend the diet at *Arhus*, complimented him on his happy passage to *Weel*, where he then was, dined with the king, and, after dinner, left in the window the decree of the *Jutland* states. It had not lain long here before the king, observing a large scroll of parchment, ordered it to be read, and no sooner perceived the contents than he ordered search to be made for *Munce*; but that nobleman had removed himself out of the reach of danger.

CHRISTIAN, seeing there was no safety for him in the country, set out for *Kolding*, a town situated on the frontiers of *Holstein* and *Jutland*. He was master of *Copenhagen*, all the islands in the *Baltick*, and the kingdom of *Norway*; yet distrusting foreigners and subjects, and his conscience representing the evil beyond remedy, he took no steps towards quashing the rebellion. Instead of that, he began supplicating those subjects whom he had used with such pride and barbarity. Insolent prosperity is ever the most abject in adversity. His chief counsellors, in this situation, were *Olaus Rosenkratz*, *Magnus Bilde*, governor of *Kolding*, and *Renold Heiderstorp* general of the infantry. On asking their advice, the first gave it as his opinion, that his majesty ought to demand powerful succours from the emperor, his brother-in-law: *Bilde* advised him to offer terms of accommodation, and all the satisfaction he could make to his subjects; and *Rosenkratz* contented himself with observing, that his majesty ought to provide for the safety of the queen, and the young princes.

CHRISTIAN would seem to have asked their opinion only to mortify them by preferring his own. Instead of making

*Endea-
vours to
restore him-
self.*

proposals to the diet, he went to *Ringstedt*, where there happened to be a great fair. He harangued the populace with tears in his eyes, and so pathetically set forth his penitence and misfortunes, that, moved with his condition, the generous peasants took a fresh oath of allegiance, and offered their assistance against all his enemies. The king thanked them for their good intentions; but it was now in vain, he thought, to attempt re-establishing himself by force of arms. He distrusted his best friends, and imagined the whole world combined against him. His great dread was lest the *Baltick* should be shut up by fleets of the hanse-towns, and his escape from *Denmark* cut off. To prevent this greatest of evils, he equipped at *Copenhagen* a fleet of twenty sail, on board which he put all his private treasure, the jewels, ornaments, and plate of the crown. Next he sent to *Callenburg*, and removed from thence the public treasury into his own ship, together with all the records, charters, and public acts of the government. Attended by his queen, children, and *Sigebrette*, he set sail from *Copenhagen*, and was overtaken in his passage to the continent by a violent storm, which beat his fleet about the *Baltick* for the space of three weeks, until he was reduced to the last extremity for provisions. At length arriving at *Wesel*, he sent to his brother-in-law the emperor, not doubting but he would arm all *Germany* to restore him, and little considering that the friendship of princes dies away with the prosperity that gave birth to it, and often degenerates into contempt and rancour. Thus *Christian*, who arrived at a greater degree of power than any of his predecessors, by the union of the kingdoms of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*, of the dutchies of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, and *Stormar*, and the alliances of *Germany*, *Spain*, *France*, *England*, and *Scotland*, was deposed by his own subjects, deserted by all his friends, and left a most piteous monument of the effects of pride, cruelty, and despotism, exerted over a free-spirited, generous, and warlike people. He seemed, indeed, to be one of those princes which heaven in wrath sets over a nation, as a punishment for the sins of the people, and a trial of their patience. Yet, with all his faults, *Christian* was brave, and perfectly skilled in the art of reigning, could a corrupted heart receive the dictates of a solid understanding and clear head.

He is formally deposed.

By his queen, *Isabella* of *Austria*, he had five children; *John*, who shared for some years in his disgrace; *Philip*, and *Maximilian*, who died young; *Dorothy*, married to the elector-palatine; and *Christina*, who had for her first husband *Sforza* duke of *Milan*, and for her second *Francis* duke of *Lorraine*.

F R E D E R I C K I.

THE abdication of *Christian II.* paved the way to the throne for his uncle *Frederick*, duke of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, *Stormar*, *Wagria*, and the country of the *Dithmarsians*. These dominions he inherited by the will of his father, though his brother king *John* wrested from him half his territories. He had often attempted to recover not only the countries taken from him during his minority, but to make good his claim upon a certain portion of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway*; without, however, bringing his projects to bear, for want of strength to support them.

THE *Futlanders* were the first who declared for *Frederick*; and their voice was echoed by all the other provinces of *Denmark*. *Copenhagen* still adhered to *Christian*, and the example of the capital was followed by the kingdom of *Norway*. His majesty's first endeavour, therefore, was to reduce *Copenhagen*, which *Magnus Gye* the governor resolved to defend obstinately, relying on the succours which *Christian* promised to send from *Germany*. Being disappointed, however, in his expectations, he surrendered the city in the beginning of the year 1524.

IMMEDIATELY after he had got possession of the capital, *Frederick* convoked a general diet, by which he was solemnly proclaimed king of *Denmark*, after an edict had been first published, declaring the reasons of the diet for withdrawing their allegiance from *Christian*. The states of *Norway* acceded to the resolution of the *Danish* diet, and proclaimed *Frederick* with the same formalities. Still, however, the satisfaction of the new king was incomplete and imperfect. He could not behold *Gustavus*, raised to the throne of *Sweden*, but with an eye of jealousy: he eagerly wished, from motives of ambition and interest, to see the three kingdoms reunited, and with that view wrote to some of the chief nobility of *Sweden*. The answer he received was not agreeable to his wishes; but it did not damp his hopes.

ARCHBISHOP *Troll* added the breath of adulation to these sparks of ambition, which soon blazed forth with more strength than was natural to the pacific disposition of the new monarch. This prelate regarded the elevation of *Gustavus* as an insurmountable obstacle to his own return to his archbishopric of *Upsal*. He seized, therefore, all occasions of representing to *Frederick*, that the crown of *Sweden* belonged to him, as the son of *Christian I.* and that he could not, without incurring the contempt of *Denmark* and *Norway*, suffer it

to remain long in the hands of an usurper. Nor did he forget to add the inclination which the *Swedish* clergy always entertained for the kings of *Denmark*, assuring him at the same time, that his adherents wanted only his countenance, and his claiming publicly the crown of *Sweden*, to declare openly for him.

FREDERICK made no great resistance : he yielded quietly to arguments so congenial to his own thoughts, so flattering to his ambition, and agreeable to his interest. Before the diet broke up, he procured their approbation for his being crowned king of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway* ; and he dispatched ambassadors to the *Swedish* senate, complaining of the election of *Gustavus* in prejudice to his right, and in direct violation of the treaty of *Calmar*.

State of
Sweden.

THE *Swedes* were no longer in a disposition to give ear to such remonstrances. The union of *Calmar* had more than once almost proved fatal to their liberties, which they now enjoyed in the greatest felicity, under a prince possessed of every quality that could engage their affection, render the nation respectable, and secure happiness to his subjects. It was therefore the intention of the senate to dismiss the ambassadors with a very abrupt answer ; but *Gustavus* prevailed on them to treat them as the representatives of a great monarch. After entertaining them magnificently at his own table, he had them introduced into the senate, gave them permission to set forth their master's claim, and referred the answer, in order to render it more satisfactory, to the general diet. When the diet met, the ambassadors pleaded their master's claim in a laboured harangue ; and were answered, in a spirited manner, by the speakers of the diet, that the crown of *Sweden* was elective, and as such bestowed upon *Gustavus*, their present monarch, as the just reward of his merit, and the tribute due from the gratitude of a people delivered from tyranny and oppression by his valour and conduct. They then declared, in the name of the diet, *Troll*, archbishop of *Upsal*, a traitor and enemy to his country : nay, in the heat of their zeal and affection for *Gustavus*, the speaker was authorized to declare before the ambassadors, that *Gustavus* should have power to declare peace or war, and to enjoy many other prerogatives never before granted to a *Swedish* monarch, out of pure respect to his person.

Condu. of
Gustavus
to the Da-
nish am-
bassadors.

AN answer so explicit left no room for expostulation ; the ambassadors were for withdrawing out of the kingdom ; but *Gustavus* politely entertained them for some days with a review of his troops, a sight of his arsenals, and every thing else that could set forth his power, and strike a damp on the pre-

pretensions of *Frederick*: after which he dismissed them with magnificent presents, and the highest esteem for his person and character. He accompanied the *Danish* ambassadors with an envoy from himself to *Frederick*, to demand the release of the administrator's widow, and other ladies, imprisoned by *Christian*. Nor was this the only object of his commission. *Gustavus* knew well, that the emperor was brother-in-law to *Christian*, and powerful enough with the union of *Spain* and the *Indies*, to re-establish *Christian*, in defiance of the united endeavours of the three kingdoms, and much more so, if they were divided and at war with each other. The agent was ordered to examine narrowly into the character and designs of *Frederick*, and to see whether there were hopes of engaging him in a solid peace, so necessary to both nations in the beginning of their reigns, and the very dawn of their authority. So well did this minister acquit himself, that he filled *Frederick* with esteem for the character of *Gustavus*, and respect for his power, very different indeed from what the archbishop of *Upsal* had represented. This was not the time to revive his pretensions, and begin a war with a prince so much master of the affections of his subjects; he therefore offered the envoy to terminate all their differences amicably, and to form a league offensive and defensive with *Gustavus*. The more to shew his esteem for the *Swedish* monarch, he sent back all the prisoners under a strong escort, and particularly the administrator's widow, attended by a splendid retinue to the frontiers of *Sweden*.

An alliance
between
Frederick
and *Gustavus*.

IN the mean time the conduct of admiral *Norby* called loudly for chastisement. That officer had retired with his fleet to the isle of *Gothland*, of which he was governor, claimed independency, commenced a pirate, and committed ravages on the high seas, on the shipping of all nations without distinction. The *Lubeckers* and hanse-towns were, in particular, great sufferers by him; and they carried their complaints to *Gustavus* of *Sweden*, with such promises of assistance, as induced that monarch to undertake the conquest of the island. Accordingly eight thousand men were landed in *Gothland*, under the conduct of *Bernard Milen*, while the *Lubeck* fleet cruized round the coasts, to prevent all succours from *Frederick* from entering the island. *Norby* was soon reduced to difficulties; upon which he sent one of his creatures to *Frederick*, to assure him that he was ready to acknowledge his sovereignty, provided he would send him assistance against the *Swedes*; a proposal with which the *Danish* monarch did not hesitate to comply. He became jealous of the enterprising genius of *Gustavus*; and saw that it was his interest to check the ag-

Revolts of
admiral
Norby.

grandizement of a neighbouring prince. The island of *Gothland* was besides a dependence on the crown of *Denmark*; and this more particularly led him to accept the terms offered by *Norby*. However, as it was not possible to succour him, while the *Lubeck* fleet kept the seas, without engaging in a direct war with the hanse-towns, at a time too when he feared a descent on his dominions by *Christian*, he resolved to try the effects of a negotiation. He dispatched an ambassador to *Lubeck*, complaining of the attempt made by *Gustavus* on his dominions, and prayed the regency to use their mediation in prevailing on him to withdraw his forces.

Frederic's negotiations with the regency of Lubeck. *FREDERICK* knew perfectly well the treaty lately executed between *Lubeck* and *Gustavus*; but he exerted his endeavours to break it. To effect this, he represented by his ambassador, the concern the regency had in preventing *Sweden* from growing too powerful. That *Gustavus* was 'an enterprising prince, full of courage and ambition, who would require the union of all his neighbours against him, to keep bounds to his conquests. That *Gothland* was a dependence on the crown of *Denmark*; and that *Norby*, now returning to his duty, he should be under the necessity of supporting him as his subject. That, however, he would submit the whole affair to the arbitration of the hanse-towns, rather than kindle a war in the North: and finally, that he consented to sequester the island into the hands of the regency, until the disputes regarding it were finally decided.

He relieves Norby, who was besieged by the Swedes. *FREDERICK's* proposals were too moderate, too politic, and too agreeable to the interest of the regency, not to be perfectly well received. They saw themselves relieved from the piracies of *Norby*, and at the same time exempted the expence of maintaining a fleet at sea, to protect the conquests of the *Swedish* monarch. They preferred seeing *Gothland* defended by their own garrison, though attended with some expence, to putting it into the hands of *Gustavus*, and thereby enabling him to molest their commerce. It was for these reasons the regency concluded a secret treaty with *Frederick*, by which they promised to connive at his endeavours to throw in succours into *Wisby*. It was likewise stipulated, that the king of *Denmark* should send an ambassador to *Sweden*, to complain of *Gustavus's* invasion of *Gothland*; and that he should be followed by deputies from the hanse-towns, offering their mediation, and declaring they would take arms against the party who should oppose a reasonable accommodation.

IN consequence of this treaty supplies were thrown into *Wisby*; an interview passed between *Frederick* and *Gustavus*, at which the affair of *Gothland* was warmly debated, and referred

red for a full decision to a congress of commissioners from Denmark, Sweden, and the hanse-towns. The Danish deputies came at the time appointed, but made only a short stay for the Swedes, who were kept back by contrary winds. Frederick made use of this occasion to break off a congress to which he had no inclination, having now thrown in supplies into Wisby, and received an oath of allegiance from Norby. His Swedish majesty remonstrated, but to no effect, as Frederick was in no humour to submit to the hazard of arbitration an island of which he thought himself already secure. In a word, he over-reached the commissioners of Lubeck and Sweden; but was himself almost outwitted by Norby, who had entered upon a negotiation with the Swedish general Milen, his old friend, and obtained from him a suspension of arms. The siege was raised without the knowledge of Gustavus, and to the great discontent of the whole Swedish army. No sooner was Norby delivered from the terrors of a siege, than he resolved to break his oath to Frederick, and preserve his independence. In vain was he summoned, in vain was he threatened with punishment by the Danish monarch: he not only refused keeping his parole, but made a descent with his fleet on Schonen, where he was joined by all the burghers and peasants attached to the late king Christian. Here, after burning a number of villages, he made himself master of Salsburg, Lunden, Landskron, and some other places.

JOHN RANTZAU was sent by the king to oppose his progress with two battalions of infantry, and a few squadrons of horse. Norby was at this time employed in the siege of Helsingburg; and that his operations might receive no interruption, he detached one of his generals with eight thousand men, to give battle to Rantzau, whose whole force scarce amounted to half that number. It was indeed expected, that Rantzau would not have stood his ground; but this experienced officer knew what degree of confidence was to be placed in discipline and valour. He attacked the enemy with such firmness, that their ranks were soon broken and put in disorder, about a thousand of them killed, and the rest put to flight. Five hundred prisoners taken in the pursuit were sent to king Frederick, with a great number of ensigns, and other military trophies.

THIS defeat greatly disconcerted Norby, and obliged him to raise the siege of Helsingburg. After some motions to collect his scattered troops, he retired to Landskron, which he put in the best posture of defence. Rantzau immediately followed and blocked up the city, until a sufficient reinforcement arrived to commence the siege in form. Here he did not

Further
proofs of
Norby's
perfidy.

not remain long, before *Otton Stiggot* collecting together several thousand peasants, who adhered to *Christian*, marched with intention to raise the blockade; and *Rantzaw* having advice of his motions, marched out of his intrenchments to give him battle, which he did with all imaginable success, dispersing the peasant army, and returning the same day to his camp before the city. This stroke operated powerfully on the courage of *Norby*; he immediately demanded a parley, delivered proposals of capitulation, which *Rantzaw* sent for the approbation of king *Frederick*. The king fearing lest *Norby* would deliver the isle of *Gothland* to the *Swedes*, should he insist upon too rigorous terms, erred perhaps in the other extreme, by shewing too much lenity and indulgence to a man who had so often broke through oaths and the most solemn engagements. He contented himself with a promise from *Norby*, that he would refrain from all further violences, put the city and citadel of *Wisby* into his hands, and take a fresh oath of allegiance; terms with which *Norby* made no scruple of complying, as he intended to regard them no longer than necessity and his interest required. Taking with him some *Danish* lords, into whose hands he was to surrender *Wisby*, he set sail for *Gothland*; but when he arrived there, put off the performance of his promise, and prevaricated in such a manner, that it was plain he had other designs. *Frederick*, however, took his measures so vigorously, that he reduced him to the necessity of surrendering the city, and evacuating the island * (A).

A. D. THE following year it was, that *Margaret* of *Austria* sent
1526. some ships into the *Baltick*, to make a diversion in favour of *Christian*; but nothing considerable was performed by this Squadron. *Frederick* seemed to enjoy perfect tranquillity in temporal affairs; but it was not so in spirituals. *Lutheranism*

Religious
disputes in
Denmark.

had made such progress in *Denmark* under *Christian*, in defiance of all the endeavours of the bishops and *Romish* clergy, that, under *Frederick*, who himself embraced Protestantism, the nation was divided into two parties, each of which supported their sentiments with all the zeal and heat peculiar to religious disputes. To prevent civil discord, the king published an edict, prohibiting all his subjects, under severe pe-

(*) Vid. PUFFEN. t. iv. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 86.

(A) *Norby* afterwards enjoyed the prefecture of *Zelisburg*; but his restless and ambitious spirit set him on fresh revolts, which deprived him of his govern-

ment: after which he entered into the service of *Russia*, next of *Charles V.* and lastly, was slain at the siege of *Florence*.

nalties,

naities, from laying any restraints on conscience, or any way depriving a man of his reputation, fortune, or liberty, on account of his religious opinions. The doctrines of the reformation were permitted to be preached publicly; and thus the *Romish* religion lost its influence every day. The *Lutherans* ascribe the king's conduct to piety, while their adversaries affirm, that policy alone governed his actions: be that as it will, his moderation conveys no slight idea of his understanding, and certainly, at the time, contributed greatly to his firm establishment on the throne.

THIS year the king held a general diet of the states, to make some new regulations in religion, for the quiet and repose of the kingdom. Here it was that he first openly avowed himself a Protestant, bitterly inveighed against the spiritual tyranny of the church of *Rome*, and stopped the persecutions of the popish clergy, by the following act passed by the diet: 1st, That every subject of *Denmark* should be free to profess either the doctrines of *Luther*, or of *Rome*. 2dly, That no person should be molested on account of his religion. 3dly, That the king should exert his royal prerogative in defending the reformists against the tyranny and oppression of their enemies: and 4thly, That the religious of all orders should be permitted to marry and live in any part of the kingdom they thought proper, without respect to particular monasteries, foundations, or societies.

IN consequence of this decree all abbeys and cloisters were deserted, all autterities and celibacy in particular disregarded; *Lutheranism* was publicly preached, and embraced in all quarters; yet still many warm contests arose between the clergy of either party, in which the king was forced to interpose. At last the city of *Malmoe* erected the standard of *Luther*, publicly prohibited mals, idols, and the other superstitions of the *Romish* church; and set an example, which was soon followed by the rest of the cities, to the utter extinction of popery. The New Testament, and Psalms of *David*, were translated into the vernacular language; professorships of theology founded, and filled with Protestant doctors. The bishops took the alarm, and waiting upon the king in a body, could obtain nothing more, than that the affairs of religion should receive farther regulations at the next general diet.

BEFORE the diet assembled, some attempts were made by *Christian* for recovering his crown. He had constantly resided in *Flanders*, and never failed imploring the emperor *Charles V.* to assist him with forces and money, but without success.

Christian
makes some
attempts to
recover his
crown.

That wise prince saw too clearly into his character, to believe that he could keep possession of an authority which he so grossly abused, or recover the affections of a free, spirited people, whom he had endeavoured to enslave. His prayers, however, prevailed with *Margaret of Austria*; she fitted out a fleet, and raised a body of forces in his favour. The fleet was scattered, and ten ships lost in a storm; but others landed the troops in *Sweden* and *Norway*, where they were joined by great numbers of discontented persons, and particularly by the *Roman Catholics*, who sought their revenge in rebellion. His arms made such progress, as to call upon *Frederick's* serious attention. Accordingly he fitted out a fleet, under the conduct of *Canute Gyllenstiern*, and *Eric Gyllenstiern*, brothers to the viceroy of *Norway*. These generals set sail, and came up with *Christian's* fleet before *Babœ*. Here they attacked them, and, after an engagement which lasted the whole day, took, sunk, burnt, and destroyed the *Flemish* squadron, without letting a single ship escape.

He is made
prisoner.

CHRISTIAN was at this time laying siege to *Aggerhus*, which he raised on advice of the defeat of his fleet. The *Gyllenstierns* landed their forces, and obliged him to attempt a retreat to *Sweden*, through *Wex* and *Gothland*; but he found himself opposed by a body of three thousand horse, sent to block up the passage by king *Gustavus*. *Christian* was now greatly embarrassed. On the one side he saw the forces of *Denmark*, and on the other those of *Sweden*, neither of which his situation would permit him to engage with any probability of success. In this dilemma he threw himself into the town of *Congel*, which he fortified in the best manner circumstances would allow, rather with a view to procrastinate his fate, than in expectation of being able to defend himself for any time. Here he was pressed with famine, deserted by his men, and reduced to so piteous a condition, that *Gyllenstiern*, bishop of *Odensee*, taking compassion on his sufferings, used all his arguments to prevail upon him to surrender, rather than perish with hunger, which he necessarily must in a short time. He remembered that *Christian* had formerly been sovereign of three powerful kingdoms, and was led by his humanity to stipulate terms which he had no power to grant. In a word, he persuaded that prince to put himself in his power, that he might conduct him to *Frederick*, assuring him that the force of blood would operate so strongly on the king, as to procure *Christian* the kindest reception. *Gyllenstiern* intended no artifice; he firmly believed all that he advanced, and was greatly astonished to find *Frederick* incensed at his conduct. He was

A. D.
1533.

evening

even stung to the heart, on hearing that unfortunate monarch was seized and imprisoned on his arrival at *Copenhagen*. He remonstrated to *Frederick*, but could obtain no redress. *Christian* was confined and strictly guarded in the castle of *Sunderburg*, until *Frederick's* death, which happened at *Gottorp* on the thirteenth of *April*, in the year 1533.

FREDERICK obtained the name of *Pacific*, from his aversion to war, and the moderation of his conduct. He was the first *Danish* monarch who had openly embraced and espoused the reformed religion; for though it was introduced in the reign of his predecessor, yet had it made no considerable progress. Historians greatly celebrate the piety, prudence, and steady government of this prince. His reign indeed was prosperous to himself and his people; he lived in their affection, died highly esteemed and regretted by one part of his subjects; while the *Roman Catholics*, in general, detest his memory to this day, for effecting a reformation in religion to the utter extinction of their tyrannical superstition and spiritual power.

Death and character of Frederick I.

S E C T. XIV.

The History of the Reign of Christian III.

C H R I S T I A N III.

FREDERICK was succeeded by his son *Christian III.* governor of *Sleswick* and *Holstein* in his father's life-time. *Disputa*
A general diet assembled at *Copenhagen* on the twenty-fourth successor,
of *June*, to deliberate on the election of a king, to which and the
Christian sent two noblemen of distinction to appear in his kingdom
name. All the bishops and *Romish* clergy strongly supported divided
the interest of prince *John*, second son of *Frederick*, in oppo- into three
sition to *Christian*, who had embraced the reformed religion. factions.
They alledged, in favour of this young prince, that he was
born after his father's accession to the throne, though their
true motive was, the hopes they entertained of breeding him
up in their own religion. A third party were for recalling
Christian II. but this faction was small, and intirely absorbed
in the two others. The nobility in general supported *Chris-*
tian III. and the clergy, finding they could not carry their
point at that time, proposed that the election should be de-
ferred to the following year, in order that the states of *Nor-*
way might be assembled, and the same king seated on the
throne of both kingdoms. This proposal having gained the
assent

assent of the majority, the states next resolved to send an ambassador to *Mary*, governante of the *Low-Countries*, to propose a peace, or at least a truce for some years.

*Artifices
of the Po-
pish clergy.*

IN the mean time some of the chief nobility, among whom were *Magnus Goe* and *Eric Bonner*, entered a protest against adjourning the diet. In this they bitterly exclaimed against the bishops, whose private interest they affirmed prevailed over every measure for the general good. Having entered this protest they retired into the country, followed by a great number of the other nobility, and thus left a clear majority to the clergy in the diet. The bishops did not fail to take advantage of this circumstance: they proposed the following decree, and had influence enough to get it passed; first, that the election of a king should be deferred for one year; secondly, that church-lands and monasteries should remain in their present situation, until the next diet; thirdly, that as the bishops had drawn up different charges against certain ministers of the reformed religion, and particularly an accusation of a heinous nature against *J. Tousson*, he should be obliged to appear and answer to the charge; fourthly, that *Christian*, the oldest son of the late king *Frederick*, should be disqualified from succeeding to the throne, on account of his having embraced the reformed religion; and that *John*, the second, should be bred in the faith of the *Romish* church, and for that reason preferred to his brother in the future election^a.

IN this manner was the kingdom of *Denmark* divided, after the decease of *Frederick*. The civil discontents furnished the regency of *Lubeck* with an opportunity of renewing their attempt to engross the whole traffic of the *Baltick*. The means they used to accomplish this design were indeed extraordinary, and such as require being attested by good authority before they could gain credit; but the relation of them does not belong to this part of our history (A).

ABOUT

^a PUFFEND. l. iv.

(A) It may be necessary to observe, that the *Lubeckers* had formed schemes the most ambitious and ideal that ever entered the brain of a sensible people. They projected nothing less than the universal empire of the North; and in endeavouring to execute their plan, had almost annihilated the very

being of their little state, whose whole strength consisted in commerce, and a confederacy with the other hanse-towns. Our author alleges, that they proceeded so far as to sell the kingdom of *Denmark* to *Henry VIII.* of *England*, and that he advanced on this bargain the sum of twenty thousand crowns, with

a pro-

ABOUT this time was held a general diet at *Odense*, for the election of a sovereign. *Christian* of *Sleswick* sent ambassadors thither, who used every artifice to gain a majority. They represented, that *Denmark* being without a head, and exposed to a number of enemies, it would be for the public good that a treaty of perpetual union and alliance were concluded between *Denmark*, *Norway*, and *Holstein*; a proposition quite agreeable to the sentiments of the diet, though it did not take place at that time. They engaged that *Christian* would govern the kingdom rather as the father than the sovereign of his people. They promised that he would preserve the liberties of the people, and extend as far as was in his power, the rights and influence of the nobility; but that if the diet thought proper to prefer his brother *John*, he would acquiesce in their judgment, and never give him any molestation. They added however their master's request, that the diet would proceed to the election of a king, in order to stop the confusion and discord that now distracted the kingdom. Yet after all, this diet likewise broke up without coming to any agreement.

THIS year ambassadors arrived from *Sweden*, with an account of the conspiracy formed by the regency of *Lubeck* against the king. The *Danes* offered their mediation, without knowing that a similar plot was formed against themselves. This ambitious regency, in order to accomplish higher views, had projected the restoration of *Christian II.* and in this design they engaged prince *Christopher* of *Oldenburg*, a cadet of that family, archbishop *Troll*, *John* count of *Hoya*, a great number of exiles, many of the discontented clergy, and the chief magistrates of *Malmoe* and *Copenhagen*. *Christopher* of *Oldenburg* was charged with the enterprize of setting *Christian II.* at liberty. With this view he passed the *Elbe* at the head of four thousand foot, and then wrote to *Christian* of *Sleswick*, demanding to know why he detained king *Christian* a prisoner in *Sunderburg*. He complained that his majesty was confined contrary to the faith of a treaty, and the safe-conduct granted him by *Frederick's* general. He insisted that he should be released, otherwise he threatened to employ all his own forces, together with those of his friends and allies, to procure him justice and his enlargement.

a promise of paying the remainder on their fulfilling the contract; a piece of secret history intirely passed over by our best English historians (1).

• (1) *Diss. Rebus*, t. v. p. 82.

DUKE *Christian* answered, that the king was confined by order of his late majesty, in consequence of repeated remonstrances from the states of *Denmark* and *Sweden*: that he could not therefore set him at liberty, without the joint consent of both these nations: and finally, he gave him to understand, that in this particular he was not his own master. But this answer was by no means satisfactory to *Christopher*, who replied, that he was astonished *Christian* should excuse himself by such a pretence, as he was independent of both kingdoms. It was notorious, he said, that *Sunderburg* belonged to him, and consequently he had power to set at liberty a prince confined against all law and equity; concluding that the regency of *Lubeck* and the *Vandal* cities would interest themselves in the affair, and employ force of arms to obtain what was denied to fair remonstrances ^b.

Christian
lays siege
to *Lubeck*.

HAVING made the same remonstrances to the senate of *Denmark*, and with the same effect, he returned to *Lubeck*; upon which the regency ordered their army to march, under the command of *Wallenweber* and *Marc Meyer*, into *Holstein*. Here they raised heavy contributions, and took the fortresses of *Trittau* and *Eudin*. They formed the siege of *Segeberg*, took the town, and were preparing to attack the citadel, when they heard that *Christian*, having received a reinforcement from *Denmark*, was on his way to give them battle. It was the same *Rantzau*, of whom we have spoke in the preceding pages, that now commanded *Christian*'s forces, attacked the *Lubeckers*, defeated them, and retook *Eudin* ^c.

THIS defeat did not discourage the prince of *Oldenburg*, and his confederates the *Lubeck* generals; it only obliged them to alter their measures, evacuate *Holstein*, and embark their army, in order to invade *Denmark*, and thus divide the forces of that kingdom. The *Holstein* general made the best use of their absence. He penetrated to the town of *Travemunde*, which he besieged and took. Having demolished the fortress of *Muggeberg*, he began to throw a bridge over the *Trave*; a proceeding which greatly alarmed the city of *Lubeck*, who immediately sent all their forces to oppose him. These *Rantzau* defeated, pushed farther, and put *Christian* in possession of both sides of the river, by which means he became intire master of all the ships in the harbour. Here he remained for some months, burnt all the shipping, and greatly distressed the city of *Lubeck*.

IN the mean time *Denmark* was in the most perilous and distracted condition. *George Munter*, consul of *Malmoe*, had

^b CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 92.

^c DES RECHES, t. v. p. 51.

treacherously seized upon *Gyllenstiern*, governor of the citadel, after which he razed it to the ground, and declared in favour of king *Christian II.* just as *Christopber of Oldenburg* entered the *Soud* with his fleet. *Munter* immediately went on board the prince's ship, and relating the success of his enterprize, induced *Christopber* to land his forces. Soon he became master of *Roschild*, *Koge*, *Sockholm*, *Stega*, and *Copenhagen*, which last city was surrendered to him, on condition that he enlarged its privileges, and swore to preserve the inhabitants in the free use of the *Lutheran* religion, which they had embraced. All these places he held in the name of *Christian II.* exacting an oath of allegiance to that prince from the inhabitants of the several towns and fortresses in his possession. In a word, he became master of *Zealand* and *Schonen*, and was upon terms with the diet of *Norway* for restoring the deposed *Christian*.

THE islands of *Laaland*, *Falstere*, and *Langland*, having followed the example of *Zealand* and *Schonen*, the *Lubecker* brokers beheld with satisfaction the rapid progress of their arms, and now thought it necessary to justify their proceedings by a manifesto, setting forth their reasons for entering upon this war. But they were such as only convinced the whole world of their ambition, which, by being directed to wrong objects, soon turned them into ridicule. In this manifesto they had the presumption to prescribe in points of religion to *Denmark*, and talk with an air of authority altogether vain and absurd, because it was unsupported by adequate power; for at this time *Christian III.* was laying siege to the city; and however successful their arms were in *Denmark*, they were reduced to the greatest necessity at home. Happily however for them, the states of *Jutland* resolved to meet for the election of a sovereign. *Holstein* took the same resolution, and they assembled on the fourth of *July*, at a place called *Rye*, near *Sunderburg*. It became the general opinion that their choice ought to fall upon a prince capable of governing by himself, and whose experience and conduct might again re-establish the tranquillity of the kingdom. A majority of voices declared for duke *Christian*, who had an army powerful enough to execute his designs. The states of *Fionia* were invited to accede to their election, and they accepted *Christian*, to whom ambassadors were immediately sent with an offer of the crown.

THE clergy had made some complaints, on account of his religion, but they were disregarded. *John Fris de Hessa-*

* DES ROCHES, *ibid.* PUFFEND. *ibid.*

lager was sent upon this commission, and likewise charged to acquaint *Christian*, that it was of the utmost consequence to provide against the enemy's getting possession of *Fionia*, which had now declared for him. *Christian* set out directly for *Hersens*, where the nobility and commons of *Jutland* were assembled to receive him. Here he was solemnly crowned, and acknowledged king of all *Denmark*, and as such received the oaths of all present.

KING *Christian*'s first care was to apprise *Gustavus* of *Sweden* of his election; to complain of the irregular conduct of the *Lubeckers*; to exhort him to enter *Schonen* with a force sufficient to wrest that province out of the hands of the enemy, and reannex it to *Denmark*, and, in a word, to humble the pride and clip the soaring wings of this ambitious republic. *Gustavus* did not hesitate in what manner he was to act. He longed for an occasion to revenge himself on the *Lubeckers*, and embraced this opportunity. He exhorted the inhabitants of *Schonen* to acknowledge *Christian* III. for their sovereign, and he seconded his remonstrances with force. A body of troops was marched into the province, and effectual measures taken for driving the *Lubeckers* out of *Denmark*.

Fionia

WHILE *Christian* III. was at *Kolding*, he was struck with the revolt of the island of *Fionia*, at the instigation of the count of *Oldenburg*. The burghers and peasants rose up against the nobility, and were determined to throw off their subjection to them, by driving them out of the island. To compose these troubles, and assist the nobility, *Christian* sent a body of forces, which soon obliged the people to take a fresh oath of allegiance to him; but the count, landing a superior force, had the town of *Neoburg* treacherously surrendered to him, and a new insurrection made in his favour, which in a short time put him in possession of the whole island.

AT the same time the duke of *Mecklenburg* and landgrave of *Hesse*, mediated a peace between the city of *Lubeck* and dutchy of *Holstein*, in which both sides agreed to give no assistance to each other's enemies. By this means *Christian* was enabled to employ all his forces in *Denmark*; and he accordingly marched an army into *North Jutland*, under the command of the celebrated *Rantzau* and *Eric Banner*. These two generals marched directly to *Alburg*, a town taken by *Clement*, a *Lubick* pirate, who was encamped with a body of peasants before the walls. *Rantzau* attacked this corps, defeated *Clement*, and took the town by assault, putting the garrison to the sword. *Clement* escaped out of the battle, but was afterwards taken at *Kolding*, confined in prison till the year

year 1536, and then beheaded. His head was fixed on a stake in the market-place, and crowned in derision with a leaden crown, on account of his insolence in proclaiming *Christian II.*

ALTHOUGH this advantage decided nothing, yet it produced overtures for peace, and an interview between *Christian* and the count of *Oldenburg*, which broke up without any determination, besides that of deciding the difference by the sword. When the count returned to *Copenhagen*, he assembled the states, and demanded a supply of money. As the treasury was extremely exhausted, and the country impoverished, he proposed that the nobility and gentry should dispose of their wives, jewels, and trinkets; but this was an expedient with which they did not chuse to comply, though they found means to raise the sum required. Scarce was this affair finished, when *George Munter* and *Ambrose* entered the assembly with a bitter complaint against the nobility and senate, whom they accused as the authors of all the national misfortunes, by deposing *Christian II.* They demanded therefore that the count would punish them according to their deserts. Fear seized the whole assembly, and no man ventured to withdraw, until the count had given them a solemn assurance, that no violence should be offered.

It was now that the count's wicked designs came to be disclosed. He had laid a scheme for the destruction of the nobility of *Schonen*, whom he assembled at *Landscroon* for that purpose, and was just ready to give the finishing blow, when *Gustavus* appeared, very providentially at the head of an army, on the borders of the province. He was instantly joined by five hundred nobility and gentry, who assisted in driving the count's forces out of *Schonen*, with which transaction the year 1534 concluded.

In the month of *January* the *Swedish* army entered *Hal-* A. D. land, and began their operations by laying siege to *Helmstadt*. 1535. After remaining some days before the town, the magistrates declared voluntarily for *Christian III.* upon which the *Swedish* army proceeded on their march. Passing through the coun- try round *Helsingburg*, *Landscroon*, and *Malmoe*, they were joined by great numbers of the nobility and gentry, and soon after gave battle and obtained a complete victory over the earl of *Oldenburg*, and the forces of *Lubeck*. Here the earl lost his best officers and soldiers, who were either killed or made prisoners. A strong reinforcement was then sent by *Christian III.* by means of which the *Swedish* army was enabled to lay siege to *Malmoe* and *Landscroon* at the same time. But the victory at *Helsingburg* had more important consequences. It induced the nobility of *Norway* to declare in favour

favour of the new king; but this advantage was counterbalanced by some inconveniences. *Meyer* the *Lubeck* general and burgomaster being taken in the engagement, a dispute arose between the *Swedes* and *Danes*. The former insisted upon his being their prisoner, because the victory was obtained by their forces, and the latter urged, that it was more reasonable he should belong to them, as he had immediately surrendered to the *Danes*. This difference was carried high; but at length terminated by an agreement, that he should be confined in the frontier town of *Wardenberg*. Here he was a prisoner on parole; and *Meyer* used this opportunity not only to obtain his liberty, but to prevail on the magistrates to declare for *Christian II.* and afterwards to seize on the citadel; both which succeeded to his wish.

IN the mean time the regency had engaged the duke of *Mecklenburg* in their interest, and sent him with a fleet to *Copenhagen*, in order to attempt the release of *Christian II.* (A) but a difference arising between him and the earl, about the command of the army, *Lubeck* derived but little advantage from this alliance. Not long after their army in *Fionia* was defeated and cut in pieces by *Rantzau*, a great number of soldiers and officers killed or taken prisoners, and among the latter archbishop *Troll*, who soon after died of his wounds.

FROM *Fionia* *Rantzau* passed into *Zealand*. Here he was joined by the king in person, and siege laid to *Copenhagen*. The sieges of *Malmoe* and *Landskron* were likewise vigorously pushed in *Schonen*, and *Wardenberg* wrested out of the enemy's hands by *Nadon Ulston*. Thus every thing conspired to ruin the designs of the *Lubeckers*, and firmly to establish the new king on the throne, who was now solemnly crowned at *Odensee* king of *Denmark* and *Norway*.

Interview
between
Christian
and *Gus-*
tavus.

DURING the siege of *Copenhagen*, *Christian*, contrary to the advice of his council, made a dangerous visit to *Gustavus* at *Stockholm*. His intention was to concert measures with that prince against the designs of the emperor, who, under the pretence of procuring the crown of *Denmark* for the elector *Frederic* Palatine, projected a scheme for reducing the three northern crowns under his own obedience. The *Danish* historians alledge, that *Gustavus* made certain demands, with which *Christian* could not comply; and that the manner in which the *Swedish* monarch received this denial, obliged *Christian* to retire with the utmost expedition out of *Sweden*. It is affirmed, that queen *Christina* gave him notice of certain plots contrived against him, and that *Gustavus* afterwards used this princess so ill, that she died of grief; but these are

(A) *Christian* was confined in the citadel which had not surrendered to the *Lubeck* fleet.

the wise insinuations of writers, who would appear knowing in the mysteries of state, by affecting an air of obscurity *. It is certain that these conjectures are diametrically opposite to the assertions of the *Swedish* historians, and indeed to the character of the heroic *Gustavus*. Whatever resentment *Gustavus* harboured, he entirely concealed it, and took every measure to perform his engagements, and establish *Christian* on the throne. Nay, to the *Swedish* troops may we in a great measure ascribe the reduction of *Copenhagen*, which together with *Landisroon* were surrendered the following year after a long siege.

Now it was that the emperor began to concern himself in the affairs of *Denmark*, and to push the interest of the elector-palatine. With this view he sent an ambassador to the duke of *Saxony* and landgrave of *Hesse*, declaring *Christian* III. an usurper, and pleading the right of the elector. This embassy had no effect; for these princes jointly replied, that his imperial majesty had no business with the affairs of *Denmark*; and that *Christian's* claim was undoubted, as the oldest son of king *Frederic*, solemnly called to the throne by the states of the kingdom. The emperor received another check from the pretensions of the earl of *Oldenburg*, who began to aspire at the crown; with which intention he sent a faithful emissary to the *Low-Countries* to sound the inclinations of the government, to demand succours to raise the siege of *Copenhagen*, and the widow of *Francis Sforza* duke of *Milan* in marriage. But he met with a repulse, the governante declaring in favour of the elector-palatine.

THE new king *Christian* was not ignorant of what was transacting at the emperor's court. Some letters of the governante's which he intercepted, gave him a more distinct idea of the intrigues carrying on against him, and of the elector's strength. One of these letters was addressed to the garrison of *Copenhagen*, exhorting them to be of good courage, as the elector would speedily raise the siege with a numerous fleet and army. It was now the whole scope of *Christian's* politics to frustrate all these machinations. In the first place he entered into a treaty with *Menard de Hour*, who had long commanded the forces of the duke of *Gueldres*, whereby that officer undertook to make a diversion in *Ems*, by attacking the emperor's troops in these quarters. This general, whose predominant passion was the love of fighting, immediately entered upon action, and made himself master of several places in that country, in the name of *Christian* III.

Various
operations
on both
sides.

WHILE *Menard* was employing the forces of the empire round *Groningen*, an interesting scene passed in *Norway*. *Christian* had sent deputies to the archbishop *Olaus*, to keep him and the states of *Norway* firm in their alliance and union with *Denmark*. Every thing appeared to succeed according to his wish, when an embassy arrived from the *Netherlands*, with magnificent presents to the prelate from the governante. The instructions of the *Flemish* ambassadors were to exhort the archbishop and states, in the emperor's name, to remain firm in the duty they had sworn to *Christian* II. when that prince was in *Norway*. The ambassadors promised that in this they should be powerfully supported by a fleet, which the elector-palatine would command in person, on their coast. Gained by their presents and promises, the treacherous prelate ordered the *Danish* deputies to be seized and put in irons. He strangled in prison the president *Vincent*, against whom he bore an antient grudge. He dispersed troops in the different quarters of the kingdom, to oblige the people to declare in favour of the emperor. He went still farther, and had himself crowned king, in the name of that prince. Most of the nobility were strongly attached to *Christian* III. but the dread of incurring the resentment of this powerful prelate, kept them silent and inactive. *Eric Gyldenstiern* alone had the courage to let the remaining *Danish* deputies at liberty, with whom he set sail for *Denmark*.

THIS sudden change in the affairs of *Norway*, and the rapid progress the elector-palatine was making to ascend the throne, obliged the regency of *Lubeck* first to think of peace. Their eyes were now opened, the expences of the war became grievous, and their fine ideal plan of empire vanished and mouldered in the dust of rigid enquiry. They solicited the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the cities *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Magdeburg*, and *Brunswick*, to interpose their mediation between them and *Christian* III. and to regulate the conditions of peace.

Peace be-
tween
Denmark
and Lu-
beck.

DEPUTIES from all these powers met at *Hamburg*, and ordained, that hostilities should immediately cease between *Denmark* and *Lubeck*, and that their antient friendship should be renewed; that the island of *Bornholm* should be ceded in surety to the regency of *Lubeck*, for the space of fifty years, and until the king paid them fifteen thousand ducats, on account of their obliging the earl of *Oldenburg* to evacuate *Denmark*. *Christian* acceded the more readily to these conditions, that he saw a new enemy rise up against him, the kingdom drained of money, and the people tired out with the long continuance of the war. One circumstance alone embarrased him;

him ; it was his having concluded this peace without consulting *Gustavus*, and even contrary to the treaty with him. In effect, *Gustavus* resented his conduct, and gave orders to his forces to evacuate *Denmark*. He likewise demanded the money he had lent *Christian*, or rather the provinces of *Wyck* and *Babus*.

THE *Danish* monarch was not ignorant of what consequence it was to live on terms of amity with *Gustavus*. He immediately sent an embassy to him to excuse his conduct, by assuring him, that the time allowed for concluding the treaty was too short to admit of consulting his inclinations ; and that he feared if he did not embrace the occasion, the city of *Lubeck* would join with the elector-palatine. In fact, it was no less the interest of *Gustavus* than of *Christian*, that the two nations should continue in friendship. He therefore prudently admitted the ambassador's apology, demanded a renewal of the league between the two kingdoms, and countermanded the return of his troops. Still, however, he refused to sign the peace with *Lubeck*, and his perseverance in this drove the regency to such despair, that they even conspired against his life, and hired ruffians, who undertook to poison, or blow him up with gunpowder, placed under his seat at church.

IT was in consequence of this peace, that *George Munter*, seeing no hopes of succours from the *Low Countries*, from *Lubeck*, or from the elector-palatine, and that his fellow subjects were tired out with the war, determined to throw himself upon the king's clemency, and do all in his power to forward his cause, and promote the tranquility and repose of the country ; *Malmoe*, of which he was governor, he surrendered before the operations of the besiegers had compelled him, and he set out for *Copenhagen* to endeavour to persuade the garrison and inhabitants to submit. By this means it was that these important places came into the king's hands, though, indeed, at *Copenhagen* the garrison was reduced to such straits, that dogs, cats, rats, and the most loathsome animals, were thought delicious food. Children, after sucking all the milk in the mother's breast, drank their own blood, and perished in the arms of their parents. The people became so feeble with hunger, that they dropt down dead in the street, were often found dead in their beds, and yet did they still persevere in their refusal to surrender, until *George Munter* came among them.

AFTER inexpressible miseries sustained, at last *Copenhagen* surrendered ; and duke *Albert*, and the earl of *Oldenburg*, were forced to throw themselves at the king's feet to obtain pardon. While the earl was in this supplicating posture, the king reproached him with having entered *Holstein* without any subject

subject of complaint, without any declaration of war, to plunder and lay waste like a robber. He accused him of having taken arms to support the unjust quarrel of *Lubeck*, and of being the occasion of all the bloodshed in *Denmark*; adding, that now was the time to gratify his vengeance, but that, in consideration of their affinity by blood, he pardoned him.

Christian
establishes
the reform-
ed religion.

A. D.
1537.

As soon as the new king found himself in possession of the capital, he laboured to execute a plan communicated to him by *Gustavus*, for reducing the temporal power of the bishops and clergy, who were the great sticklers against his election. He saw himself supported by the senate and nobility, who had placed the crown on his head; without fear therefore he attacked the clergy of highest dignity and influence. With this view he assembled a diet at *Odense*, and took the first steps towards deposing the bishops, and favouring the reformed religion. An order was issued for apprehending them all; and *Bilde*, bishop of *Arhus*, alone found means to escape. A few of them became martyrs to their religion, particularly the bishop of *Roskilde*, who suffered his family to be persecuted, himself to be deprived of his dignity and see, to be confined in prison, and even in irons, in which he died, without making the least recantation, or like the other bishops, accommodating himself to the king's humour.

THE diet passed a decree, whereby all the church-lands, towns, fortresses, and villages, were annexed to the crown, and the temporal power of the clergy for ever abolished. They even went so far as to incur the displeasure of *Luther* himself, who wrote the king a letter from *Germany*, exhorting him to use the clergy with more lenity; and though he disapproved the doctrine, yet to pay the due respect to the ministers of the ancient religion of the kingdom. He told him, that intirely abolishing the temporal power of the church was robbing the crown of one of the strongest pillars of its prerogative; and, indeed, *Christian* did not enough attend to the consequences of the exorbitant power now lodged in the hands of the nobility. The equipoise of government was destroyed with the power of the bishops; the four different orders of the people were all absorbed in the grandeur of the nobility, and even the royal prerogative dwindled to a dependence on their will.

In this situation stood the affairs of *Denmark*, when the king began seriously to prepare for the reduction of *Norway*, in consequence of a treaty concluded with the governante of the *Low Countries*. The archbishop *Olaus* having notice of his intention, and of the revolution in the church of *Denmark*, sent deputies to solicit his majesty's pardon, prom-
mising

missing to place the crown of *Norway* upon his head, and get him acknowledged by the states of the kingdom. But instead of receiving his deputation, *Christian* ordered his fleet to invade *Norway*, which obliged the archbishop to embark with all his jewels and effects for *Holland*. Immediately on his departure, the whole kingdom returned to the obedience of *Christian*, who was solemnly crowned king.

It could not be imagined, that a prince who had persecuted the bishops with so much severity, would leave the inferior clergy of the *Romish* religion unmolested. A confession of faith was drawn up, and presented to them, with the alternative either of signing it or quitting the kingdom. The latter was preferred by great numbers, who retired into *Germany* and the *Netherlands*: thus the reformed religion was completely established in *Denmark*, the power of the nobility raised to excess, on the ruins of the episcopal grandeur; the burghers and peasants reduced to a more servile state under their haughty lords, than they had ever known under the most despotic exertions of papistical tyranny; and the royal prerogative rendered merely titular, and a shadow which vanished at the will of the nobles. It is true, that *Christian* supported his crown with its antient lustre, but the nobility were not yet become sufficiently acquainted with their own power, which increased daily, until their pride at last effected a revolution, that turned the scale wholly in favour of the crown, and rendered *Denmark* as absolute a monarchy as any in *Europe*.

For the space of two years *Denmark* enjoyed a profound peace at home and abroad; an opportunity which *Christian* enjoys profusely improved to the good of his people, establishing such regulations as he thought would best promote their felicity. He was likewise endeavouring to confirm this repose by foreign alliances, and to terminate all his differences with neighbouring states, when, of a sudden, he saw his crown threatened with a storm equally violent and unexpected. The elector-palatine, having levied forces in *Lower Saxony*, marched in an hostile manner into the dutchy of *Holstein*, destroying all before him with fire and sword; but this expedition was but of short duration; the *Hamburgers* interposed, and obliged the elector to return with more precipitation than he had marched with into the country.

NOR was this all; *Gustavus* had this year presented *Christian* with a long bill of complaints, containing a variety of articles, to each of which he demanded an explicit answer. Among other articles, he accused *Christian* of debauching his soldiers and officers from their allegiance to him, and incorporating them with the troops of *Denmark*; a bad requital

A. D.
1539.

or

*Disputes
between
Denmark
and Swe-
den.*

of the many services he had done to him: In particular he alledged, that when the *Swedish* fleet arrived in the *Sound*, *Melchior Rantzow* had encouraged the desertion of his sailors, and manned the *Danish* fleet with those deserters; that *Christian* had refused to accommodate his fleet with provisions, agreeable to the treaty between the two crowns; that the *Danes* had seized upon *Meyer*, burgomaster of *Lubeck*, though in fact he was the prisoner of the *Swedish* general, together with a variety of other articles of less consequence, and which only shewed *Gustavus's* desire of coming to a rupture with *Denmark*.

To answer these complaints *Christian* sent ambassadors to *Calmar*, where the *Swedish* monarch at that time resided. They apologized in the best manner for their master's conduct, but referred the final regulation to plenipotentiaries, which were to meet the following year on the frontiers.

*Negotia-
tions be-
tween
Christian
and the
German
powers.*

WHILE the king was busied in preparing their instructions for the plenipotentiaries, the prefect of *Saltholm* was murdered, together with several of his domestics, at the instigation of bishop *Augmund*. On the first notice of this horrid act, the king issued orders to *Christopher Wulfeldt*, governor of *Drontheim*, to pass with two ships to the island, to take a fresh oath of allegiance from the inhabitants, seize upon the bishop, and place in his room a protestant minister. About the same time a letter came to his majesty from the landgrave of *Hesse*, seriously advising him to treat with the elector-palatine concerning the dowry of *Dorothea* his wife, as the best means of paving the way to an accommodation with the emperor. He offered likewise his mediation on this occasion; but *Christian* answered, that as he had ambassadors in *Ghent*, he would square his conduct by the accounts he should receive from them. A negotiation in the end was set on foot; but after much altercation, the breach seemed rather wider than before; and both the emperor and governante declared to the *German* princes, that they had made overtures the most reasonable, which *Christian* rejected, while the *Danish* monarch on the other side made similar complaints and protestations.

NOR were the differences between *Denmark* and *Sweden* more easily terminated. Their mutual interests kept them united; yet did they live in a state of perpetual enmity and defiance. *Gustavus*, unsatisfied with the acquisition of a kingdom dismembered, thought of nothing but re-uniting it; while *Christian*, on his side, could not altogether forget his claim to the crown of *Sweden*. Frequent congresses were held; but they all concluded in nothing more than fixing the sum due to *Gustavus* by the *Danish* monarch, and the time of payment.

payment. As the *Swedish* monarch thought himself hardly used in the reduction of this sum far below his expectation, he made new claims, which frustrated the effects of all former agreements, prolonged the negotiations, and at last occasioned their breaking up without establishing a coalition, or even tolerably reconciling the parties to each other. At last the two princes had an interview, which terminated happily in a peace for five years, during which time they were to decide all their disputes, except what regarded the island of *Gothland*. It was believed that this affair required more time, as the case was intricate, and many documents to be examined on both sides, in support of their several claims. It would indeed have been extremely impolitic in the northern princes, at a time when the emperor was lying in wait for such an advantage, in order to seize upon the crowns of the three kingdoms, as it evidently appeared was his design. *Christian II.* had made it an article in the marriage-contract with the emperor's sister, that his crown should devolve upon *Charles*, should he die without issue male, and his supporting the elector-palatine was nothing more than a previous step to further declarations. The ambition of *Charles V.* grew up with his power: he schemed universal monarchy, and *Gustavus* and *Christian* had every thing to fear from his abilities. This it was that kept them united, and obliged them to look round for other alliances, the more securely to fortify themselves against all attacks on the side of *Germany*. Accordingly a treaty was struck up with *Francis I.* King of *France*, whom they looked upon as the most convenient ally, on account of his courage, his animosity to *Charles*, and the powerful diversions which his situation enabled him to make in their favour. In this treaty of alliance, *Christian* promised to deny the passage of the *Sound* to all the enemies of *France* (A).

Peace concluded between Denmark and Sweden.

Treaty between Denmark and France. A. D. 1542.

NOTWITHSTANDING *Christian* found himself strengthened by these alliances, he continued his negotiations for a peace with the prince's-governante of the *Netherlands*, and the *Hamburghers* used their utmost endeavours to conciliate them; but the prince's demanding the free passage of the *Sound* for the *Hollanders*, the conference was broke off, and all the ships and merchandize of the *Hamburghers* seized in the ports of the *Netherlands*, under pretence of that city's being subject to *Holstein*, and consequently to *Denmark*. This action was therefore looked upon as just reprisals for the ravages com-

The governante of the Low Countries declares war on Denmark.

(A) The treaty of alliance between *France* and the northern crowns, was concluded in the year 1542.

mitted by general *Menard* round *Groningen*. Immediately after an edict was published, whereby all the subjects of the *Netherlands* were permitted to cruise upon the *Danes*. The sea was covered with privateers, who exercised the utmost cruelty on the prisoners they made. *Christian* repelled these attacks, by giving the same licence to his subjects; and thus a sort of piratical war was carried on, without any open declaration of a rupture between the princess-governante and his *Danish* majesty.

IN the mean time an insurrection appeared in the province of *Smalandia*, which obliged *Gustavus* to have recourse to *Denmark* for assistance against the rebels. *Christian* readily sent him a sum of money, and a body of infantry commanded by *Eric Banner* and *Holger Rosencrantz*, by means of whose valour *Gustavus* quashed the rebellion more easily than he expected. It was discovered, by intercepted letters, that the elector-palatine, the bishop of *Scara*, and the other exiles, had fomented this rebellion. Many strangers, charged with letters, were seized in *Norway*, on their way to *Sweden*, and all of them sent by the king's order to *Gustavus*. *Christian* did more: he ordered his governors to keep strict watch at all the ports, and sent squadrons to cruise along the coasts to prevent being surprised. Nor was all this done merely on account of *Gustavus*: many of the intercepted letters intimated designs on *Denmark*, which gave the first intimation of the league between the northern crowns and the protestant princes of *Germany*.

As the war, which now happened between the emperor and the northern crowns, relates chiefly to *Sweden*, we shall not here enter upon the particulars of it. Almost all the attempts of the elector *Palatine* were made on that side: the emperor's edicts were published against *Gustavus* in particular, and *Denmark* had little share in these transactions, otherwise than as the ally of the *Swedish* monarch, interested also to preserve the ballance of power, and prevent the house of *Austria* from growing too potent. Towards the close of the year 1543, *Christian* indeed published a manifesto, declaring, that he had repeatedly sought to terminate his differences with the emperor amicably, but without being able to obtain equitable terms: that he had been for several years kept in a state of irksome suspense, whether he was to expect peace or war, whether he was to enjoy the friendship of the house of *Austria*, or to prepare for the defence of his crown and kingdom against their ambitious designs: that his intention in seizing on the *Flemish* ships in the *Sound*, was to draw the court

War between the emperor and northern crowns.

Christian's manifesto.

of *Brussels* to an open declaration either of peace or war; but as this measure had not the desired effect, he would now exert the means given him by Providence to secure his people, and obtain his own just demands. Immediately after the publication of this manifesto, he sent a squadron of forty ships to sea, on board which he embarked ten thousand land-forces. This formidable armament was destined against the *Netherlands*; but it was dispersed in a storm, that frustrated the whole project (A).

AFTER this we read of no preparations against the *Flemings*, nor any hostilities committed between them and *Denmark*. On the contrary, a general peace was restored this year to *Denmark* by a treaty struck up with the court of *Brussels*, whereby the *Flemings* were permitted the passage of the *Sound*, and freely to navigate the *Baltick*. Soon after this another treaty of peace was signed at *Spire*, between the emperor, on the one hand, and *Christian* on the other, whereby each renounced all alliances contrary to the interest of the other.

CHRISTIAN, finding himself now in the quiet possession of his crown, in peace with all foreign powers, in alliance with his neighbours, and in viceroy of the hearts of his subjects, all in consequence of his own courage, perseverance, and prudence, turned his attention to domestic affairs. He began with dismembering his dominions, in order to provide for his brothers. With the princes *John* and *Adolphus* he shared *Holstein*, leaving it to some future occasion to make provision for *Frederick*. It was contrary to an act, passed on *Frederick's* accession, ever to separate *Sleswick* or *Holstein* from the crown. The many inconveniences, the wars, and bloodshed, consequent on the investiture of *Sleswick* by *Olaus*, had determined the diet to this act. All the world was astonished at this dismemberment: the states exclaimed against a measure so contrary to law, and so pernicious in effect; but *Christian's* tender regard for his brothers overbalanced every motive of policy. He persuaded himself, that he had sufficiently adhered to the above act by explaining away its meaning, and substituting a perpetual union of government between the duchies and the crown; that they should be separate in particular rights and privileges, but combined by the strongest and most indissoluble ties of amity, interest, and friendship.

(A) The *Danish* writers allege, that this fleet caused considerable uneasiness to *Henry VIII. of England*. Before it failed, he sent an envoy to *Christian*, demanding, whether that force was intended to assist the *French* king, with whom he was at war; but he could obtain no other answer, than that *Christian* had no quarrel with the king of *England*.

We shall have occasion to speak more particularly of this union, confirmed and explained in a treaty between *Christian IV.* and *Frederick* duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, in the year 1623: sufficient it is to observe in this place, that though the measure was in itself inconsistent with sound policy, yet was it attended with no bad consequence for a long time, as the union remained inviolate for the space of one hundred and fifty years.

Christian II. renounces all claim to the crown of Denmark.

A. D.
1546.

NOTHING material occurs in the history of this country before the year 1546, when *Christian II.* renounced, in the most solemn manner, all right and claim to the crowns of *Denmark* and *Norway*, excluding likewise his heirs and successors from all pretensions to the succession. He acknowledged the elections of *Frederick* and *Christian III.* to be legal: he ceded all claim to the dutchies of *Sleswick*, *Holstein*, and *Stormar*, together with the privilege obtained from the emperor of rendering it unnecessary to receive the investiture of *Holstein* at the hands of the archbishop of *Lubeck*. Finally, he solemnly promised never to act secretly or openly to the prejudice of *Christian*, or the duke of *Holstein*; never to go out of the fortrefs of *Callenburg*, but with the king's consent; or hold conversation with any stranger, but in presence of the governor of the citadel. He was allowed the privilege of hunting and fishing within the jurisdiction of *Callenburg*, and a handsome appointment was settled upon him, and certain other privileges, in consequence of the treaty concluded with the emperor at *Spire*.

EVERY thing succeeded to *Christian's* wish; and he was now one of the happiest and most prosperous princes in *Europe*, without any thing of consequence to disturb him either at home or abroad, unless we except an act passed in *Sweden*, out of the great regard the people had for *Gustavus*. This was an act whereby the crown was made hereditary in favour not only of the lineal, but of the collateral descendants of *Gustavus*; an act that wholly destroyed the very being of the union of *Calmar*, and for ever excluded *Christian* and the family of *Oldenburg*. The *Danish* monarch, finding there was no remedy, determined however to make some public declaration of his right. Accordingly he ordered money to be coined bearing three crowns, which are the arms of *Sweden*, thereby intimating his right to the throne of that kingdom. *Gustavus* immediately complained of this affront; but he could obtain no redress from a prince who could not forget his pretensions, and whose heart was elated with the success that had ever attended all his enterprizes. He therefore chose rather to stifle his resentment than enter upon a war, the

of which was at best uncertain, and might be destructive to himself and his posterity.

THIS year duke *Frederick*, eldest son of *Christian*, was crowned king of *Denmark* and *Norway*, the succession being settled by a decree of the diet in his person. At the same diet warm disputes arose, whether their ancient privileges of trading to *Denmark* should be continued to the *Vandal* cities. Many persons were for excluding these cities, on account of the part they took in the late war against *Denmark*; while others as strenuously insisted, that this was punishing themselves, in order to be revenged on their enemies, as the subjects of *Denmark* must grow poorer in proportion to the diminution and decrease of their commerce. At last the question was carried in the affirmative, and these cities were confirmed in all the privileges they ever enjoyed.

A. D.
1547.

THE remainder of *Christian's* reign affords no transactions that can make any figure in history. *Denmark* enjoyed the most profound repose, the happy fruits of that love of peace and justice which constituted the shining part of *Christian's* character. It is true, he was intrepid, valiant, and fond of glory; yet his regard for the good of his subjects made him suppress every dictate of ambition, and even refuse any addition to his dominions, which he said were extensive enough for any prince who would reign conscientiously. An instance of this happened, in refusing the offer made by the magistrates of *Revel* of putting the city into his hands. As it is difficult, therefore, to state, in a point of view tolerably entertaining or useful, a series of negotiations, all tending to preserve peace and harmony in his kingdom, we shall close the reign of this most exemplary prince with observing, that he was equally the father of all his subjects and of his own family; a glorious eulogy acquired, after a reign of twenty-four years. He died on the first of *January*, 1558, and was bewailed by his people as their common father, friend, and benefactor ^a.

Conclusion
of *Christian's*
reign.
His death
and *character.*

^a Vid. auct. citat. ibid.

S E C T. XV.

The History of Denmark continued, during the Reigns of Frederick II. and Christian IV.

F R E D E R I C K II.

Frederick II.

FREDERICK II. the son and successor of *Christian III.* was of a disposition very similar to his father, whom he imitated also in his conduct. The first years of both reigns passed amidst the din of war. Both fought with great courage and military ability; but, laying down their arms, they greatly exalted the character of the warrior by adding that of able statesmen, who knew how to render their people powerful and happy.

He conquers the Dithmarsians.

Soon after his accession, *Frederick* took up arms against the *Dithmarsians*, who had grown insolent after the defeat of king *John*, and refused all obedience to the Kings of Denmark, or the dukes of *Holslein*. But the chief occasion of the war was the following. Duke *Adolphus*, who resided for some years at the court of *Charles V.* was one day rallied at table about the defeat one of his ancestors had received from a handful of peasants. The reproach touched him so sensibly, that he resolved, on his return, to make war on the *Dithmarsians*, and to revenge at any price the indignity put on his predecessors. This design he was just ready to execute, when the late king, from his natural love of peace, put a stop to his operations.

No sooner was *Christian* removed by death, than *Adolphus* resumed his design. He communicated his plan to count *Daniel Rantzau*, and bestowed commissions on the principal officers he thought of employing. But his proceedings could not be kept so secret as not to be soon known at the court of *Copenhagen*, where they gave umbrage. Immediately *Adolphus* proposed an interview with the young king at *Nattenp*, to confer on matters of the highest importance; and the king came to the place appointed at the head of five hundred horse, accompanied by his uncle prince *John*. Here *Adolphus* laid before them his whole project; and it was determined among the three princes, that each should bear his proportion of the expence, and furnish a certain number of troops; and that the king should, besides, order a fleet to block the enemy up on the side of the river *Elbe*.

HAVING concerted the plan of operations, they separated, in order to prepare for the execution; and all things being got

in readiness, the whole army was reviewed at *Hahemuesiede*, and marched from thence directly into the enemy's country. *Crantz*, in his account of this war, takes notice of a declaration which the princes drew up and published, three days before they entered *Dithmarsch*. It set forth, that as the *Dithmarsians* were not only obstinate in refusing obedience to their lawful sovereigns, but waronly cruel in punishing their subjects, the king and dukes, no longer able to tolerate such excesses, had at length resolved to take arms, and reduce the rebels to their duty. With this view therefore they declared war, according to the military laws; and desired they would either prepare to defend themselves, or submit to what should be demanded of them^a.

THE herald pitched on to carry this declaration to the enemy, for a long time refused to take charge of the commission, as he knew the violence and fury of that people; but he happened to be a criminal, already condemned to death, who chose running the hazard, rather than undergoing the punishment of the law, which they threatened to inflict, if he disobeyed. Fixing the declaration, with the royal and ducal seals, on a white staff, he entered the town of *Heida*, where the forty-eight magistrates happened to be that day engaged in business. He presented the declaration to one of them, whose face was known to him. As soon as it was perceived to be a declaration of war, rage and madness seized the breasts of the people: they insisted on the immediate death of the herald; but the magistrates, who had some remains of the feelings of humanity, saved his life by concealing him, until the first ebullitions of passion were subsided. They returned a letter to the king, couched indeed in terms full of respect, but denying his sovereignty. They affirmed, that they were subject to the archbishop of *Bremen* for upwards of four hundred years: they expressed their astonishment at the warlike preparations, and the declaration of war against them, without having first formally remonstrated, and demanded satisfaction in a manner contrary to equity, and their right signed and sealed by a great number of his majesty's ancestors and predecessors; even in direct violation of the Golden Bull itself. They concluded their letter with blaming his majesty for not citing them before a tribunal of justice, at which they should ever be ready to appear; and with a very pathetic prayer, that God would turn his majesty's heart from the bloody resolution he had taken of exterminating them, their wives, children, and widows, to the more godlike virtue of being a

^a CRANTZ. Bell. Dith. t. ii. p. 14.

peace-maker; a virtue which gained his royal fire the noblest of appellations, that of father of his country.

A. D. NOTWITHSTANDING these remonstrances, the army con-
1559. tinued its march, attacked the city *Meldorp*, and carried it by assault, after a vigorous resistance. Next the confederates proceeded to *Heida*, where a bloody and decisive battle was fought. Duke *Adolphus*, who was wounded, returned three times to the charge: the last dispute was particularly sharp and obstinate; but fortune at length declared against the brave *Dithmarsians*, who were broke and cut in pieces. Such however of them as escaped out of the field, rallied in the fens and marshes; but could never again make head against the conquerors. They had therefore recourse to supplications, and sent deputies to the *Danish* camp, who obtained a truce; during which all the magistrates of the country were to repair to the head-quarters, to receive such conditions of peace as the king should think fit to impose. These were, that the *Dithmarsians* should do homage to the kings of *Denmark* and dukes of *Holstein*, and henceforward acknowledge them their sovereigns; that they should restore all the standards and trophies taken from king *John*, and his brother *Fredrick* duke of *Holstein*; that they reimbursed the king and duke in the expences of the war, which amounted to six hundred thousand ducats; that the princes should have liberty to build three forts in any part of the country they pleased; that all the forts lately erected by the *Dithmarsians* be razed; with a number of other conditions, hard indeed upon the vanquished, but moderate with respect to the conquerors. These terms were delivered in writing to the magistrates, his majesty thinking it unnecessary to wait for their answer, as the day appointed for his coronation was approaching. The care of concluding the peace he left to *John Rantzau*, in whose prudence and fidelity he was sensible he might confide.

It may be worth while to dwell a little upon the ceremonies of servitude through which this brave nation were obliged to pass. *Rantzau* gave them no longer than three days to put in their answer to the conditions proposed by the king; and they returned within the time, presenting an intire submission, provided a few particular articles were softened, and rendered more tolerable to a free people, who had never before stooped their necks to submission. *Rantzau* complied with their request; after which the deputies, in the name of their whole nation, signed the peace, and acknowledged the king of *Denmark* and duke of *Holstein*, their heirs and successors, the true and lawful sovereigns of *Dithmarsch*; the

princes, on their side, promising to govern them with equity, and defend them as their subjects against all their enemies.

THE twentieth of June was the day appointed for performing the ceremony of homage. On this occasion the whole nation, without distinction of age, assembled in the morning in the neighbourhood of *Hida*. They surrendered their cannon and small arms, which were carried to *Meldorp*; they asked pardon for their rebellion in presence of the duke of *Holstein* and the Danish lords, charged with powers from his majesty; and they took an oath of obedience to the three princes. The order of that ceremony was as follows: the princes, *Rantzau*, and the counsellors of the king and dukes, were placed in the middle of the assembly; around them were the brave *Dithmarsians* on their knees, their heads uncovered, and the whole surrounded by a circle of armed men, which threw them into great consternation (A). Next they presented the hostages required in security of their good behaviour, upon which they were dismissed, and the Danish army evacuated the country. Thus the warlike *Dithmarsians*, who for so many ages had intrepidly defended their liberties against all the attacks of their neighbours, were at last reduced under the obedience of the dukes of *Holstein* in less than a month.

This year ambassadors arrived at *Copenhagen* from the *Swedish* king, demanding a passport for their master through the Danish dominions to *England*, where he proposed to marry queen *Elizabeth*. This demand was granted; but *Frederick* between refused to hear their complaints with respect to his bearing the *Swedish* arms, and other particulars, which, at the interview between *Frederick III.* and *Gustavus*, were put off for the space of time. They did not insist upon their demands, which were only the prelude to more open declarations, but should give *Frederick* a suspicion of the designs of the *Swedish* cabinet. The more effectually to deceive him, a perpetual truce was signed between the two crowns in the following year, upon the fresh remonstrances made about *Frederick's* bearing the *Swedish* arms gave room for suspi-

A. D.
1561.

mark and
Sweden.

^a Vid. i. c. 20.

^b DES ROCHES, t. v. p. 87.

(A) One of their priests, looking on the ground, said, in *Latin*, to his neighbour, "I see we are to be made the sacrifice of our own simplicity and Danish perfidy." "No," says

Rantzau, who overheard him, "you are to be instances of the king's clemency, who never breaks the parole he has given (1)."

(1) *Grantz. l. ii.*

cion that this treaty would be but of short duration. It fell out so; for scarce were the *Swedish* ambassadors gone before an embassy arrived from *Russia* and *Poland*, requiring his Majesty to enter into a league with them against *Eric* king of *Sweden*.

ERIC was at this time proclaiming the peace between him and *Denmark*. On advice, however, of the embassies arrived at *Copenhagen*, he dispatched a faithful envoy to the czar of *Muscovy*, offering to form an alliance with him against *Poland*; but the project miscarried. He wanted to break the confederacy which he saw forming against him; and was greatly surprised to find that *Frederick* had declined giving any answer to the propositions made by the courts of *Moscow* and *Cracow*, until he had first sounded his intentions by one of his council. *Frederick* had indeed sent *Causitz Ulfeld* to *Stockholm* with this view, and likewise to remove any suspicions which *Eric* might entertain respecting the embassies. *Ulfeld* conducted himself like a true politician: he assured *Eric* of his master's inviolable regard to the late treaty between them; and insinuated himself so artfully into the confidence of the *Swedish* monarch, that all his doubts vanished, and he reposed so much in *Frederick's* promises, that he demanded a safe convoy through his dominions for ambassadors he proposed sending into *Germany*.

Frederick arrests the Swedish ambassadors.

THE intention of this embassy excited the jealousy of *Frederick*, and he accordingly ordered the *Swedish* ministers to be seized, and all their papers examined; which might be looked upon as the first direct signal of war, amidst all the friendly professions of the two kings. Both sides immediately prepared for war, and the first hostilities commenced about the beginning of the year 1563. The provinces of *Halland* and *Blöking*, but especially the isle of *Gothland*, *Frederick's* pretensions to the *Swedish* crown, and the money lent by *Gustavus* to *Christian III.* were the real causes of this war, though various other pretexts were used by both sides. A rivalry in commerce and power, and some advantages which *Frederick* had gained in *Finland*, during the late invasion of that province by the *Muscovites*, all contributed in effecting a rupture^a.

He forms an alliance with Lubeck.

THE city of *Lubeck* did not fail of embracing this occasion of revenging themselves on *Sweden*, for the many restrictions laid on their trade. They sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen*, concluded a treaty with the king, and joined his fleet with a squadron. Soon after this the fleets of the two kingdoms met,

^a PUFFEND. l. v. p. 123. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 104.

and entered upon a sharp engagement; in which the Danes were worsted, and their admiral *Jacob Blokkenhuysen* made prisoner. The Swedish admiral had the princess of *Hesse* on board; and would have declined engaging, had he not been in a manner compelled to it by the Dane, who soon received the just reward of his temerity (A).

NOTWITHSTANDING the first designs were branced in the Swedish cabinet, and the advantage gained lately by *Eric's* fleet; yet was he deterred from the war by the vast preparations he saw in *Denmark*, and the formidable alliance concluded between *Frederick*, the czar, and king of *Poland*, not to mention the city of *Lubeck*, and several of the hanse-towns. No sooner had the prince of *Hesse* and elector of *Saxony* offered their mediation, than he dispatched *John Gyllenstiern* and his secretary *Knulsen* to *Copenhagen*, to complain of the attack made on his fleet in time of full peace, to protest against this infraction of the late treaty, to offer an exchange of prisoners, and endeavour to terminate all the differences between the two nations in an amicable manner. But little satisfaction was to be expected from *Frederick*, who had now in pay an army of thirty-eight thousand infantry, a considerable body of horse, and a strong fleet, besides the *Lubeck* Squadron. The ambassadors returned without obtaining any redress, or even any answer to their remonstrances; and they were soon followed by a herald, whom *Frederick* had sent to declare war at *Stockholm* against *Eric*. It would be difficult to decide who was the aggressor. *Eric's* ambitious designs first excited *Frederick's* jealousy, and made him arrest his ambassadors, contrary to the faith of the safe-conduct granted them. The Danish admiral next attacked the Swedish fleet, and was defeated, before any declaration of war. *Eric* then desired to terminate their disputes amicably; but the Danish monarch was now too deeply engaged to admit of any decision, that made by the sword. Such was the beginning of a war that continued for the space of nine years.

FREDERICK took the field, and encamped before *Elfsburg*, the garrison of which he endeavoured to gain over by

(A) We have here copied the Danish historians, though *Puffendorf* expressly says, that the fleet returned from *Germany* without the princess, the landgrave declining the marriage to a more seasonable occasion. The

same writer says, that the landgrave offered his mediation to establish peace between the crowns of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and was accepted in quality of mediator (1).

(1) *Puffend. Hist. tom. v. p. 152.*

Frederick
takes Ells-
burgh.

A. D.
1564.
Congress
appointed;
but Eric
now de-
clines
peace.

His fleet
defeated.

presents and promises ; but meeting with no success, he left troops to besiege it, and entered with the main body into *West Gothland*, where he committed terrible ravages ; while his fleet was subjecting the poor inhabitants of *Oeland* to all the horrors of war. He did every thing in his power to draw *Eric* on to a battle ; but that prince contented himself with encamping advantageously, and harrassing the *Danish* army with his detachments. As soon as the town of *Elfsburg* surrendered, *Frederick* placed a good garrison in it, and finished his operations for the campaign, the severity of the approaching winter obliging him to put his troops in quarters.

THE winter was employed in negotiations for a peace, set on foot by the prince of *Hesse* and elector of *Saxony*. A congress was appointed, at which ambassadors from almost all the German princes and northern powers attended ; but it came to nothing, as no commissioners on the part of *Sweden* appeared. *Eric*, in his turn, had no inclination to peace. His army was now equal if not superior to *Frederick's*, his fleet was formidable, and he resolved to try the issue of another campaign. He soon had reason to repent this resolution : his admiral was met, defeated, and above half his fleet destroyed by the *Danes* and *Lubeckers*. *Eric* endeavored to revenge this disgrace by a descent which he made on *Norway*, where he took *Drontheim*, and the citadel of *Stavnsfickholm*. The *Swedish* writers say it was only a detachment from *Eric's* army that entered *Norway* ; and this is the more probable from the facility with which the viceroy drove them out, on receiving a small reinforcement from *Denmark*.

FREDERICK sent deputies to the hanse-towns, requiring of them not to supply *Sweden* with military stores ; but he received no other answer than that, as he had begun a war without any apparent necessity, the hanse-cities were certainly at liberty to profit by it. The king was irritated at this reply : he knew that *Sweden*, deprived of this commerce, must soon sink under the weight of a war that required such fleets and armies. He resolved therefore to compel *Stralsund* in particular, from whence *Eric* drew the greater part of all his stores, to submit to his purposes. With this view he gave orders for a squadron to cruise, for the whole year, within sight of that city. The project succeeded, until *Eric*, having notice of this station, ordered a squadron of forty-eight ships of war to fall upon the *Danes*, unprepared. The action was hot and bloody ; and the *Danish* admiral behaved so well, that, though greatly inferior in number and strength of ships, he brought off his whole squadron with inconsiderable loss, maintaining a running fight, and bearing the brunt of the battle with his own

own ship, until all the others were out of danger. He took shelter in *Gripshuld*, whither the *Swedish* admiral would have pursued him; but the duke of *Pomerania*, who was perfectly neutral, prevented him, disarmed the *Danish* ships, and kept possession of them until the end of the war.

FOR a little time the *Swedish* admiral scoured the sea with impunity, and took several prizes in sight of *Copenhagen*, before the *Danish* grand fleet was ready to put to sea. At last masters at the *Lubeck* admiral having joined it, both set sail in quest of the enemy, whom they met between *Wismar* and *Rostock*. Here an engagement begun, which continued with the utmost bloody fury for three days, both sides seeming determined to perish engaged or conquer. Incredible acts of valour are related of the *Lubeck* and *Danish* admirals by their historians; and *Swedish* writers are no less liberal in their praises of their own countrymen. On the one side they assert, that the *Danish* admiral was taken on the third day of the battle, after having lost above five hundred men of the crew of his own ship; and on the other, it is not denied but he withdrew from the engagement. Certain indeed it is, that the *Swedes* remained masters at sea for the remainder of the year, and made a descent on the island *Mona*, from whence they carried off great booty (A).

WHILE the fleets were thus employed on the ocean, the two kings at the head of their armies overflowed the land with blood, and waged a most cruel war. Towns were sacked, burnt, and the inhabitants put to the sword; whole provinces were laid desolate, and every sentiment of humanity lost amidst the horrid tumult of ambition and war. *Eric* invaded *Schonen* and *Bleking*, where he committed dreadful ravages; and *Frederick* retaliated by carrying all before him, like a whirlwind, in *Smalandia*. The *Swedes* laid siege to *Elfsburg*, and the *Danes* obliged them to raise it: upon which *Eric* vented his rage against *Wardeburg*, and, after giving the first assault, retired to *West Gothland* to wait the event of the siege, which he left to be carried on by his generals; a resolution that greatly hurt his reputation, and gave his subjects room to call his courage in question. Duke *Charles* then con-

(A) *Puffendorff*, in relating the transactions of this year, takes notice of two sea-fights, in one of which the *Danish* admiral was defeated, and in the other taken. All other historians mention only one engagement, and indeed it must be

owned the accounts are so various and opposite, that it is difficult, at this distance of time, to ascertain the truth; especially as *Puffendorff*, as well as other historians, has been very negligent with respect to dates.

ducted the siege with such vigour, that, after an obstinate dispute in breach for five hours, the town and citadel surrendered; upon which the army marched off to join the king.

Eric's army
defeated.

A. D.

1565.

ON their retreat the *Danes* laid siege to the place, with intention to become masters of it before the fortifications were repaired. This drew on a battle between the two armies, at which *Eric* commanded in person. He had marched to the relief of *Wardeburg*, and *Daniel Rantzaw*, having advice of his approach, marched out of his lines to give him battle. His majesty confiding in numbers, quitted an advantageous post which he possessed, charged the *Danes* in a narrow path, where he could not extend his flanks, and was defeated with the loss of seven thousand men, together with all his artillery; a victory that cost the *Danes* exceedingly dear, and left them little to boast, except the glory of having kept the field. Besides a great number of private men and officers, no less than fifty noblemen of distinction were slain, and scarce a great family in *Denmark* but mourned for the loss of a son, husband, brother, or near relation.

THE war became so bloody, that most of the neighbouring powers offered their good offices to accommodate matters, and even the emperor wrote to the kings, exhorting them to put an end to their quarrel, which would soon bring ruin on both kingdoms, if pursued with such animosity. All remonstrances on this head were vain; neither prince had yet satiated their ambition or resentment, and it was determined by both to prosecute the war for another campaign, which might possibly produce something decisive. They did so; but the success was doubtful. *Denmark* was rudely handled by sea, and *Sweden* defeated by land; but the loss of the former was owing to a furious tempest, and of the latter to an epidemical disorder in the army, which had greatly weakened it. The two fleets engaged on the coast of *Oeland*; but were separated by a storm that drove the *Danish* admiral, and seven of the largest ships on the rocks, with the loss of nine thousand men (A); whereas the enemy escaped and got safe into port, all except one ship which foundered at sea.

A. D.
1566.
The Danish fleet
suffers in
a storm.

NOTWITHSTANDING the contagious distemper that reigned in the *Swedish* army, *Eric* laid siege to *Helmstadt*, and effected a breach in the wall; upon which the garrison demanded a parley, and obtained a suspension of arms for

(A) From this and a number of other circumstances, we may conclude, that the *Danes* either built their ships very large, or

crowded them with men. In one place we read of a ship that mounted two hundred pieces of cannon.

three days, to deliberate on the conditions of surrender. The garrison made use of this delay to acquaint the *Danish* general of their situation, who immediately marched to give battle to *Eric*, and obliged him to raise the siege rather than hazard an engagement with superior forces.

ERIC's credulity was also the occasion of another considerable advantage to *Denmark*. One *Ennon Brurack* arrived at his camp, and passed for a person of the first distinction in *Norway*. He persuaded the king that the *Norwegians*, tired of the *Danish* yoke, had determined to revolt, and sent him to treat with his majesty about the crown of that kingdom. *Eric* gave an attentive ear to the *Norwegian*'s soothing discourse, and determined to support the people by a powerful diversion in favour of their insurrection. Accordingly he ordered a large body of troops to file off and march for *Norway*, through unfrequented paths, in order to avoid giving the alarm, or falling in with the *Danish* forces. This march was perhaps one of the most arduous that had ever been attempted, through thick forests and craggy steep mountains, without any other guide than the lights of the firmament. At length however the corps arrived in the country of *Hedemarch*, took the fortrefs of *Hannershuse*, continued their route; and laid siege to *Aggerhus*; but were forced to remain idle before the walls for want of artillery. When their cannon arrived they began to batter in breach; but it was then too late; the *Danish* forces were assembled, and on their march so secretly and expeditiously, that they attacked the besiegers quite unprepared, drove them from their works, slew a great number, and obliged the rest to save themselves in the forest. In this manner ended the expedition into *Norway*, and the military operations of the year, which upon the whole seemed to terminate rather to the advantage of king *Frederick*, as he experienced no other losses than those which his admiral sustained in combating the elements.

THIS year a dispute arose between the king and the dukes of *Holslein*, about the dutchy of *Sleswick*, that eternal bone of contention when dismembered from the crown. His majesty insisted that the dukes were in all respects his vassals; and they on the contrary affirmed, that *Sleswick* was given them as a free and hereditary dutchy. Many conferences were held on the subject; but nothing was decided before the year 1580, when it was agreed that his majesty should, within the space of a year and day, invest *Adolphus*, the surviving brother, with the dutchy of *Sleswick* as an hereditary fief, and that he should in return take an oath of allegiance, and do homage as a true vassal.

A. D.
1567.
Dispute
about
Sleswick,

WHILE

WHILE Sweden was torn with domestic factions, a Danish army, commanded by *Danul Rantzaw*, entered the province of *Smalandia*, and laid all waste with fire and sword. After laying the whole desolate, he passed by *Helweden* to *West-Gothland*, where he reduced the town of *Wadstena* to ashes. *Lindköping*, *Sunderköping*, and many other cities suffered the same fate before the Swedish army could be drawn together in one body. At length however *Eric* committed the charge of his army to *Peter Brabe* and *Hegenschild Bielke*, with orders to oppose the farther progress of the enemy. They marched accordingly to *Norby*, and incamped in a post covered on three sides by the river, and on the fourth by marshes and woody ground. The strength of this situation lulled them into a fatal security; they were surprised at day-break by the vigilant *Rantzaw*, who attacked them with incredible fury, and obtained a most complete victory, with very little loss on his own side. The Danes got prodigious booty, a great number of prisoners, and all the cannon and stores of the enemy; after which *Rantzaw* proposed returning to *Denmark*: but king *Eric* in person determined to oppose him with a considerable army under his command, marching with that view to *Ebefs*, through which the Danes were to pass. By a forced march however *Rantzaw* got before him, defeated *Bielke* a second time, who lay in ambush in *Filshult*, to revenge his defeat at *Norby*, took him prisoner, together with *Steen Banner*, another officer of distinction. *Rantzaw* then marched along the coasts over the sea, and at last arrived in *Denmark*, loaded with spoils and covered with glory.

Swedes
defeated.
A. D.
1568.

THE civil wars breaking out again in Sweden, prevented the return of the Danish army in the spring. Duke *John*, and the king's other brothers, who were at the head of the rebellion, dispatched an envoy to *Copenhagen*, to demand a truce for six months, on terms so advantageous to *Frederick*, that he consented. So strenuously had the malcontents exerted themselves during this respite, that they deposed *Eric*, placed his brother *John* on the throne, and sent ambassadors to *Denmark* to procure a prolongation of the truce, or if possible to conclude a solid peace. Accordingly terms were signed at *Roschild*, as advantageous to *Frederick* as they were burthenome and oppressive to *Sweden*. Among other articles it was stipulated, that *John* should pay the Danish troops for the whole time of the truce; that he should restore all the Danish ships made prize during the course of the war; that he should surrender *Femmland*, *Oesel*, *Sonneberg*, *Lealia*, *Hapsal*, *Lode*, and *Warberg*, and cede all claim to *Norway*, the isle of *Gotland*, *Schonen*, *Haliand*, and *Blekinge*. ~~He~~ likewise

Peace with
Sweden.

likewise agreed, that *Frederick* should be suffered to quarter the arms of *Denmark*; and that *John* should pay to the city of *Lubeck* the old debt due from *Gustavus*, and indemnify the regency in their losses in the course of the war.

It was not possible that a peace so injurious to *Sweden* could be of long duration. It was immediately pretended there, that the ambassadors had exceeded their instructions; for that reason they were ill received at their return, and the whole nation determined rather to prosecute the war, than ratify so oppressive a treaty. *John* made fresh overtures, and *Frederick* refused all new propositions. Accordingly the war was renewed, with more animosity than ever. *War-renewed.*
deberg was besieged by the *Danes*, and stoutly defended by the garrison, but at length forced to surrender, after the brave *Kantzarow* had lost his life before it. The *Swedes* invaded *Schonen*, and the *Danes* retaliated by carrying desolation and all the horrors of war into *West-Gothland*. However, as these expeditions produced nothing decisive, and were equally ruinous to both nations, *Frederick* consented to the negotiation proposed, and the means of establishing peace on a solid and lasting foundation. 1569.

WHILE the treaty of peace was in agitation, *Livonia*, always the theatre of war, determined to throw off its allegiance to the *Muscovites*, *Polcs*, and *Swedes*, all of whom had claims upon this province. The design of the inhabitants was to put themselves under the protection of the duke of *Holstein*, who should take the title of king of *Livonia*. They had always expressed great affection for the *Germans*, and now promised themselves a golden age, under a sovereign of that country. The notion was perfectly agreeable to the duke's ambition; his nephew the king of *Denmark* not only confirmed him in these sentiments, but sent an ambassador to the czar to treat seriously of the affair. The embassy succeeded, *Magnus* duke of *Holstein* visited the court of *Moscow*, was received there with all the honours due to majesty, acknowledged king of *Livonia*, on condition that he paid a certain tribute to the czar; and it was farther agreed, that it should remain hereditary in the male line of his family, or in failure of issue, devolve on the duke of *Holstein* or king of *Denmark* for the time being, and never revert to the czar. Immediately the *Muscovites* and *Danes* joined to drive the *Swedes* out of the country; and the former immediately laid siege to *Revel*. This it was that induced *John* to hasten the peace with *Denmark*. He saw himself pressed on the one side by the czar, and on the other by *Frederick*. He sent instructions therefore to his ambassadors immediately to sign a treaty

Peace with Sweden. obtain. The chief articles agreed to by both sides were, that *John* should resign all pretensions to *Norway, Schonen, Halland, Bleking, Femsland, and Hermedalen*; that the *Danes* should restore *Elfsburg* on the one hand, and the *Suedes* eight ships which they had taken, on the other; that his *Swedish* majesty should pay to *Frederick* the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns, to indemnify him in the expences of a standing army kept during the truce concluded with him, while he was only duke; and that the affairs of *Livonia*, and his *Danish* majesty's bearing the arms of *Sweden*, should be deferred to a future occasion. Their majesties, to render this peace the more durable, subjected the party who should infringe it, to a penalty of a million of gold.

A. D. 1572. *FREDERICK* did not content himself with having procured an advantageous and solid peace to his subjects; he laboured to insure their happiness by establishing the succession. With this view he married the princess *Sophia*, daughter of *Ulric* duke of *Mecklenburg*. The ceremony of his nuptials was performed at *Copenhagen*; besides which nothing considerable occurred for this or the preceding year, except the death of *Dorothea*, widow of *Christian III.* and the great dispute between the duke of *Holstein* and town of *Hamburg*, which does not immediately fall in with this part of our history, though the *Danish* monarch bore a considerable share in that business. We cannot however avoid taking notice of a quarrel between the duke of *Mecklenburg* and city of *Hamburg*, which obliged *Frederick* to equip a fleet, that blocked up *Roslock* by sea, while the duke's forces besieged it by land; and likewise to seize upon all the merchantmen. But this affair was soon terminated, and *Livonia* remained alone the only cause why *Frederick* did not enjoy profound peace.

A. D. 1575. *FREDERICK* kept a lieutenant in *Livonia*, and the czar an army, who committed horrible cruelties. Differences arose between the generals; the king remonstrated, and the czar excused himself, without redressing the complaints. Matters were at last carried pretty high; but his *Danish* majesty chose rather to terminate the dispute by negotiations, than enter upon a war with this rude and potent nation,

FROM this time to the year 1582, nothing memorable occurred, unless we reckon a solemn embassy from *England*, with the order of the Garter sent by queen *Elizabeth* to his *Danish* majesty, a transaction worth recording. It was the year following that several commercial powers began to complain of the duties exacted in the *Sound*. The *English, Dutch,*

Dutch, Lubeckers, and all the hanse-towns, remonstrated against this exaction, as arbitrary and a discouragement to trade. The hanse-towns carried their grievances before the emperor; and the king, to shew that he did not acknowledge the imperial authority, ordered the duties on all their ships to be doubled; a punishment which, however, was but of short duration. On their submission he revoked those last instructions, and put the *Lubeck* traders on the same footing as other nations. Policy led him to this condescension; for he had formed a design of reducing *Rostock*; and the fear lest the *Lubeckers* might interpose, determined him upon keeping measures with them.

Warrel
between
Frederick
and the
commercial
states.

THIS year the dutchy of *Courland* reverted to the crown of *Denmark*, by the death of *Magnus*, duke of *Holslein*, without issue. It occasioned disputes between the king of *Poland* and his *Danish* majesty, which both consented to leave to the arbitration of *George-Frederick*, duke of *Prussia*. This politic prince turned the negotiation to his own advantage. He proposed, that the dutchy in dispute should remain in his hands; that his *Danish* majesty would rest satisfied with the sum of thirty thousand *Joachim*s, paid to him as an equivalent; and that his *Polish* majesty should acquiesce in the dutchies being left in trust with the duke of *Prussia*. He succeeded in all, and in this manner became possessed of a province which fairly belonged to the crown of *Denmark*; the only instance perhaps where *Frederick* was over-reached in politics. This year it was that a treaty of marriage was set on foot between the young king of *Scotland*, *James VI.* and a princess of *Denmark*, which was frustrated for a long time by the intrigues of queen *Elizabeth*, as we shall see in its proper place. Several other ambassies on various occasions arrived at *Copenhagen*, which shew nothing more than that his *Danish* majesty began to interest himself more in the politics of *Europe*, than his predecessors had done. *Frederick* had indeed, for several years, preserved his kingdom in peace, rendered his commerce flourishing, and his counsels respectable. In the year 1558 he was attacked by a distemper, which daily encreased, and at last carried him off in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign.

A. D.
1588.

His death
and cha-
racter.

FREDERICK was a prince, respected at least as much as any of his predecessors. To an undaunted courage, deep penetration, and great stability of sentiment, he joined a magnificence that cast a lustre on all his actions; nor was he less remarkably distinguished for the qualities of the heart. His great tenderness and affection for his subjects gained their love, and his abilities secured their esteem. He always ex-
pressed

pressed the utmost regard to justice, and even directed his conduct by the dictates of equity. He avoided war merely to free his country from the consequent troubles; and because his ability in the cabinet procured all the advantages he could expect from the sword. In a word, his public and private character equally merit admiration, and to be transmitted as an example to posterity, how much the conduct of an individual can influence the counsels, not only of one nation but of all the neighbouring powers, secure the felicity of kingdoms, and bestow the blessings of peace and tranquillity upon millions, whose well-being depends upon the wisdom of their governors ⁴.

CHRISTIAN IV.

Christian IV. IMMEDIATELY after the interment of *Frederic*, his son, then but eleven years of age, was proclaimed king, and king of *Denmark and Norway*, and four regents appointed to a regency and hold the reins of authority during his minority. As the kingdom had for several years enjoyed profound peace, the regency was in no danger of being now disturbed with the noise and tumults of war; and it greatly increased their security, that the domestic factions in *Sweden* prevented that nation from resuming the affair of *Livonia*, and other subjects which had long been the occasion of differences between the two crowns.

His promising qualities. FOR several years the chief care of the regency was to attend to the education of the young monarch, whose promising qualities every day unfolded themselves to the great joy of his subjects. Masters were procured in all the different accomplishments of mind and body, from *Germany, France, England*, and the politest courts in *Europe*. *Christian* more than answered expectation; he not only was able to answer all the ambassadors in their several languages, but to write out instructions with his own hand to his ministers, at an age when other princes receive praise for writing a common letter of compliment. He was perfectly skilled in all the manly exercises, and took great delight in exhibiting his adroitness to the people. In a word, when he arrived at a proper age to take upon him the weight of government, he perfectly understood the true interest of his subjects, and directed all his views to promote this end. Nor did he confine his politics wholly to the good of *Denmark*; he extended them to dis-

⁴ Vid. CHYTRÆI Chron. Passim. PUFFEND. Hist. l. i. p. 2. Des Roch. t. v. sub vit. FRED. LOC. Hist. sub hoc Reg. cum multis aliis.

tant countries, and laboured assiduously to establish the peace of Europe, in order to stop the rapid progress of the *Turks*. In the year 1596 he married *Anna-Catharina*, daughter to the elector of *Brandenburg*, which is the only occurrence in the *Danish* annals that merits notice, until about the year 1608, when a coldness, under the exterior of esteem and friendship, begun to discover itself between the monarchs of *Denmark* and *Sweden*.

CHRISTIAN could not forget that his ancestors had formerly worn the crown of *Sweden*, and *Charles IV.* beheld with uneasiness so many fair provinces, which he looked upon as fiefs of his crown, in the hands of the king of *Denmark*. This mutual jealousy occasioned reciprocal complaints and upbraidings, which at last terminated in a war; for which both parties were prepared with specious pretexts. *Charles* had assumed the title of king of *Lapland*, which gave great offence to *Frederick*, who looked upon it as a dependence on *Norway*. In all his declarations against *Sweden*, this was mentioned as a principal grievance, and used as one of the strongest reasons for the war that ensued in the year 1611, and begun by the siege of *Calmar*. His *Danish* majesty sat down with a powerful army before this city in the month of *May*, attacked it with great vigour, and was received with equal courage. Batteries of heavy cannon were erected and played with so much success, that a breach was effected on the twenty-seventh, upon which the town was stormed, taken, and the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, put to the sword.

THE city was no sooner taken than *Christian* invested the citadel, which he besieged for two months, during which time a variety of transactions passed between the two nations. His *Danish* majesty had left the command of the army to *Lucas Crabbe*, and was gone to *Copenhagen* but a few days before *Charles*, with an army of sixteen thousand men, encamped at a little distance from *Calmar*, offered battle, fought and defeated the *Danish* general, and raised the siege. His success here was soon followed by the surprisal of *Christianstadt*; the loss of which town gave a sensible uneasiness to the *Danish* monarch.

CHRISTIAN soon retrieved his losses, by several little advantages by sea and land gained over the enemy, which so enspirited his army, that the siege of the citadel of *Calmar* was resumed, and the garrison forced to surrender. It was supposed indeed, that the *Swedish* governor was corrupted, as he wanted neither men, ammunition, nor provision, when the ca-

A. D.
1609.

War between
Denmark
and Sweden.

A. D.
1611.

Christian takes the
city Calmar, and
lays siege to
the citadel.

The Danes
defeated.

King of
Sweden
challenges
Christian
to single
combat.

pitulation was signed. *Borkholm*, and the isle of *Oeland*, yielded soon after to the *Danish* arms; and so many other advantages followed, that *Charles*, incensed at the reiterated disgraces he had sustained, sent a challenge to *Christian* in terms the most opprobrious he could devise, which the *Danish* king declined with an air of contempt, that is supposed to have shortened the days of his *Swedish* majesty, by encreasing a malady, with which he had for some time been afflicted^a.

Gustavus
Adolphus
comes to
the crown
of Sweden,
and effects
a change in
the face of
affairs.

ON the accession of the great *Gustavus Adolphus* to the throne of *Sweden*, fortune would seem to have forsaken *Christian*. There appeared an immediate change in the face of affairs; the *Danes* were chased out of *Oeland* and *Borkholm*, of *Sweden*, and their army reduced to such straits, that the soldiers disbanded themselves, and left their officers to oppose the enemy.

Peace
with Swe-
den.

A. D.
1613.

HAPPILY for *Christian* the *Swedish* king was greatly embarrassed with the *Muscovites*, which prevented his giving his whole attention to the war with *Denmark*. He made use of this favourable opportunity, retrieved in some measure the honour of his arms, and, after several little advantages, was enabled to conclude a peace upon equal terms, through the mediation of the king of *England*, about the year 1613. By this peace he restored the city of *Calmar*, the isle of *Oeland*, and fortrefs of *Risby*, but retained *Elfsburg*, until his *Swedish* majesty should redeem it, by paying a million of crowns stipulated in the treaty.

DURING the late war the duties of the *Sound* were greatly augmented, and the *Dutch* and hanse-towns waited with impatience for a peace, which they were in hopes would reduce them to the old standard. Finding however their expectations disappointed, they remonstrated earnestly to the court of *Denmark*; and the *Lubeckers*, in particular, carried their complaints before the emperor. Finding that his imperial majesty declined interfering, they struck up a league with the *Hollanders*, in defence of the freedom of navigation, which produced a treaty of alliance between the courts of *Copenhagen* and *Madrid*. Upon this remonstrances grew warmer, and every thing was tending to an open rupture, when *Frederick*, to avoid the consequences of a war with a republic now grown formidable, consented to lessen the duties, out of the great friendship and respect which he bore to the states of *Holland*, as the treaty expressed it.

A. D.
1614.

FOR some time *Denmark* enjoyed perfect tranquility, and *Christian* gave such attention and encouragement to trade, that the commerce carried on by his subjects began to excite

^a PUFFEND. l. i.

the jealousy of neighbouring powers. *Gustavus* entertained fears, that prosperity and wealth would excite *Christian* to fresh enterprizes against *Sweden*, while he was encumbered by a war with *Russia*. To prevent a rupture, which could not fail of proving inconvenient at this time, he assiduously cultivated the friendship of the *Danish* monarch, and even proceeded so far in his advances, as to demand an interview, which was granted, on the frontiers^b.

At this meeting the two monarchs expressed the utmost esteem for each other; and as a testimony of his regard, *Gustavus* paid the money stipulated by the last treaty, and *Christian* restored *Elfsburg*.

No ambitious sentiments, no jealousy or resentment against any neighbouring power, destroyed the peace of *Denmark* for a series of years. Under a wise monarch, who knew how to profit by the opportunity, she enjoyed all the felicity that peace and good government could give. At length, however, the affairs of the empire began to mix with the counsels of his *Danish* majesty, and he soon found himself plunged into an alliance that was productive of great misery to his dominions. At the town of *Sieberg*, in the year 1621, a treaty of alliance was concluded between their *Britannic*, *Danish*, and *Swedish* majesties; the electors *Palatine* and *Brandenburg*; the dukes of *Holstein*, *Lunenbourg*, *Brunswic*, *Mecklenbourg*, and *Pomerania*; the states-general of *Holland*, and all the Protestant princes in *Lower Saxony*. The object of this league is variously related; though the most probable opinion is, that it was intended to succour the elector-palatine, to furnish him with twenty thousand foot and six thousand horse, to drive *Spinola* out of his dominions. It is added, that his *Danish* majesty was chagged by the league with sending a magnificent embassy to *Vienna*, to beseech the emperor to revoke the imperial ban, fulminated against the elector-palatine, and to restore that prince to all his honours and dignities, as the only means of re-establishing the peace of the empire. To the same purpose he wrote a letter to *Spinola*, expecting him to withdraw his forces out of the *Palatinat*.

NEAR two years were consumed in negotiations in favour of this unhappy prince. When *Christian*, perceiving that nothing was to be expected from embassies, determined to use force, and restore the elector by dint of arms (A). He was

A. D.
1623.
chosen

^b PUFFEND. l. i. p. 2.

(A) THE year it was that the new city of *Fredericksstadt* upon the *Eyder*, was peopled by the fugitive *Armenians* from the *Netherlands*.
Mod. Hist. Vol. XXXII. H h

*He is chosen
head of the
Protestant
league.*

chosen head of the league, and captain-general of the forces of Lower Saxony, where troops were levied with all possible expedition. Count Tilly, the imperial general, wrote to the princes and states of the lower circle, exhorting them to remain firm in their obedience to the emperor; and his Danish majesty answered this letter, and other remonstrances from the imperial court, by a writing addressed to the emperor, declaring his reasons for taking arms. The banks of the *Weser* became the theatre of war, and the rendezvous of four great armies. It would be unnecessary to relate the operations of the campaign, as that has already been minutely done in the history of the empire. Sufficient it is, that the king received a wound in the head by a fall from his horse; that he distinguished his military abilities in his choice of a camp, which covered *Neenburg*, then besieged by Tilly, greatly distressed the besiegers, and plentifully supplied his own army, and the garrison, with all manner of provisions. Tilly was forced to raise the siege; the king sent detachments to harass his rear; but the count being joined by *Wallenstein*, turned the scales, cut off all the out-parties of the army of the league, and particularly that commanded by the brave colonel *Obernstrand*, who was killed.

A. D.
1625.
*His military
operations in
Germany.*

A. D.
1626.

DURING the last campaign no general engagement happened between the two armies, and the winter was spent in fruitless negotiations of peace. Early in the spring his majesty assembled his army at *Rottenburg*: it was numerous, and made a fine appearance, but unhappily composed of new raised recruits, with which he was to oppose two veteran armies, commanded by four of the best and most experienced officers in the world. It was therefore wisely determined not to hazard a battle, but to divide the enemy's force, and carry the war into the heart of their country. A variety of manœuvres were made by both sides. *Mansfeld* was defeated by the imperial general *Wallenstein*, and the king at length drawn into an engagement with count Tilly, in which he was equally unfortunate. His infantry was cut in pieces, above half his officers were killed and wounded, two thousand men taken prisoners in *Lutter*, and the king forced to make a retreat,

*Christian
defeated by
Tilly.*

Siberlands, at the invitation of the duke of *Holstein*. The kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, seeing the happy consequences of drawing a number of industrious foreigners into their dominions,

granted the same privileges at *Gluckstadt* in *Denmark*, and *Godsstadt* in *Sweden*, both which places soon became rich and flourishing.

the most assiduous that is recorded in history, with his cavalry.

NOTWITHSTANDING the great loss he sustained in this retreat, it afflicted him less than the news he received of count Mansfeld's death, whom he regarded as the right hand of the Protestant cause. From this time his affairs began to fall into disorder; nor could his utmost diligence, and the exertion of his great abilities, retrieve them. Driven out of all the places he possessed in *Lower Saxony*, he was pursued into the duchy of *Holstein*, now become the theatre of war. Tilly was no less successful here than he had been in *Saxony*; and his conquests were more rapid, as he was now joined by *Wallenstein*, before whom every thing yielded. The *Danes* were driven from all their posts and fortresses, and of the whole duchy there remained only in the king's hands the towns of *Rendsburg* and *Glücksstadt*; to the latter of which he was forced to set fire, after having thrown all the cannon into the sea. *Rendsburg* met with the same fate; and the Imperialists had now nothing to oppose their passage into *Jutland*.

CHRISTIAN, incensed and ashamed of such manifold disgraces, collected his whole force with a resolution to dispute the farther progress of the enemy; but he was deserted by his men, who were terrified with the very name of Tilly. In this situation the senate began to apprehend a revolution in the kingdom, from the general murmurings of the people. Assembling at *Copenhagen*, they wrote to the emperor, exhorting him to put an end to the war, and using all the arguments in their power to prevail on him to withdraw Tilly from *Denmark*, where he was making terrible ravages. They demanded, as the least favour they could expect from his imperial majesty from the antient regard and friendship between the house of *Austria* and the states of *Denmark*, that he would grant a suspension of arms in *Jutland*, in order to negotiate a general peace. Finally, they engaged to prevail on his *Danish* majesty to accept of reasonable terms, and requested, that the emperor would send commissioners to any place he would please to appoint, to treat with the king's plenipotentiaries about the means of establishing the public repose, and terminating those differences which occasioned the spilling of so much human blood.

In the situation in which matters then stood, no great success was expected from this advance made by the senate. His majesty therefore made vigorous preparations for war, and renewed the treaties of alliance with *England*, *Sweden*, and the

A. D.
1627.

king

gr.

He is dis-
seated a se-
cond time.

A. D.
1628.
Christian
gains some
advan-
tages.

states-general of the United Provinces. Having received considerable reinforcements from his allies, he fitted out a fleet, put to sea, reduced the isle of *Femeren*, taking the imperial garrison prisoners, part of whom were cruelly murdered by the peasants of *Stormar*, obliged *Eckelenfort* to surrender, and gained some other advantages, which were counterbalanced by an equal number of towns reduced by the enemy. Colonel *Morgan*, and the *English* garrison in *Stadt*, were taken prisoners by the Imperialists, who next laid siege to *Gluckstadt* and *Krempe*, the former having been repaired after the late fire. Here the garrisons defended themselves with such unparalleled bravery, that the Imperialists were forced by the frequent sallies of the besieged to abandon their posts, and raise the siege. Both armies were now divided into a variety of corps, and the king himself carried on the war in *Pomerania*, where, after possessing himself of the isle of *Ujedom*, and city of *Wolgast*, he raised works round the latter, in which he was attacked by the Imperialists, and defeated, after a bloody engagement that lasted seven hours. In consequence *Wolgast* and *Ujedom* fell into the enemy's hands; the siege of *Gluckstadt* was resumed by *Papenheim*, *Stralsund* blocked up by another body of the enemy's troops, and the Imperialists were superior in every country where the war was carried on.

Proposals
for peace.

Tired out with a tedious and consuming war, both sides at length became eager for peace; and the first propositions were made by the four Catholic electors. They sent deputies to the imperial court, requesting his majesty to send commissioners to *Lubeck*, to meet those of his *Danish* majesty, and the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. The emperor complied; but the terms he granted seemed so exorbitant and unreasonable to the *Danish* ministers, that they threatened to break off the negotiation, if conditions more equitable could not be obtained. This spirit in the *Danish* envoys had the desired effect; fresh instructions were sent to the imperial commissioners, and a peace was concluded on these conditions; that his majesty should never interfere in the affairs of *Denmark*, otherwise than as superior of *Hjle*; that himself and successors should renounce all claim on the archbishoprics and bishoprics of the empire; that all cities, towns, and forts, taken from his *Danish* majesty during the course of the war, together with the cannon, &c. should be restored; that the prisoners should be mutually released without ransom; and finally, that his *Danish* majesty should cede to the houses of *Sleswick* and *Holslein-Gottorp*, the isle of *Femeren*, and those parts of the islands of *Ward* and *Sulde*, which fell to them by hereditary right, re-

Peace con-
cluded.

serving

-serving to himself the right of superior, as inherent in the crown of Denmark^a.

THESE conditions the king refused to ratify; they were returned for amendment; and after receiving some slight alteration, were signed on the seventh of May, 1629. Peace was in this manner concluded; but the public tranquillity was by no means restored. *Christian* interceded with the emperor in behalf of the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, he remonstrated strongly in their favour, and published a spirited manifesto, justifying the conduct of these princes with respect to the affairs of *Lower Saxony*; but he could obtain no conditions for them, unless he stipulated not to molest the duke of *Holstein*, against whom he bore a mortal grudge, on account of his taking part with the Imperialists in the late war. His resentment went so far as to engage him to commence hostilities in *Holstein*, instead of withdrawing his army from that country, as the emperor had done. The flames of war were ready again to break out, when his majesty perceiving the discontent that prevailed among his subjects, dropt the quarrel, and applied his attention to repairing the disorders occasioned by the war in his dominions. He began with re-establishing the city *Gluckstadt*, which had greatly suffered by the variety of fortune sustained in the course of the war, and was in a manner depopulated by the length of the last siege. With this view he bestowed upon it a great number of important privileges, and imposed duties on all the ships that passed the *Elbe*, to establish a fund for its aggrandisement.

A. D.
1629.

THIS occasioned a difference with the city of *Hamburg*, who apprehended a prejudice to her commerce from these duties, however moderate. The magistrates sent ambassadors to *Denmark*, complaining that their ships were arrested at *Gluckstadt*, for not paying a new duty, which could not be imposed without the emperor's consent. Their remonstrances were answered, both sides grew warm, and hostilities insensibly commenced. The cities of *Lubeck* and *Bremen* interposed their mediation, but could not obtain an accommodation; his majesty was determined not to remit the duty; and the city of *Hamburg* was no less resolute in the refusal to pay it. At length war was formally declared, and all the shipping belonging to *Hamburg* seized in the ports of *Denmark* and *Norway*. The *Hamburgers* retaliated by taking some Danish ships at sea; each refused to make restitution, and thus the repeated endeavours of the regency of *Lubeck*, to accommodate matters, were baffled.

A. D.
1630.
Difference
with the
city of
Hamburg.

^a THUAN. Hist. l. viii. PUFFEND. Rer. Suec. Hist. l. i. Lettres de SECKEND. p. 29.

*Hostilities
continued
at Ham-
burg.*

IN the mean time his *Danish* majesty gave orders to his fleet, consisting of thirty-six ships of war, to enter the *Elbe*. The *Hamburgers* opposed the entrance of the *Danish* admiral, with twenty-two men of war, six fireships, and twenty smaller vessels, on board which were two thousand land-forces. For some days the fleets anchored in sight of each other, then they drew nearer, and began a furious cannonading. *Christian* at last joined his fleet, and resolving to push up to the city of *Hamburg*, he proceeded to erect a fort on the banks of the river, with intention to facilitate his operations, and distress the city. This produced an engagement, which terminated to the king's advantage, the enemy being forced to retire higher up the river.

*Jealousies
renewed
between
Sweden
and Den-
mark.*

Soon after this *Christian* was prevented from prosecuting his resentment against *Hamburg*, on account of a jealousy between him and the court of *Sweden*, which ended in a war. The *Hamburg* war was entirely dropt, from the time that the princes of *Lower Saxony* met in that city, to deliberate on the means of throwing off the imperial yoke, and taking part with king *Gustavus*, whose rapid conquests pointed him out as the surest protector. *Christian* could not behold, without envy, the aggrandisement of this prince; and was particularly jealous at seeing him raised to the honour of being set at the head of the Protestant league, over which he himself presided in the last war. However, an exterior of friendship was preserved; the two kings expressed the utmost esteem for each other, but in terms of cold civility, that denoted but little sincerity in their professions. The sparks of mutual jealousy were artfully blown up by the courts of *Vienna* and *Breslaw*, who desired nothing more eagerly than a rupture between the northern crowns. *Denmark* they knew was capable of making a powerful diversion, and drawing off the attention of *Gustavus* from the war in the empire. *Pappenheim* was employed to kindle the fire of sedition; and he very artfully managed the temper of his *Danish* majesty. Finding that he could not long keep his ground in the diocese of *Bremen*, he offered to put it into *Christian's* hands. The states of *Denmark* met to deliberate on these propositions; all the nobility were for rejecting *Pappenheim's* offer, they saw through his meaning, and sent an embassy to *Sweden*, to renew the friendship between the two crowns.

A. D.
1632.

IN this manner was the rupture between the northern crowns postponed, only to light up the subsequent war with more fur. The astonishing success of *Gustavus's* conquests in *Germany*, induced *Christian* to offer his mediation to terminate the differences between his imperial majesty and the king

of Sweden his proposal was embraced with pleasure by the court of Vienna, who were at that very time apprised by *Walstein*, that the Swedish camp was inaccessible, the king's forces formidable, his conduct admirable, and no probability of forcing him. However, *Christian's* mediation ended in nothing. The court of Vienna was not yet sufficiently humbled, to grant such terms as the great soul of *Gustavus* could receive. His Danish majesty it was thought, shewed a sort of bias to the court of Vienna, that gave umbrage to the Swedish monarch; but it was the death of the archbishop of Bremen, that first produced any thing like an open rupture between the two crowns. *Frederick*, son to the king of Denmark, and coadjutor of the late archbishop, intended to seize this opportunity of gaining possession of *Stade*, *Bucklade*, and other places held by the Swedes. It was not the business of Sweden to embroil herself at that time with a neighbouring power; still, however, the regency held out a good countenance, and kept their ground until the defeat of the elector of Saxony, the duke of Lunenburg, and the imperial army ruined the project of driving the Swedes out of Germany, and obliged *Frederic* to drop his design.

Christian offers his mediation to restore peace to Germany.

ANOTHER scheme still more difficult of execution was formed by *Christian*, which was the more immediate occasion of a rupture with Sweden. He had conjointly with Spain and the duke of Holstein, planned a scheme for ruining the Dutch commerce, and at the same time conquering Sweden; a scheme so vast and romantic, that it is astonishing it should ever have entered the brain of a prince so solid and judicious as *Christian*. He was to begin with Sweden, which, once subdued, it would be no difficult matter to destroy the Dutch traffic in the Baltick. One *Brokman*, a German, who had resided long in Spain, had likewise given in a project for ruining the trade of the United Provinces to the Levant, by opening an immediate intercourse with Persia, by means of the rivers falling into the Baltick, and avoiding the circuit of the Sound, by cutting a canal through that neck of land belonging to Holstein, which separates the Baltick from the ocean. The duke of Holstein was full of the notion, and actually sent an embassy to the court of Persia. The czar was applied to for liberty to pass through his country, and ten tons of gold offered him, as an inducement; the canal was actually set about; the Germans laughed at the extravagance of the notion, and the chancellor *Oxenstiern*, in Sweden, said no more than that the duke, who was a prudent prince, must certainly have some designs extremely mysterious.

A. D.
1637.

A vast and chimerical project formed by Christian.

Christian's
project de-
feated.

CHRISTIAN, under various pretences, assembled an army in order to perform his part of the contract. He likewise got a fleet ready to put to sea on the first notice, but took the utmost care not to excite suspicions in the neighbouring powers. Spain embarked a great number of troops, who were to pass the *Sound*, and join the Danes before *Stockholm*; but unhappily the whole scheme was frustrated by the defeat of his Catholic majesty's fleet in the *British* channel, by *Tromp* the Dutch admiral.

Irruption
of the
Swedish
forces into
Denmark
and their
rapid con-
quests.

IN this manner things remained until the year 1641, when deputies from *Vicenna*, *Madrid*, *Sweden*, and *Denmark*, met at *Ofnabrug* to establish a general peace, which was all at once broke off, by the sudden irruption of the Swedish forces into *Denmark*. General *Torsten*son had passed from *Lower Saxony* to *Holstein*, where he took *Kiel*, *Ransburg*, and the fortrefs of *Rantzau*, three places of great importance. Several other towns shared the same fate; and he even obliged the duke to join him, and deliver into his hands his young son, to be sent as an hostage to the queen, his mistress. All the world was astonished at this procedure, which some thought rash, and all believed highly unjust, as the designs of *Christian* were not then universally known.

A.D.
1644.

THE grand marshal of *Jutland* opposed the Swedish arms by remonstrances; but finding them ineffectual, he begun to make levies, and to secure the frontier by forts, which he threw up in a hurry. These were but weak barriers against *Torsten*son, who demolished the forts, entered *Jutland*, levied heavy contributions, and made himself master of the whole country, except *Gluckstadt* and *Krempe*. In this manner were hostilities committed, and a bloody war carried on, without either side attempting to vindicate their conduct by open declarations. At last however the court of *Sweden* thought proper to publish a manifesto, and gave as a reason for her conduct, the clandestine treaty concluded some years before between *Spain*, *Denmark*, and the house of *Holstein*; the duties laid on their shipping in the *Sound*, contrary to the antient treaties between the kingdoms; with a variety of other reasons, which princes never are at a loss how to justify any act of violence.

THE Danish historians alledge that, far from effacing, this manifesto rather increased the public opinion of her Swedish majesty's injustice, especially when her sophisms were compared with the solid and fair arguments of his Danish majesty. Even the Swedish historians give up this last irruption as un-

* CHYTRÆI Chion. ibid. PUFFEND. ubi supra.

justifiable, which we must own appears to us extraordinary, as there were not wanting reasons sufficient to vindicate it. It was plain from the whole of *Christian's* conduct before and after the death of the great *Gustavus*, that he entertained prejudices against the court of *Sweden*, offered his mediation to terminate the differences in *Germany*, but shewed a partiality for the house of *Austria*, made preparations to invade *Sweden* during the confusion consequent on the death of *Adolphus*; and the first years of the minority of *Christina*; with a great many other provocations, which, though at some little distance of time, were demonstrative proofs of his inclinations, and in our opinion a full justification of the proceeding of *Oxenstiern* and the *Swedish* general *Torstenfon*. It is certain, that *Christian* beheld with a jealous eye the footing the *Swedes* got in *Pomerania*, which proved of the utmost service in extending their commerce; and it was no less certain, that he offered his mediation with a view of obliging them to relinquish all they possessed in *Germany*, for a sum of money. Upon the whole, instead of reproaching with acrimony this proceeding of the *Swedish* ministry, as all former historians have done, we cannot help esteeming it a masterly stroke of just reprisal, planned with astonishing secrecy, and executed with admirable rapidity.

ON the other hand, we cannot but do justice to the vigilance, activity, and address of *Christian*, in putting a stop to the farther progress of the enemy. Already in possession of *Fuland* and *Holstein*, count *Horn* was preparing to invade *Fionia* and *Zealand*; but was prevented by the condition into which the king put all his fortresses. The viceroy of *Sweden* had orders to march with six thousand men into *Westrogoth*; but he was prevented from making this diversion, which would probably have obliged *Horn* to evacuate *Schonen*, into which province he lately made an irruption. His majesty sent detachments to harraßs the *Swedish* army in *Fuland*, equipped a fleet, which took some of the richest *Swedish* merchantmen, complained by ambassadors sent to the states of the United Provinces, of the violence committed by *Sweden*, and demanded succours, but could obtain none.

TO complete the measure of his grief, his natural son count *Valdemar*, for whom he entertained a very particular affection, was detained in *Russia*, whither he had been sent to espouse the czar's daughter. No reason was given for this violent measure, besides his refusal to conform to the religion established in that country: but however affected *Christian* might be with the ruin of his dominions, and imprisonment of his son, he was not disconcerted. On the contrary

Count Valdemar arrested in Russia.

Contrary, he summoned up all his resolution on this occasion, and determined to combat ill fortune by perseverance, diligence, and courage. In spite of his grey hairs, he determined to command in person an expedition he meditated against *Sweden*, which he knew would oblige the *Swedes* to evacuate his dominions for the defence of their own. Setting sail he arrived before *Gottenburg*, with a view to besiege it by sea, while a body of forces he had ordered to meet him invested it by land.

Count
Horn re-
lieves and
raises the
siege of
Gotten-
burg.

HORN no sooner had intelligence of this expedition, than he marched with the utmost diligence for the protection of *Gottenburg*, frustrated the king's design of reducing the city, but did not defeat the rest of his project, that of drawing a part of the *Swedish* army out of his dominions. The count's army would indeed have been insufficient to save *Gottenburg*, had not a fleet of thirty *Dutch* ships appeared off the harbour to assist him. This squadron the *Swedes* obtained from private persons in *Holland*, the states refusing to declare against *Denmark*, though it is probable they connived at these succours. *Christian* was by this means baffled in his attempt on *Gottenburg*; but he had the good fortune to frustrate the enemy's designs on *Fionia*. Leaving the greater part of his fleet before *Gottenburg*, he set sail for *Copenhagen*, in order to solicit assistance from the emperor, with which he doubted not he should be able to drive the enemy out of *Jutland*. Immediately he sent an envoy to *Vienna*, and engaged to come to no agreement with *Sweden*, provided his imperial majesty would send him the promised succours. He added, that he could not avoid entertaining some suspicions of his imperial majesty's sincerity, as these succours had been so long withheld. The embassy had all the effect desired, the emperor ordered the count *Galas* to hasten his march, and took effectual measures for assisting *Denmark*.

France
offers her
mediation.

It was now that the court of *France* sent the sieur de la *Thauillerie* to *Copenhagen*, with instructions to reconcile the two northern crowns, if possible. The states-general likewise offered their mediation. Both ambassadors had an audience; but the king deferred giving an answer, until he had first engaged the *Swedish* fleet. *Nicholas Fleming*, the enemy's admiral, was sailed for *Christian* to consult with *Torsten* on their future operations. *Christian* the king followed him with a squadron of forty-four ships of war, a *Swedish* fleet in sight at the time when *Fleming* was busy in landing his troops. It was certainly an omission that he did not attack him in this situation, while the fleet was in confusion; but *Christian* resolved to take no advantage, suffered him quietly to re-embark.

the forces, and did not give the signal to engage before *Fleming* had formed the line, and stood out to sea in order of battle. His majesty in the *Trinity* bore up along side the *Swedish* admiral, and begun the fight, by a continual fire. The other divisions followed, and a general engagement commenced. Nothing could equal the king's eagerness and presence of mind; he gave orders with coolness in the midst of danger, and exposed his person, without regard to the consequence of his life. A musket bullet wounded him in the right eye, and the ball of a cannon drew blood from his left ear, yet did he remain unconcerned upon deck; and could not be prevailed on to draw out of the line until his ship was disabled by the loss of her topmast and bowsprit. This accident and his wound gradually cooled the impetuosity of his officers, and furnished the *Swedish* admiral with an opportunity of retiring under cover of the night to *Christianpreis*, after an engagement that lasted for four hours.

The king gains an advantage over the Swedish fleet.

CHRISTIAN repaired his ships in the best manner possible, stood next day before the harbour, and endeavoured to draw the *Swedish* admiral to a second engagement; but perceiving he was determined to keep close, he landed four hundred men, who took possession of an eminence that commanded the harbour, erected batteries, and from thence played furiously on the enemy's shipping. *Fleming* was wounded in the knee by a cannon ball, and died two days after, which was the principal loss the *Swedes* sustained, as they had not above three hundred men killed in the preceding action, not a great one. *Gustavus Wrangel* succeeded to his command, and gaining some advantage over the *Danes* on shore, he was encouraged by the aid which this renewed in the *seamen*, to offer battle to the king's fleet. This however the *Danish* admiral declined, as his majesty was returned to *Copenhagen*, and had carried with him a considerable part of the squadron. It was this circumstance that made both nations claim the victory, and so incensed *Christian*, that he ordered admiral *Ghed* to be tried by a court-martial, condemned, and beheaded.

His majesty was no sooner arrived at *Copenhagen*, than he made free remonstrances to the court of *Vienna*. The emperor had given instructions to general *Galas* to begin his march, seemed desirous to assist *Denmark*, yet some obstructions had been interposed. At last however the imperial forces arrived on the frontiers of *Holslein* and *Sleswick*; but before they entered upon their operations, all parties began to listen to the propositions of the *French* ambassador, and the preliminaries of the peace of *Münster* were negotiating. With respect

Danes de-
feated at
sea with
prodigious
loss.

respect to the particular quarrel between the two northern crowns, the *sieur Thuillier* managed the negotiation with so much address, that both consented to send commissioners to *Bresbroo*, to terminate their differences. Both sides never raised their pretensions high, and he in vain solicited a suspension of arms, during the sitting of the congress. Happy would it have been for *Denmark* had he succeeded; for soon after the two fleets met off the island *Femeren*, and engaged with the utmost acrimony. After a bloody and obstinate action, the *Danish* admiral, vice-admiral, and twelve ships of war were taken, sunk, and destroyed, and four thousand men killed. In the chase several more were run ashore or taken, and of the whole *Danish* fleet, only two ships got safe into port. The victory was not gained without loss on the side of the *Swedes*; it however raised their courage, and furnished *Thuillier* with fresh arguments to urge the king to peace. It was remarkable however that all *Christian's* proposals and replies tended rather to establish the general peace of *Europe*, as a mediator, than to terminate his own particular differences with *Sweden*. In the course of the war he had contracted an irreconcilable enmity to that kingdom, which was increased by his losses, that served only to sour his temper and whet his courage. *Christian* was at this time the oldest monarch in *Europe*, yet his councils were governed by that impetuous ardor which usually accompanies youth. It required all the masterly eloquence and ingenious address of the *sieur Thuillier*, to prevail on him to act according to the dictates of prudence and necessity, rather than inclination, which would only have made him prolong the war, to the extinction of both monarchies. At last however he gave way to the remonstrances of the *French* minister. He saw his own dominions the theatre of war, and the horrid scene of bloodshed, rapine, and disorder; he saw the tardiness of the imperial court, and that little stress was to be laid on their promises; he saw all the commercial part of *Europe* ready to combine against him, if he kept up the high customs of the *Sound*, and yet this was one great means of being able to carry on the war. These considerations at length overcame his resentment, and he gave orders to his ministers at *Bresbroo* to put the last hand to the treaty of peace in negotiation.

A. D.
1645.
Peace con-
cluded.

By this treaty *Sweden* restored all the cities, towns, castles, fortresses, and lands, conquered during the war, *Jutland*, *Schonen*, *Halland*, *Bleking*, *Borkholm*, *Holstein*, *Storm*, *Dithmarsh*, *Fionia*, and other parts of the *Danish* dominions. *Christian*, on his side, restored to the queen the provinces of *Jumtland* and *Harndalen*; the isle of *Gotland*, with the city and

and citadel of *Wibsy*, which had for so many ages been a bone of contention between the two kingdoms; the islands, and dependent branches of the *Baltick*, of *Oesel* and *Arnsburg*; together with some other places of less consideration. It was farther stipulated, that *Sweden* should possess the province of *Holland*, with all its cities, castles, and lands, for the space of thirty years, as a full security of the right of navigation and commerce in the *Sound* and *Great Belt*, and of the complete performance of the present treaty.

SUCH were the hard terms to which the necessity of the times obliged *Christian* to accede. Just before the treaty was signed, a *Dutch* Squadron of forty-eight sail had appeared in the *Sound*, with intention to join the *Swedes*; and this it was that obliged his majesty to consent to the last article of the treaty.

THUILLERIE was not contented with establishing peace between the northern crowns: he formed an alliance between the courts of *Verfailles* and *Copenhagen*, by which the latter was prohibited from affording assistance, directly or indirectly, to the emperor. He next endeavoured to prevail on *Christina*, queen of *Sweden*, to relinquish her claim to *Bremen*, and restore *Frederick*, the king of *Denmark's* brother, to that archbishopric; but her majesty was not in a humour to make any concessions to a prince who, she knew, bore a mortal aversion to *Sweden*. In the midst of this negotiation, and before the public tranquillity was established upon a solid basis, *Christian* was taken ill of a distemper, which alarmed the court, acquired great strength with a few days, and carried him off on the twenty-eighth of *February*, 1648, at the age of seventy-one, and in the sixtieth year of his reign (A).

A. D.
1647.

A. D.
1648.

Christian's
death and
character.

CHRISTIAN was possessed of admirable qualities of mind and body; but had a vindictive obstinacy of temper, which made him pursue his animosities beyond the dictates of prudence. To his last day he retained all the fire and vehemence of youth, commanded his fleets and armies in person, after he had wore the crown near sixty years; threw himself in the midst of dangers, at an age when the faculties of the mind

(A) Most modern writers, and in particular *Puffendorf*, and the author of *the Present State of Europe*, since this prince's death in the year 1649, which is certainly a mistake, as he died during the residence of the *French* ambassador in *Denmark*, and just at the time he was transacting the affair of *Bremen* (1).

(1) *Vid. Mem. de Chanute*, p. 104. *Vittorio Siri*, tom. v. part. *Prælim. de Pax de Munster*, tom. i. p. 205. *Des Roches*, tom. v. p. 455.

and

and body are usually enervated; was to the last jealous and tenacious of the dignity of his crown, and the happiness of his people; though too strict a regard for the former proved all his life the destruction of the latter. On the whole, however, he was a monarch of an able head, strong arm, extensive capacity, and great magnanimity; qualities unhappily tinged with violent passions, which frequently obscured every ray of understanding, and locked up the exertion of that solid reason with which nature had endowed him * (B).

* Vid. PUFFEND. Hist. passim. CHYTRÆI Chron. p. 206, & seq. lib. citat. in not.

(B) We must not close this prince's character without observing, that he was greatly addicted to venery, and actually divorced his queen to gratify an ambitious mistress: at least the affair was debated in the senate.

S E C T. XVI.

Containing the Affairs of Denmark to the Accession of Christian V.

F R E D E R I C K III.

Frederick III.

The Danish nobility extend their privileges.

DURING the late reign the nobility had greatly extended their privileges, and were now for raising *Valdemar* to the throne, in prejudice to his brother *Frederick*, the only legitimate child of the late king *Christian*. Almost all the king's daughters by his concubines were married to Danish noblemen, who, from this alliance, found means to break through the boundaries of the constitution, to exalt themselves on the ruin of the commons, and gratify their own lust of power at the expence of the royal prerogative. Their intention in bestowing the crown on *Valdemar*, was no other than because they expected to make their own terms with him; and, indeed, before they acknowledged *Frederick*, they reduced his prerogative within such narrow limits, and the rights of the people into so small a compass, that the one enjoyed no more than the shadow of sovereignty, and the other only the mere skeleton of departed liberty. The commons alone enjoyed all posts of honour and profit; while the commons were excluded even from military preferments, above the rank of captain. Those haughty lords now refused to pay the usual contributions towards the support of government, and

and threw the whole weight of taxes on the shoulders of their vassals and inferiors.

THE late wars in Germany had destroyed the forces of Denmark; that with Sweden the marine of the kingdom; Norway seemed disposed to assume a republican form of government; the treasury was exhausted, private fortunes ruined; the nobility insolent; the people humble, but discontented; all grasped at something, and introduced the utmost confusion.

SUCH was the state of Denmark when Frederick ascended the throne. He began his reign with concluding a treaty of alliance and redemption with the states-general of the United Provinces. By the first, the parties were bound to assist each other with four thousand men, in case either was attacked; and by the latter, the Dutch agreed to pay one hundred and fifty thousand florins yearly for the free passage of the Sound, and two hundred thousand rixdollars in advance at the conclusion of the treaty. Both the ministers and merchants of Denmark complained of this treaty, which was to remain in force. The ministry demonstrated, that the revenue lost five hundred thousand livres yearly by this redemption-treaty; and the merchants dreaded that this loss would fall upon them, as the court would find it necessary to compensate the deficiency by other duties. Even the Dutch merchants were not satisfied, with respect to the benefit that would arise from it; yet did the states and his Danish majesty come to a solemn ratification towards the close of the year 1649, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the court of Sweden, and several commercial cities.

To the disordered state of the kingdom may be added the mutual suspicions entertained by the courts of Copenhagen and Stockholm of designs upon each other; though, in fact, all these jealousies were without foundation, it being contrary to the true interest of either to come to a rupture. The Swedes had equipped a small squadron upon some secret design, and king Frederick had received ambassies from Vienna and Madrid. Both were alarmed: a thousand conjectures were formed, and all of them remote from the truth. A coldness likewise arose between the king and the grand marshal Ulfeld, whose influence in the kingdom was too great for a subject. A report that this minister had poisoned the late king, discredited. It was not countenanced by Frederick; and Ulfeld omitted nothing that could render himself more popular, in order to screen him from the king's resentment, and erect a barrier against the royal wrath, which he perceived gathering into a storm that might overwhelm him. Yet, after all, this minister

ter was forced to escape in disguise from *Copenhagen*, and take shelter under the wing of queen *Christina*, who protected him; notwithstanding the countenance of friendship she assumed towards *Frederick*, until some years after he was acknowledged the plenipotentiary of *Sweden* in the reign of *Charles X.*

A. D.
1651.
Danish
company
established
in the East
Indies.

THIS year the elector of *Brandenburg* sent an envoy to *Copenhagen*, to negotiate a society of commerce and navigation to the *East Indies*, and particularly the island of *Ceylon*, between the subjects of *Denmark* and the electorate. It was proposed that a joint stock should be raised, two thirds by the king, and the remainder by the elector; and that four large ships should sail in the spring with an ambassador on board, who should remain governor of the settlements they might establish. *Sweden* beheld with jealousy these negotiations: the remonstrances of the *Danish* envoy on the affair of *Ulfeld* increased the uneasiness of that court: *Frederick's* endeavours to break the late treaty she had made with *England*, added fresh fuel to the sparks of distrust; and his treaty with *Holland* almost put the last hand to the breach between the two kingdoms (A).

A. D.
1652.

WE mentioned a treaty of alliance and redemption struck up between *Denmark* and *Holland* the first year of *Frederick's* reign, in which it was stipulated, that the contracting powers should assist each other with four thousand men, in case of an attack. It was now the business of *Holland*, who was on the eve of a war with *England*, to shew that the latter were the aggressors. This *Keiser*, the *Dutch* envoy, did not neglect: he, besides, used all his address in demonstrating the particular interest *Denmark* had in preventing the ruin of the *Dutch* marine, and *England* from growing too formidable by sea; and he concluded with shewing the necessity of his *Danish* majesty's equipping twenty-ships of war, for the security of his coasts and commerce.

WHATEVER inclination *Frederick* might have to unite himself closely to the states-general, yet he entertained scruples with respect to *Keiser's* proposals, because he apprehended that

(A) It was immediately before the treaty with *Holland*, that the king was informed, from the *Sieur Chanute*, the *French* resident at *Stockholm*, of a conspiracy formed to dethrone him (1). *Ulfeld* was the prime contriver of this plot, which

was truly chimerical and romantic, on account of the instruments appointed to conduct it. As *Maurepas* attended with no consequences, we can hardly think it worthy of being twice related in a general history. We have mentioned it in *Sweden*.

(1) *Memoires de Chanute*, p. 109, & seq.

Sweden might join with England, and thus a new war be lighted up in the north. He knew that *Christina* was constantly solicited by *Ulfseld* to declare war upon his master, and that he had even offered to support part of the expence that would attend a rupture. In a word, he dreaded the effects of that powerful, discontented, violent fugitive, who breathed nothing but vengeance, and had got possession of the queen's ear. Another motive concurred to render him more undetermined on this point. He was desirous of profiting by the emergency into which the *United Provinces* found themselves plunged, and to dispense with the payment of the subsidy due to them, after the declaration of war, according to the former treaty.

By this delay, he gained a still greater advantage, though accidental, and repugnant to the laws of hospitality and of nations. An English fleet of twenty-two merchantmen, laden with all kinds of materials for ship-building, were persuaded, by *Frederic's* insinuations, to put into *Copenhagen*, in order to avoid the Dutch fleet in the Sound. They were no sooner entered the harbour, than the crews were seized, and ships and effects confiscated by the king's order: so violent and unwarrantable a proceeding left Denmark no alternative. The king had incurred the resentment of the English parliament, who made spirited remonstrances on this head by their envoy *Bradshaw*, as he was necessarily obliged to throw himself into the scale of Holland against Cromwell and the parliament. Still, however, he dissembled, and seemed to listen favourably to *Bradshaw*, in order to excite the jealousy of the Dutch envoy, and obtain the better terms. At length, however, the alliance so much wished for by Holland was finally concluded in the month of February 1653, by which the king obliged himself to equip a squadron of twenty sail, and the Dutch engaged to pay him a subsidy of one hundred and forty thousand rix dollars. Thus, by setting twenty ships to sea, he not only avoided payment of a yearly subsidy, but received a considerable annual sum from his ally.

HOLLAND drew one very peculiar advantage from this armament, as it prevented the English from imparting naval stores from the north; and this, indeed, was the only service the United Provinces drew from the alliance of Denmark. Upon the whole, it must be owned, that *Frederic* managed this negotiation like a true politician, deduced several important advantages from it with respect to the

trade, and obtained several sums of money from the states, upon very frivolous grounds^a.

A. D. 1654. ABOUT the year 1654 it was that his majesty and the states of *Holland* changed their sentiments with respect to the redemption-treaty. *Frederic* had charged his envoy at the *Hague*, to offer the abolition of the subsidy; and the merchants of *Amsterdam*, who by this time became sensible of the conveniency of a free traffic, refused it. On more mature reflexion, however, they consented. They perceived, that in time of war the commerce with the northern powers was so considerable, that it would be more to their advantage to pay the duties of the *Sund*, than the yearly subsidy. No sooner had they assented to *Frederic's* proposal, than he retracted, and insisted upon adhering to the treaty of redemption; but the states-general represented, that, relying on his royal word given in the person of his ambassador, they had neglected to exact the usual tax from the traders, and consequently the load of the subsidy must fall upon them. This remonstrance had the effect, and the treaty of redemption was annulled.

The object
of *Frederic's* po-
litics.

Disputes
with Swe-
den
concerning
Ulfeld.

In the mean time *Frederic* laboured to engage the queen of *Sweden* to declare against the *English* parliament; but her majesty not only resisted all his solicitations, but exerted her utmost ability to make the king renounce his alliance with *Holland*. Neither took effect, and the endeavours of both were interrupted, by the renewal of their disputes about the grand marshal *Ulfeld*. Her majesty solicited his pardon; and *Frederic* not only denied her request, but insisted upon his being surrendered, or at least his retracting a bitter libel he had published against him, and asking pardon in a public manner: to neither of which *Christina* would, for a long time, consent. At length, the king drew up a charge against *Ulfeld*, containing a variety of articles, and among others the embezzlement of a sum of money, which he had ordered to be remitted to *Charles II.* of *England*, at that time a fugitive in *Holland*. The queen, for a long time, refused to give credit to this charge; but on *Charles's* letter to the king of *Denmark*, affirming, that neither himself, nor any of his court, had received such a remittance, she seemed convinced of *Ulfeld's* treachery, and promised to abandon him to his fate, and withdraw the protection of which he was unworthy. Nothing, however, came of this affair. *Ulfeld* had gained the ascendant over the queen; he either persuaded her, that he really was innocent, or she chose to

believe him so. Certain it is, that, instead of withdrawing her protection, she grossly affronted the *Danish* ambassador, who supported with great spirit the dignity of his royal master, and his own public character.

SOON after this event it was, that the states of *Denmark* A. D. assembled, and publicly acknowledged *Christian*, the eldest son of *Frederic*, his immediate successor in the throne, and performed homage to him in that quality. About this time, likewise, *Frederic* was observed to behold with a jealous eye, the rapid conquests of the young monarch of *Sweden* in *Poland*. His jealousy was greatly augmented by an embassy from the *United Provinces*, representing the danger it would be to the *Danish* commerce, if *Charles X.* should possess himself of the coasts of the *Baltic*, as infallibly he must, should he reduce *Lithuania*, *Pomerania*, and *Prussia*. In consequence of the remonstrances of the states-general, a fresh alliance was concluded, a fleet of forty sail of *Dutch* men of war sent to the *Baltic*, under the command of admiral *Opdam*, and a resolution taken to frustrate the king of *Sweden*'s design of laying siege to *Danzic*, before which city *Opdam* appeared with his fleet. Politics of Sweden and Denmark.

CHARLES knew of what importance it was to avoid a rupture with *Denmark*, while he was deeply engaged in a war with other powers; he sought, therefore, to cultivate the friendship of his *Danish* majesty, and sent an ambassador to *Copenhagen* with that view, and to prevent the junction of the *Danish* and *Dutch* fleets. But *Frederick* could not be brought to renounce his engagements to *Holland*, though he positively denied his entertaining any designs against *Sweden*. In a word, the embassy ended in nothing; as it was evident, that *Frederic* only watched the opportunity of attacking his *Swedish* majesty, when he was weakened by the war on his hands, in order to recover *Holland*, and other places ceded by the last treaty.

THE arrival of the *Dutch* fleet in the *Baltic* gave great offence to *Charles*; his ambassador remonstrated on that head, but to little purpose: and now a rupture between the two crowns was apparently at no great distance, notwithstanding *Frederic* sent an ambassador to the *Swedish* king, at that time in *Prussia*. The intention of this embassy was indeed no more, than to keep up certain appearances with *Sweden*, until the success of his arms was known; and the same reason prevented the *Danish* monarch from joining his fleet immediately with the *Dutch* squadron. A Dutch fleet arrived in the Baltic. A. D. 1656.

Policy of
Holland.

A. D.
1657.

Frederic
declares
war a-
gainst
Sweden.

UPON intelligence of some considerable losses which the Swedish army sustained, *Frederic* was going to declare openly against *Sweden*, had he not been embarrassed by the sudden departure of the Dutch fleet from *Dantzic*, and still more disconcerted by advices, that a treaty was concluded at *Elbing*, between the king of *Sweden* and the states-general, without the knowledge of *M. Van Buiningen*, envoy from the latter at *Copenhagen*. *Buiningen* exclaimed against this proceeding; he sent remonstrances to the states-general, couched in the strongest terms, exhorting them to keep firm to their engagements with *Denmark*, but in vain, for *Opdam* received positive orders to return to *Holland*^a.

FREDERIC now hesitated whether he should venture to declare war, or wait the effects of *Buiningen's* remonstrances to the pensioner *De Wit*. That honest minister still continued to exert his endeavours to maintain the alliance between *Holland* and the king; but he gave a different turn to his representations. He now affirmed, that it was the interest of the states-general to animate *Frederic* against the king of *Sweden*, not only to stop the progress of the latter, but to engross the whole trade of the *Baltic*, while these two powers were at war. *Buiningen's* was pensioner of *Amsterdam*, understood the true interest of his country, and was strenuously the friend of commerce. His influence, likewise, among the merchants was so great, that most of them falling in with his opinion, fitted out private ships of war against the *Swedes*, and excused themselves, by saying they would do the very same for hire against *Denmark*.

FREDERIC, now assured that he would be countenanced by *Holland*, in spite of the treaties the republic had so lately concluded with the king of *Sweden*, did not ballance long about declaring war; but was obliged to go back to the year 1644 for motives to justify his conduct. This resolution was indeed opposed by all grave persons; but *M. de Gersdorf*, a *Saxon* gentleman of ancient family, who had acquired great credit at court, from the superiority of his genius, and his many important services, at length determined the king. He was further confirmed by the information of the Dutch ambassador; and all the endeavours of the French minister could not now prevent a rupture. *M. Durelle*, the Swedish minister, remonstrated against this unprovoked design; but his arguments having no effect, he was recalled, and had scarce left *Copenhagen*, before three Swedish prizes were brought into that harbour.

^a Mem. de Tsielon, *ibid*.

Now the army took the field under general *Bilde*, and his army traversing *Holstein*, crossed the *Elbe*, and covered the diocese enters Bremen of *Bremen*, to which *Frederic* formed pretensions. The whole diocese was laid under contribution; some towns were taken, and the siege of *Stadt* formed. The king with his fleet, joined by the Dutch private ships of war, set sail at the same time to *Dantzic*; but hearing that *Charles Gustavus* was in *Pomerania*, he retired to *Copenhagen*. *Wrangel*, the Swedish admiral, defeated a body of Danes in *Bremen*, and obliged them to repass to *Holstein*, with the loss of three thousand men. Most of the officers in the Danish army were natives of *Holstein*, and consequently desirous of protecting their native country. With that intention this retreat was made against the advice of general *Bilde*.

The Danes driven out of Bremen

This first disgrace which his arms suffered, convinced *Frederic*, that he must link himself strongly with *Holland*, if he would either conquer or resist his enemy. In consequence, a new treaty of alliance was signed, whereby the parties agreed to assist each other with six thousand men, or in default of men and ships, with an equivalent sum of money. This measure soon became necessary, for *Gustavus* was at the head of a numerous army, at the very time that all the world believed his forces were entirely broken in *Poland*. Immediately he appeared in *Holstein*, and took four regiments of Danes prisoners of war, after a brave resistance. *Itzehoe* was laid in ashes, and the Swedish king was preparing to march his army into *Jutland*; but to this there was an obstruction which he feared was unsurmountable. It was the fortress of *Frederics-Odde*, defended by six strong bastions, and a numerous garrison. This he attacked; but after spending some days before the place, he set out for *Wismar*, and left *Wrangel* to block up *Frederics-Odde* with his troops. *Wrangel*, tired with a tedious blockade, determined to give the assault before he had battered in breach. The attack was made an hour before day, in four different quarters, while petards were applied to the gate, in order to make way for the cavalry. His disposition was excellent, and it was crowned with success. While the garrison was wrapt in sleep, the Swedes scaled the walls, and became, in a few hours, masters of a place, that might have withstood the efforts of their whole army for a greater number of months.

A new treaty between Denmark and Holland.

Frederics-Odde taken by the Swedes.

HAD *Frederic's* prerogative been less restrained, and the army more in his power, intrepid and generous as he was, he would undoubtedly have stopped the progress of the Swedes, and saved *Frederics-Odde*. Neither *Bilde*, nor the other officers, wanted courage or ability, but their experi-

The History of Denmark:

Battle between the fleets of Denmark and Sweden, in which the former are defeated by their allies.

ence was not great, and their influence in the army very inconsiderable. On the frontiers, indeed, the *Swedes* sustained a repulse, and were entirely defeated at *Knaro* in *Holland*. At the same time, the *Swedish* fleet, consisting of twenty-six men of war, and as many merchantmen converted into armed ships, met with the *Danish* squadron, and offered battle. The *Danish* admiral, depending on the assistance of *Witte Wijon*, the *Dutch* admiral, did not decline the engagement. A furious battle was fought, in which the *Danes* behaved with extraordinary courage. Unsupported by their good allies, they maintained the action against an enemy double in number. The admiral's ship, pierced with five hundred cannon shot, was so shattered, as necessarily to draw out of the line; notwithstanding which the rest of the squadron continued the fight, and obliged the *Swedes* to put into the port of *Wijmar*. Both sides, indeed, claimed the victory, and neither, perhaps, with sufficient reason, as it was in fact a drawn battle, though the circumstance last mentioned seems to declare the advantage on the side of the *Danes*. Even *Loccenius*, the *Swedish* historian, owns, that the great benefit resulted to the *Swedes* from this action, and he blames certain captains of ships, who were supposed not to have done their duty[†].

WHATEVER success *Frederic's* arms had elsewhere, still the loss of *Frederics-Oldé* was a severe blow, which he determined to revenge. *M. Rysing* was dispatched to the *Hague*, to prevent the ratification of the treaty of *Elbing*, and to borrow a million. The commission was delicate; for, on the one hand, the *Dutch* apprehended that the progress of *Charles* would render him master of the *Baltic*, to the great prejudice of their commerce; and on the other, they dreaded the imputation of levity and perfidy, if they refused to ratify the treaty. In the mean time, they ventured to lend his *Danish* majesty 600,000 livres; but refused to meddle in the affair of the treaty, till they had deliberated more maturely on a point that affected the reputation of the *United Provinces*.

It was the interest of a great many powers to oppose the aggrandizement of *Charles Gustavus*. He foresaw this, and resolved by celerity and address to baffle the designs formed to support *Denmark*. He projected the invasion of *Fisia* in the winter, before *Frederic* could draw together a sufficient force to oppose him; and his scheme was greatly forwarded by a hard frost, that rendered transports unnecessary. He

[†] *Loccen. Hist. Swed. sub hoc Ann.*

set out from *Kiel* on the third of *February*; marched his army over the *Little Belt* on the ice, where he was opposed by a strong body of *Danes*, whom he defeated, after a sharp engagement, and the loss of three regiments, who were drowned by the breaking of the ice; took *Odense* the capital of the island, reduced *Næstved*, made an attack on four *Danish* men of war locked up by the ice, but was repulsed and baffled by the intrepidity of the admiral, and at length formed the perilous and intrepid design of passing over the ice to *Zeland*; a scheme so novel, so excellently planned and boldly executed, as raised the admiration of all men, and will ever be recorded as one of the most daring attempts ever made in such circumstances. We shall have occasion to dwell upon particulars in the history of *Sweden*; sufficient it is for our present occasion, that he first arrived in *Laland*, and next in *Zeland*, after escaping a thousand imminent dangers, and exhibiting as many proofs of an invincible courage, an enterprising genius, a ready execution, and every quality of a great king and commander.

When *Charles Gustavus* arrived in *Zeland*, he was met at *Altenburg* by *Alaarus*, *Cromwell's* envoy, and by *Geisdorf*, *Stol*, and *Mons Heuck*, with proposals of peace. He appointed the fugitive *Ulfeld* to treat with them; and it was easy to see, from this circumstance, what terms he expected. Honour required, that *Frederic* should refuse admitting *Ulfeld* unto the congress; but his unhappy circumstances obliged him to pass over punctilios, and acknowledge for the plenipotentiary of *Sweden*, a rebel, who was at this very time intriguing to dethrone his natural sovereign, and seducing the nobility of *Copenhagen* from their allegiance, by large promises from *Charles Gustavus*.

WHILE preliminaries respecting this congress were adjusting, the *Swedish* monarch was marching towards *Copenhagen*, and arrived within four leagues of that capital, where he halted, to refresh his troops, and deliberate whether he should attempt it by assault. The city was thrown into the utmost consternation, but the king's presence, and exhortations, kept them from desponding. General *Krempen* was at the head of a small body of gentlemen, peasants, and sailors. To these he joined about 2000 horse and 800 regular infantry, making in the whole a corps of 4000 men, with which he offered to set fire to the suburbs, attack the king of *Sweden* at *Keuck*, and reduce that place to ashes. *Frederic* approved of the scheme, and would have commanded the expedition in person, had not the senate resolutely opposed his intention; alledging, that the loss of one battle, and

Charles Augustus invades Denmark, and passes over the ice to Zeland.

A. D. 1658. *Proposals of peace.*

Gustavus resolves to lay siege to Copenhagen.

Frederic's
prepara-
tions to re-
fist him.

and the smallest accident which should happen to his majesty's person, would endanger the whole kingdom. The king's ardour and courage seemed to rise with his misfortunes, and required all the endeavours of the senate to moderate them. Certain it is, that vigorous measures, and hazardous strokes, were necessary in the present emergency; and that the king wanted neither conduct to plan, nor courage to execute, any project for the good of his kingdom. He is therefore unjustly blamed for not accepting *Krempen's* proposal, which was rejected merely by the senate, and highly applauded by the king.

IN the mean while the negotiations went on but slowly. Sweden insisted upon conditions, which ought only to be granted, after *Copenhagen*, and all the fortresses of the kingdom, were in the hands of *Gustavus*; and these hard terms were aggravated, by the haughty conduct and satirical expressions of *Ulfeld*. In a word, the *Danish* ministers refused to accept the conditions proposed, thinking it better to perish after a vigorous resistance, than to stoop to a shameful and ignominious submission. They were besides in hopes, that the rigour of the season, the fatigue and famine they must undergo, would soon ruin the *Swedish* army, could they have the resolution to resist them but for a short time.

The de-
fenceless
state of
Copen-
hagen,
and cou-
rage of
Frederic.

THUS all hopes of accommodation vanished, and *Frederic* had only to rely on his own courage and conduct, and on the fidelity and valour of his subjects. The walls of the city were ruinous; it was destitute of provision, ammunition, and every necessary of defence; it was crowded with peasants, who answered no purpose besides consuming the little stores that were there. The nobility were discontented; they exclaimed against the administration, instead of defending their country, and thought they sufficiently shewed their patriotism by crying out, that the kingdom was sold. Yet amidst all these disorders, *Frederic* preserved a firmness that was astonishing. A victorious enemy without his walls, famine, discord, and every species of confusion within, he remained intrepid, undaunted, and full of courage. His queen likewise gave proofs of resolution and constancy far beyond her sex. However, on the approach of the *Swedish* army within sight of the city, and their taking possession of certain posts, which in a manner blocked up the garrison, the nobility became so clamorous, that *Frederic* was compelled to send *M. Gersdorf* to *Torstrup*, where the mediators still remained, in order to conclude a peace upon any terms.

Peace con-
cluded.

GERSDORF was astonished to find on his arrival, that the Swedes had relinquished some of the most rigid conditions.

and the more, when he was made acquainted, that this complaisance was owing to the mediation of *Ulfeld*. He doubted not, but this nobleman's love for his country returned in full tide, upon observing the low ebb to which it was reduced. At last, after much altercation, peace was actually signed between the two kings, on the 28th day of *February*; *Frederic* consenting to cede *Halland*, *Schonen*, *Bleking*, the island of *Borkholm*, the citadel and fief of *Babus*, the seigniory and fief of *Drontheim*, with all its towns, castles, fortresses, and dependences.

M. Van Buiningen fired at this treaty; he reproached *Meadows*, the *English* envoy, with double dealing; and he complained of *M. Gersdorf*, because, instead of maintaining the treaty between *Holland* and *Denmark*, he had, on the contrary, opened an inlet to all foreigners into the *Baltic*, by consenting that all treaties, contrary to the interest of either king, should be annulled. *Gersdorf* vindicated himself by the plea of necessity, which would not admit of a sure to consult the allies of *Denmark*; and indeed matters were then at such a crisis, that *Frederic's* conduct can need no excuse, with respect to the *Dutch*, if we consider the behaviour of their admiral in the last sea-engagement. *Van Buiningen* perceiving all his endeavours to break the peace baffled, thought of an expedient, which he hoped would at least retard, if not wholly prevent its execution. He advised *Frederic* not to put the king of *Sweden* in possession of *Schonen*, till that monarch had first evacuated *Zeland*. *Frederic* approved of the scheme; but it was traversed by the suspicion of the *Swedish* king, who immediately sent a part of his army to invest *Copenhagen*.

THE war would have again been renewed, and the *Dutch* ambassador's end fully answered, had not the mediators interposed, and given the strongest assurances of *Frederic's* intention to perform his contract. Upon this *Charles Gustavus* wholly changed his sentiments, and from the extreme of distrust, passed suddenly to the other extreme of too much confidence in his enemy. King *Frederic* had prepared an entertainment for the foreign ministers, at his royal seat of *Fredericksburgh*, whither *Gustavus*, attended by a small retinue, went, uninvited and unexpected (A). Such inter-

(A) Some writers alledge, his security (1); but of this we find no mention in the most authentic memoirs.

An interview between the two kings. views are ever of a delicate nature, and more particularly when the conqueror puts himself in the power of the conquered. Had *Frederic* arrested him, and obliged him to restore all the provinces ceded to *Sweden*, policy would have

A. D. 1658. approved the perfidy, as a necessary measure, and posterity would regard it as one of those matterly strokes of the cabinet, about which few princes would entertain any scruples.

But the great soul of *Frederic* resisted the temptation, and despised the treachery. He disdained any advantages deduced from a breach of honour and hospitality. It is true, indeed, he had formerly given way to a smaller temptation, when he seized the *English* fleet of merchantmen at *Copenhagen*; but there are not wanting arguments to palliate his conduct on that occasion. Interviews of this nature seldom occur; and when they do, it never happens but one of the parties is a loser. What, however, was singular in this, was, that all the advantage happened to be on the side of *Gustavus*, who received new hints by this visit, which laid the foundation of a second war with *Denmark*. Be this as it will, the princes lived for two days together in the utmost harmony, and parted with all the appearances of a solid esteem and friendship. It was on this occasion that the queen artfully dropt some insinuations to the prejudice of *Ulfeld*, that made a deep impression upon the mind of *Gustavus*, and enervated his friendship for that favourite.

PEACE was thus concluded, but the *Swedish* monarch's ambition to injure *Denmark* rather increased. He had seen the weakness of that kingdom; amidst all the extremes of that hearty welcome and friendship with which *Frederic* received his visit at *Fredericksburgh*, he observed sentiments of chagrin, and a desire of revenge. Certain we are, that the attempt of annexing another crown to that of *Sweden*, was perfectly agreeable to the lofty notions of *Gustavus*'s capacious mind. It was not difficult to find pretexts for breaking the peace. The treaty of *Roschild* was replete with errors, and a new congress was appointed at *Copenhagen* to correct them. He began his design by raising difficulties about the duchy of *Holstein*, by complaining that *Frederic* was dilatory in the execution of his contract; although, in fact, he had reason to hasten it, as upon that depended the evacuation of *Zeland* by the *Swedish* forces: he insinuated his suspicions, that the king of *Denmark* was intriguing against him in *Holland*. In a word, he entered *Holstein* with intention to prepare the necessary steps to the expedition he meditated; and he made such a variety of marches and countermarches, as puzzled the wit of the most penetrating politicians.

Cause of renewing the war.

THE chevalier Terlon, envoy from the king of France, was the first who discovered the design of *Gustavus*, and acquainted *M. de Gerstorf* with his suspicion. *Frederic* was astonished at the intelligence, and could scarce be convinced of the truth of it. Great armaments were preparing in *Sweden*, and just as the troops were embarked, it was given out that the expedition was intended against *Prussia*. To render his success more secure, and cut off all succours by land from *Denmark*, *Gustavus* found it necessary to gain possession of the fortrefs of *Rendsburgh*; but as almost all his army was destined for the siege of *Copenhagen*, he could contrive no other method, than by prevailing on the duke of *Holslein*, to use his influence with the inhabitants and governor, to put it into his hands. *Charles* knew that the garrison was strong, and the governor brave and honest; besieging it therefore with part of his army would be in vain. The duke of *Holslein* sent a deputation to the governor and inhabitants, and among them was the governor's father. They used all possible arguments; but found the inhabitants, however, remained firm in their attachment to *Denmark*. The governor's answer in particular was, that he would maintain his trust, while one stone of the town stood upon another; then fixing his eyes upon his father, who was speaker of the deputation, he said, "I can scarcely persuade myself, that you, my dear father, are capable of making me proposals, which I should not have patience to hear from any other. Permit me to tell you, that were you not my parent, I should punish, as it deserves, the insolence of making an attempt upon my honour." The father, struck with his son's generosity, endeavoured to cover his shame by the following answer: "My son, hitherto I spoke as the faithful subject of the duke my master; but as your father, I declare, that were you weak enough to surrender the trust committed to you at my instance, I should be the first to treat you as a rebel, to renounce and declare you an alien of my blood."

The brave conduct of the governor of Rendsburgh.

FOILED as *Gustavus* was in this attempt, he landed his forces on the 17th of August at *Korsør*. Immediately he sent Count *Toot* with a detachment to block up the avenues to *Copenhagen*, and prevent the garrison's receiving succours from the other parts of the island. *Toot* executed his commission with success, and the king followed him closely, ordering his fleet to block up the city by sea.

Copenhagen besiged.

FREDERIC no sooner found himself invested by sea and land, than he sent an embassy to the king of *Sweden*, complaining in the bitterest terms of so notorious an infraction

of a recent treaty, almost entirely executed on his part, and offering to give any satisfaction and security with respect to the articles not yet performed; but the embassy was very indifferently received. It is even asserted, that *Charles* would have violated the right of nations, had not *Terlon*, the French envoy on board his fleet, restrained his impetuosity. His intention was probably no more than to have arrested them, in revenge for the affront *Frederic* had put on the Swedish ambassador, in ordering him to be confined, and his papers seized; more indeed is insinuated. *Terlon* even prevailed so far, that he gave them audience, but nothing resulted from this conference besides bitter recriminations.

The Danish nobility resolve to stand by the king; they promise great matters to the burghers.

W R A N G E L had now blocked up the harbour of *Copenhagen*, and taken some ships. On board of one of these was the duke of *Lunenburgh*, who was making a visit to his sister the queen of *Denmark*, believing that the two crowns were in perfect peace. He was civilly treated by *Gustavus*, and sent back, escorted by a man of war, to Germany. On the 10th of September the Swedish cavalry and infantry advanced, and took post on the rising-grounds round *Copenhagen*, while the king still continued at *Ringstaedt*.

By this time *Frederic's* embassy was returned. He ordered them to report the success of their commission in full council, and then resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. He could muster no more than 1200 regulars, and a great number of nobility, who seeing themselves reduced to the same necessity as the rest of the kingdom, determined, as their last resource, to stand and fall by their king. They now caressed those they had so lately despised and oppressed; they promised the burghers of *Copenhagen* a voice in all public deliberations, and liberty to buy lands and lordships, to enjoy them with the same privileges as the gentlemen, and to pay no taxes unless what the nobility shared in their proportion of the burthen. Several other immunities were promised, with a view to encourage them, and it effectually drew forth the courage and zeal of those brave burghers, who dreaded nothing so much as the change of their sovereign, and being loaded with the taxes they law imposed on the inhabitants of *Schonen*, and the provinces surrendered to *Sweden*. Animated by the presence of their sovereign, who rejected the opinion of his council, that he ought to retire to *Holland*, they determined rather to die in the breach than fly or surrender. It is even said, that the king requested of *Gustavus*, to be made acquainted when he intended to give the assault, that he might find him in person in the breach. The queen, whose noble and sympathised with the king,

rous resolutions of her king and husband, determined to die with him, rather than fall into the hands of a prince, who had so perfidiously broke the most solemn treaties (A).

GUSTAVUS believed the reduction of *Copenhagen* an easy matter, and relied so firmly on the conquest of *Denmark*, that he already disposed of the government of the kingdom to *Wrangel*, after taking the capital, in order to bridle the ambition of that general. In imagination, he had anticipated a thousand alterations in the government, and proposed removing the capital of his dominions to *Schonen*, where he intended to fix the royal residence. But the conquest of *Denmark* formed but a small part of his vast project. He proposed renewing the empire of *Alaric*; all the northern, and many of the southern and western kingdoms, were swallowed up in idea, in this comprehensive system.

WHILE *Gustavus* was rioting in imagination with these visionary prospects, *Frederic* was reaping solid advantages from his delay. It was indeed a great oversight in the *Swedish* monarch, not to push the attack while the dread of his arms had spread consternation among the besieged. They had now reasoned themselves into a cool, determined resolution to conquer or die, and beheld with composure those enemies whom but lately they thought of with horror. His majesty had harangued the burghers, and made such an impression on their minds, that all, to a man, desired to be led on, and declared they would live and die with their sovereign; a declaration sufficiently fulfilled by their loyal and generous conduct.

ALL the time that *Gustavus* lay inactive, *Frederic* made several dispositions that contributed to the vigorous defence of the city. Among others, he ordered the suburbs to be burnt; and the back of the citadel, and towards the harbour, to be fortified by a kind of broad vessels called *praems*. He ordered the ramparts to be strengthened with palisadoes and terraces; and saw all his directions executed. He divided the defence of the city between the soldiers and the burghers, allotting to each their respective provinces; and he mounted all the ramparts with cannon.

(A) *M. Terlon* relates, that *Frederic* challenged the *Swedish* monarch to single combat; to which *Gustavus* made no other reply, than that he always fought at the head of his troops, where, if *Frederic* was fond of fighting, he would find him in the thickest of the fire, and wherever glory was to be won. But the celebrated *Puffendorf*, who was present at the siege, questions the truth of this anecdote. *Des Roches Hist. tom. vi. p. 109.*

GUSTAVUS,

Trenches opened before Copenhagen.

GUSTAVUS, on his approach, was astonished to find such alterations in the appearance of the place. When the trenches were opened, and the *Suedes* began to erect three grand batteries, *Frederic* disturbed the workmen, by a continual fire from a *præme* of forty pieces of heavy cannon. He had erected other *præmes* in the isle of *Amack*, which played incessantly on the enemy's trenches, and made it extremely dangerous to enter them. Among many others, the count *de la Gardie* was slain by a bullet from this battery.

Vigorous sallies made by the besieged.

ON the 13th of *August* the besieged made their first sally, drove the *Suedes* from their posts, and killed great numbers. For several ensuing days both sides made a variety of brisk attacks and sallies. The besiegers attacked and took two *Danish* frigates which had entered the harbour; they played so vigorously the cannon on their ramparts, that they dismounted several of the enemy's batteries; a number of other advantages were gained; but the circumstance which retarded the siege, and probably saved *Copenhagen*, was unexpected, and truly providential. This was the resolution taken in the *Swedish* camp, to lay siege to the strong fortress of *Cronenburgh* at the same time, to prevent the retreat of the army from being cut off, or rather to gain possession of all the treasure of *Denmark*, which it was supposed was lodged in that citadel, as a place of the greatest security. It is even supposed that the *Swedish* ministry threw this obstacle in the way, lest, if *Gustavus* became master of *Copenhagen*, he would remove the court thither, and render *Sweden* little more than a province, as it had been during the union of *Calmar*.

Cronenburgh taken by the *Suedes*.

BE this as it will, *Wrangel* was sent with a part of the fleet and army to besiege *Cronenburgh*, and the siege of *Copenhagen* immediately languished. It was three weeks before he made himself master of that fortress, during which time *Gustavus* (B) was too weak to venture upon giving the

(B) *Wrangel* pushed the attack on *Cronenburgh* with the utmost vigour. He threw a multitude of bombs into the fortress, that put the garrison into the utmost confusion. He used a variety of stratagems to make them surrender. Among others, he ordered a general discharge of the cannon and musketry, as if he had just re-

ceived the news that *Copenhagen* had surrendered. Next, he published by a trumpet, that *Denmark* had submitted to *Gustavus*. The garrison began to mutiny, and all the endeavours of the brave governor and officers could not keep them from surrendering on the 26th of September.

assault to the capital. He had now but 9000 men, and doubted not but the besieged, able to bear arms, exceeded that number. As soon, however, as he was joined by the troops from *Cronenburgh*, he ordered a brisk attack to be made, towards the west gate, between the pond of St. *George* and the sea, which covered the besiegers on the right and left; but the *Danes* behaved with such intrepidity that the attempt was baffled, and great slaughter made among the *Swedes*. Famine, however, began to weaken the besieged; but this likewise was remedied by *Frederic's* vigilance, who found means to get a convoy safe into the harbour, while a part of the *Swedish* fleet was cruising for the *Dutch* squadron.

BUT the most vigorous action of the whole happened ^T in the isle of *Amack*, both kings commanding in person. ^{of Swe-} The *Swedes* had made a sudden descent on it, plundered, and got possession of the island, and *Frederic* resolved to drive ^{den nar-} them out. *Gustavus* owed his success, in a great measure, ^{rovely ef-} to a *Danish* officer, called *Wandervoer*, whom he obliged to ^{capes be-} be his guide in his attack on *Amack*. This officer, having ^{ing made} afterwards made his escape in the night, arrived in *Copenhagen*, gave the king an exact account of the *Swedish* forces in *Amack*, their disposition, intentions, and of the arrival of the *Dutch* fleet at *Lissenore*, where they only waited for a favourable wind to proceed to *Copenhagen*, and relieve the city. Lastly, he said that *Gustavus* intended quitting the island, but would first set the whole on fire. Finally, he advised his majesty to attack the *Swedes* in their posts on the island, offered to be his conductor, and gave strong assurances of the possibility of taking the king and that part of the *Swedish* army prisoners.

FREDERIC immediately called a council, to deliberate whether it was advisable to follow *Wandervoer's* proposal, and if they might sufficiently confide in his intelligence. At length the sally was resolved on, and *Frederic* determined to command it in person. He immediately drew out his horse and foot, and having given the proper directions, marched directly towards the enemy. Supported by general *Guelldenlow* and major-general *Alfeldt*, he attacked the division commanded by *Gustavus*, and was received with equal vigour and intrepidity. A furious fire was made by both sides, and prodigious slaughter; but the *Danes*, animated by the presence and example of their monarch, and knowing that honour, property, and life, were all at stake, despised death, pushed on with such firmness as disconcerted the *Swedes*, broke their lines, put them in confusion

sion, and forced *Gustavus*, in spite of all his endeavours, to throw himself into his boats, and regain the fleet.

THIS retreat was not effected without great loss and confusion. His majesty must have certainly been taken prisoner, had not the brave officer who attended his person, and commanded the guard, thrown himself and his men in the midst of the *Danes*, fought till all his people were killed, and then surrendered as soon as he found the king had escaped.

THE advantage which resulted from this sally was very considerable, and the whole glory of it was due to the king, who had executed *Wanderver's* plan with so much intrepidity and conduct. It however afforded a remarkable instance of the little confidence which generals ought to repose in prisoners and deserters; for *Wanderver* had only served the king of *Sweden* with a view to seduce him into some capital blunder, which might prove useful to his country.

The
Dutch
fleet enter
the Sound,
to relieve
Copen-
hagen.

A battle
between
the Swe-
dish and
Dutch
fleets.

NEXT day major *Bontwall* arrived with the joyful news, that the *Dutch* fleet were entering the *Sound* in their way to *Copenhagen*. The states had, in spite of all the endeavours of the *Swedish* resident, given orders to admiral *Wassenaar Opdam*, not only to protect the *Dutch* trade in the *Baltic*, but to lead the forces stipulated by the treaty with the king of *Denmark*, to fight the *Swedish* fleet if they offered to oppose him, and to assist *Denmark* by every method he could contrive. This it was that brought on the famous battle between the two fleets in the *Sound*, in which both displayed great skill, intrepidity, and undaunted resolution, though it terminated to the disadvantage of the *Swedes*. Victory indeed is to this day disputed; but certain it is, that the *Swedish* fleet first drew off under the cannon of *Lanskroon*; that *Opdam* landed a strong reinforcement of men, ammunition, and provision, to which *Copenhagen* owed its safety, and formed a plan for burning the *Swedish* squadron, that could not be possible, had he not been victorious in the former engagement. But we shall defer particulars, until we can give a minute detail in the history of *Sweden*, to which it more properly belongs, on account of the share *Gustavus* had in warding the last blow meditated by the *Dutch* admiral (C).

(C) On his return to *Holland* *Opdam* was accused of negligence, in not pursuing his advantage, and burning the *Swedish* squadron; yet it is probable, that neither he nor the

Dutch envoy thought it advisable to carry matters so far, and to ruin the *Swedish* marine; as they still proposed terminating matters in the way of negotiation.

BEFORE the battle *Gustavus* had greatly relaxed in the operations of the siege, having withdrawn his cannon from several batteries and advanced posts. Still, however, he kept the besieged closely blocked up by land. But after the battle he fortified his camp at *Crofton*, retired to a greater distance, drew lines to prevent surprises from the city, took possession of the eminences round *Copenhagen*, and converted the siege into a blockade, which continued until a peace was signed. In effect, he now thought less of taking *Copenhagen*, than of frustrating the attempts of the allies of *Denmark*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* had already entered *Frederic-Holstein*, and was preparing to pass over to *Zeland*. First, he went to *Afen*, where he laid siege to *Sanderburgh*, the strongest fortress in the island, and took it. Here he likewise made prisoners the *Swedish* general *Klaust*, and a corps of six hundred horse and some infantry. He was, however, prevented from pursuing his success by the severity of the weather.

AT *Borkholm*, the inhabitants rose in arms, attacked, and cut in pieces the *Swedish* garrison. *Frederic* was so pleased with their loyalty that he conferred some new privileges on the people, and obstinately refused to cede this island when a peace was negotiating. The militia of *Norway*, under general *Wirhwin*, had made themselves masters of *Dronaheim* and all that bailliage, after a siege of eleven weeks. Several other advantages were gained by *Denmark*; but yet the capital was not delivered from the attacks of *Gustavus*. His *Swedish* majesty perceiving himself rid of a powerful enemy, by a treaty concluded with the czar of *Muscovy* in the beginning of the year 1659, and the allies of *Denmark* uniting against him, determined upon making one general effort to gain *Copenhagen*, before the frost should enable the elector of *Brandenburgh* to pass over on the ice. Before he entered upon this design of storming the city, he made several feints, and gave a variety of false alarms, in order to put *Frederic* off his guard, and weary out the garrison with continual watching. He likewise engaged *Meadow*, *Cromwell's* envoy, to go to *Copenhagen*, and by exaggerating the strength of the *Swedish* army, and the great preparations making to storm the city, to intimidate *Frederic*; but *Ulfeld*, who strove to recover the favour of his king, sent intelligence of *Copenhagen* all that was done in the *Swedish* camp, and of the intention of *Meadows*. Certain proposals of peace were made by the *English* envoy, and rejected, as dishonourable, by *Frederic*, who demanded fiercely of *Meadows*, "What sort of prince that must be, who could transmit to posterity his own

ric's allies march to his relief.

Several advantages gained over Sweden.

A. D. 1659.

The king of Sweden resolves upon storming Copenhagen.

"dishonour under his hand?" "The devil himself," added he, "shall never force me to that."

IN effect, *Frederic* resolved to stand the assault, and *Gustavus* prepared every thing for storming the city on the 6th of *January*. Between six and seven in the evening, the *Swedes* made a feint for a general attack; but the besieged, apprised of their intention by a signal from some secret friends, kept to their guard without being much alarmed. For that month *Gustavus* made several other manœuvres of the same nature; but the inhabitants of *Copenhagen* having every thing in readiness to stand a general assault, paid but little regard to all these menaces.

*Disposition
of the as-
saults.*

AT last the king finding much time lost, without making any progress in the siege, he resolved upon storming the city on the 10th of *February*. He ordered the soldiers to put shirts over their cloaths, which he imagined would conceal their march, as there was snow on the ground, by rendering them of the same colour, or rather appearance. By this stratagem, they came so near the besieged, as to touch them with their arms before they were perceived, and then began three attacks, all of them equally unsuccessful and intrepid. *Steinboek*, general of the artillery, commanded the attack on the side of the citadel; and the colonels *Dalwig* and *Ferfer*, having forced the first entrenchment, cut down the pallisadoes, leaped into the ditch, and applied their ladders to the walls. Several of the soldiers mounted, notwithstanding a furious fire was made from the besieged; but almost all the officers being slain or wounded, the men lost courage, and all the endeavours of *Steinboek* could not prevail on them to continue the attack.

*The
Swedes
repuls'd.*

THE second attack was conducted with no less vigour, at *Christian's-haven*, near the isle of *Amack*. Here the besieged had broke the ice, and placed barges filled with cannon and mortars, from which they played as from batteries. The *Swedes* made themselves masters of some of these, and pushed the attack so briskly, that it was apprehended they would succeed on this side; when, happily for the garrison, colonel *Smidt* was slain, and immediately the ardour of the besiegers abated.

BANNIER commanded the third attack; his valour was conspicuous, and more distinguished than that of any other officer; yet such was the obstinate intrepidity of the besieged, that he was taken prisoner, and his corps totally defeated. Day now began to appear, all the attacks failed, and there was no prospect of forcing the city; *Gustavus* therefore returned to his camp, extremely chagrined with

his disappointment. His loss was great and irretrievable, as some of his best officers were killed and taken prisoners.

As to king *Frederic*, he was the whole night on horse-back, animating his troops by his presence and example, distributing his orders, and performing every duty of a great king, and vigilant, able commander. Danger seemed to have given nerves to his body, and additional vigour to his mind. He was present every where, and gave such proofs of undaunted prowess, as redoubled the courage and loyalty of his subjects, and equally attracted their love and admiration.

THIS repulse, however mortifying, did not oblige *Gustavus* to relinquish his design of conquering *Denmark*. He sent count *Waldec* to reduce the island *Langland*, where that general lost an arm, and was foiled in the attempt. It was however subdued soon after by *Wrangel* and count *Horn*. At *Laaland* the *Swedes* met with the same success^b.

IN the mean time a fleet, under lord *Montague*, arrived in the *Sound*, to watch the motions of the *Dutch* Squadron, which he did so closely, that he prevented *Opdam* from giving any assistance to *Frederic* or his allies. The elector of *Brandenburg* besieged *Frederics-Odde*, reduced the garrison to great straits, and at last got possession of the fortress, from whence he proposed passing into *Fionia*, had he not been prevented by contrary winds. This design was afterwards resumed, and the island attacked in three different places at the same time; but repulsed by the vigorous measures taken by *Pen*, the *English* commodore, who burnt all the boats belonging to the allies, and made 400 imperialists and 600 *Brandenburgers* prisoners.

COPENHAGEN was still blocked up, but not so closely as greatly to incommode the inhabitants. A treaty was struck up between *England* and *France*, by which they mutually engaged in labouring to establish the peace of the *North*. *Holland* was solicited to accede to this treaty; and it was at length agreed among the three powers, that they should declare against either of the parties who should reject equitable terms. It was no easy matter, however, to fix the standard of justice where prejudices reigned strongly, and interest on one side or other took deep root. A cautionary clause was therefore inserted, specifying, that should the mediators chance to differ among themselves, all acts performed in favour of either of their allies should be

Frederic's intrepid and vigilant conduct.

An English fleet arrives in the Baltic.

France and England offer mediation.

^b Vid. Mem. du Cheval. de Tesson. p. 114. et seq.

A. D. 1659. deemed acts of hostility to each other. *France* and *England* annulled the third article of the treaty of *Roschild*, whereby the free navigation of the *Baltic* was refused to foreign powers, and particularly foreign men of war prohibited from passing the *Sound*.

IN consequence of the cautionary clause in the treaty between *England*, *France*, and *Holland*, lord *Montague* permitted admiral *Opdam* to enter the harbour of *Copenhagen*, whereby the siege was raised, and that capital freed from all danger; but he denied *Ruyter*, the other *Dutch* admiral, the liberty of joining him. This, however, he did soon after, and wanted to land 4000 men on account of a dangerous distemper and scarcity of provision that reigned in the fleet; but *Frederic* would not permit them to land. Times were now changed, and his capital no longer stood in need of that assistance which they afforded him out of necessity, and solely from a regard to their own interest. In a word, he greatly resented the artful conduct of the states general, and during the negotiation broke out into severe invectives against *Holland*. Whether it was that the King's bold freedom made some impression on the minds of the *Hollanders*, or that they found their own interest strongly connected with his, their conduct seemed to take a different turn; and, instead of resenting his acrimony, they more strongly espoused his cause.

Negotiations for a peace.

THE mediators seemed now to incline to the side of *Frederic*, by insisting upon terms for his interest, of which the victorious monarch of *Sweden* loudly complained. He exclaimed in particular against *England*, calling the republic ingrateful to him, and blind to their own interest, for refusing to share with him in the spoils of ruined *Denmark*. At last the *English* fleet, on which *Gustavus* founded his chief hopes, departed, allowing the *Dutch* the free liberty of acting in favour of *Denmark*. This my lord *Montague* did, the more to oblige the parties to peace; for both relying on the assistance of their allies, were the more difficult with respect to terms.

OPDAM commanded in chief, and *Ruyter* a separate squadron under him. The latter, resolving to profit by the departure of the *English* admiral, sought means to attack the *Swedish* fleet at *Landskroon*. He made several attempts to burn four ships moored in the harbour, but failed in each. He then endeavoured to bombard *Elsmore* and *Helsingburgh*, but was prevented by contrary winds, on which he returned to *Copenhagen*, saying, that the elements conspired to compensate to *Gustavus* the loss of his *English* allies. By order of the *Dutch* ambassadors, he undertook several other en-

terprises.

surprises, all of which proved abortive, although they were contrived with prudence, and executed with the necessary caution and courage. • At last a descent on *Fionia* was determined, which, if successful, would greatly incommode *Gustavus*, and co-operate greatly in terminating the negotiation of peace, now grown tedious. *Ruyter* set sail with the *Dutch* forces on board, after concerting measures for joining the imperialists and *Danes*. All arrived off the island on the 8th of *November*, effected a landing, and pushed their operations with such vigour, that the towns of *Odense* and *Carlsmonde* surrendered, and the whole island was in a fair way of being reduced, before *Gustavus*, at that time in the isle of *Falstere*, was apprised of the motions of the fleet. The king of *Sweden* now determined to redeem by celerity and courage, what he had lost by the inactivity of his generals. He sent immediate orders to the prince of *Saltsbach* to fight the enemy, and dispatched general *Steenboek* to reinforce him. *Steenboek* arrived just in time to witness, and bear a part in the defeat and ruin of the *Swedes*. Both armies engaged, and the imperialists, who led the attack in the center, were repulsed with prodigious loss. The *Danish* cavalry on the right were not more successful, victory seemed ready to declare every where for the *Swedes*, when general *Schack* gave orders to the *Hollanders* to advance, which they did with so much firmness and intrepidity, that first the right wing of the *Swedes* was put in confusion and driven off the field; and next the left wing, which had entrenched itself in certain narrow defiles, was attacked. Supported by the *Danish* cavalry, which had rallied and returned to the charge, the *Dutch* carried all before them, retook the artillery and baggage that had fallen into the enemies hands, drove the *Swedes* into *Newburgh*, and entirely defeated them with prodigious slaughter. As for the two *Swedish* generals, they made their escape through woods almost impervious, reached the shore of the other side of the island, and by great rewards engaged a fisherman to carry them to *Zeland*, whither they went with the dismal tidings of their misfortune.

The
Swedes
defeated,
and forced
to evacuate
Fionia.

UPON this the city of *Newburgh* was besieged and taken, after a vigorous resistance. It will be but justice to the *Dutch* to acknowledge, that the victory was chiefly obtained by the conduct of *Ruyter*, and the intrepidity of general *Schack*, who commanded the forces of *Holland*; yet their moderation was so great, and military discipline so exactly observed, that while the imperialists and *Poles*, and even the *Danes*, were pillaging and destroying the town of

Newburgh, no *Dutchman* ever stirred from his post, except to restrain the barbarous avarice of the other allies.

The loss on the side of the Swedes. In *Newburgh* were found 160 pieces of cannon, together with a great quantity of ammunition. Eleven regiments of cavalry, the best troops of *Swedes*, were made prisoners, and incorporated in the confederate army; and of 7000 *Swedes*, who began the engagement, there escaped only the two generals, *Saltzbach* and *Steenboek*, with a slender retinue of domestics; all the rest being taken or killed in the field, in the pursuit, or in *Newburgh*. The prisoners amounted to 4000; and on the side of the allies the loss was computed at about 500 slain, among which were several officers of distinction. After all, this victory was rather glorious to the confederate arms than important to *Denmark*; the policy of *Holland* depriving *Frederic* of all the advantages which naturally resulted from it. It was not the interest of that republic to oppress *Sweden*, or destroy the balance of power between the northern crowns. For this reason *Ruyter* had orders not to pursue his conquests into *Zeland*, nor turn the fortune of war too much in favour of *Denmark*. *Frederic* was pressing with him to advance towards *Copenhagen*, and drive the *Swedes* out of the island; but he positively declared, that the approaching winter rendered it necessary to withdraw the fleet out of the northern seas, to prevent its being locked up by the frost, and exposed to the attempts of the enemy, who would not fail to attack him upon the ice.

The views of Holland.

ALL this while the negotiation went on; and now the *Danish* commissioners made the restitution of *Drontheim* a necessary condition of peace. This was what *Gustavus* had no mind to grant, as it would in a manner declare him the aggressor, and consequently subject him to other oppressive conditions. He therefore laboured for the means of continuing the war, and retrieving the honour of his arms; for which purpose he assembled the states of *Sweden*. Hence it was that the *Dutch* once more found it necessary to alter their politicks, and declare openly in favour of *Denmark*. *Ruyter*, of consequence, sailed to *Copenhagen*, and to his vigilance and excellent conduct the *Danes* owed the safety of that capital, on a third attack of the *Swedes*, who were repulsed with loss, by the strong out-guards, admirably posted by *Ruyter*. In a word, every thing tended to the renewal of the war, when, happily for *Denmark*, the magnanimous *Charles Gustavus* died.

A. D.
1660.

Gustavus dies.

THE mediators thought to profit by this event. They urged king *Frederic* openly to declare his pacific intentions, and

and were astonished to hear that generous prince loud in the praises of his greatest enemy, and even lamenting the death of *Gustavus* with tears in his eyes. He seemed indeed averse to taking the advantage which policy required, of the loss of that monarch; and at last told the mediators, that he would let *Sweden* make the first declaration of her designs. The *Swedish* commissaries were indeed so forward in terminating a war, which must be attended with great inconveniencies during a new reign, that peace would soon have been concluded, had not the *French* and *English* ambassadors too strenuously espoused the interest of the young king of *Sweden*. It would be unnecessarily tedious to recite the progress of this negotiation, in which each of the powers endeavoured to gain some particular advantage, at the expence of the others. Sufficient it is, that, after being retarded by a variety of circumstances, a peace was at length concluded; the ambassadors of the different nations waited on the king and queen, to felicitate them on this joyful event, which was proclaimed by a general discharge of the small arms and artillery in the *Swedish* camp, and of the cannon on the ramparts of *Copenhagen*. Peace concluded.

By this peace the strong fortress of *Cronenburgh*, all the *Danish* islands in the *Baltic*, and the bailliage of *Drontheim*, were restored to *Frederic*; while the island of *Rugen*, the provinces of *Bleking*, *Halland*, and *Schonen*, were adjudged to *Sweden*. Several other particulars, of less consideration, were inserted in this treaty.

NOTWITHSTANDING the treaty of peace was now signed and ratified, by the parties concerned, its effects were almost destroyed by the pretensions of the Duke of *Holstein*, who sent commissaries to *Copenhagen*, with the following propositions, in consequence of the treaty of *Roschild*. The demands of the duke of Holstein.

1. That the king should cede his claim to the duke's dominions, as fiefs of his crown; and no more look upon his highness as a vassal of *Denmark*.
2. That his majesty should cede the bailliage of *Swabside*, and other territories specified.
3. That he should surrender the fortress of *Rendburgh* to his highness.
4. That he should abolish the administration of the regency, in the duchies of *Holstein* and *Sleswick*.
5. That his majesty should reimburse the duke in the expences of the war, and give sufficient security for the performance of the above articles.

These, with a number of other propositions, were rejected, as insolent and exorbitant, by the court of *Denmark*; but the king of *Sweden*, who was desirous of binding the duke in his interest, refused to withdraw his forces, before his highness received full satisfaction,

A. D.
1600.

saction. Orders were even sent to the *Swedish* generals to recommence hostilities, in case *Frederic* persisted in his refusal. Thus the *Danes* found themselves constrained to yield to the duke's remonstrances, or engage a fresh in a war, that had wholly drained the treasury, and exhausted the kingdom. The sovereignty, therefore, which the duke demanded, was granted; but without prejudice to the ancient union, between the crown of *Denmark* and the duchies, to the rights of the crown over the bailliage of *Swahstide*, to the revenues of the chapter of *Sleswic*, or to several other rights and claims of less consideration (A).

*Frederic
applies
himself to
domestic
concerns.*

*The crown
rendered
heredi-
tary.*

IMMEDIATELY after this peace it was that king *Frederic* applied himself diligently to repair the disorders introduced into his dominions by the late ruinous war, and to form the plan which brought about that great revolution in the constitution of the *Danish* government, which from a kind of aristocracy, reduced it to the most absolute monarchy in *Europe*. There are various conjectures with respect to the share his majesty bore in this great event. Some writers wholly ascribe it to the insolence of the nobility, and the united resentment of the people, arising from unavoidable circumstances. Others, on the contrary, affirm, that his majesty fomented their divisions by the most artful policy, in order to establish the royal prerogative on the ruins of public liberty. We have already given a distinct view of this revolution from the best authority; it is sufficient, therefore, that we observe the æra in which it happened, and that if ever prince merited so much confidence from his subjects, *Frederic* certainly had a claim to all the rights now put into his hands, as his courage, policy, and perseverance, had certainly rescued *Denmark* from the jaws of perdition, at a time when it was in the most imminent danger of becoming a province to *Sweden*, and a sacrifice to the contending interests of those powers, who, under the names of allies and mediators, studied nothing besides their own emolument, at the expence both of *Sweden* and *Denmark*.

1667. We have seen that the fortress of *Cronenburgh*, and the islands of the *Baltic*, were restored by the late treaty; but it was with difficulty the *Swedes* were persuaded to evacuate

(A) It may be proper to observe, that *Sweden*, on the conclusion of the peace, consented to cede the 400,000 crowns, which the king of *Denmark* had

engaged to pay for the *Swedish* settlements on the coast of *Guinea*. The reader will find a distinct account of this transaction in vol. xii. of our history.

them,

them. However, the spirited remonstrances of *Terlen*, the French ambassador, if we may credit himself, had the effect, and obtained the full execution of the treaty on both sides. Now there only remained to trouble *Denmark*, a coldness between the court and the duke of *Holstein*, occasioned by a late treaty of alliance he concluded with *Sweden*. *Frederic* beheld with jealousy so strict an union between the courts of *Stockholm* and *Holstein*: he repeated the necessity he was under of ceding the undoubted rights of his crown to that prince; but he was forced to stifle his indignation, on account of the unsettled state of his dominions, arising from the late revolution and war. On the contrary, the duke, encouraged by his alliance, and by the weak condition of *Denmark*, proposed by the conjuncture, to establish and advance his own interest and independency. As he found great difficulty in maintaining the body of standing forces wanted to complete his design, he proposed to the king of *Denmark*, to divide the revenues of the duchies, which usually had been lodged in a common treasury. He desired, that each might be allowed to take money upon his own receipt; although the intention of the common-treasury was, to prevent either party's levying troops, without the consent and approbation of the other. *Frederic* penetrated the duke's intention, but not being in a condition to break with *Sweden*, he yielded at length to the importunity of that prince; but on condition, that the money should not be applied to the prejudice of *Denmark*, and that all taxes levied on the duchies, should continue to be brought, as usual, into the common treasury; a circumstance which the politic duke found means to turn to his own advantage.

ENGLAND and *Holland* being on the eve of a rupture, the Dutch sent ambassadors to *Copenhagen*, to engage *Frederic's* interest, where they doubted not of success; as the services they had done that prince were so fresh in his mind, and the partiality which *England* had shewn to *Sweden* so evident and recent. But the king found it convenient to listen to the proposals of his *Britannic* majesty, and sign the triple alliance between the courts of *London*, *Stockholm*, and *Copenhagen*. In this treaty it was stipulated, that neither king should harbour such persons as were declared rebels in their own country; by which article, his *Britannic* majesty had a view to the murderers of his father, and his *Danish* majesty to the famous count *Ulfeld* (A).

A. D.
1663.

Triple alliance between England, Denmark, and Sweden.

BESIDES

(A) We have seen this noble-born country, rise to the highest man, after being forced to fly his pitch of power in *Sweden*, excite

Disputes
between
the king
and the
Dutch a-
bout their
settlements
in Guinea
A. D.
1666.

BESIDES this treaty with England, there were other more powerful obstacles to the alliance which the states-general of the United Provinces sought with Denmark. These were, the behaviour of the Dutch factors in Guinea, and that despotism in trade this republic every where assumed. The particulars of this quarrel Bosman relates minutely, but partially, in his account of the coast of Guinea; and the reader will find it fully explained in our 17th volume. We shall

cite *Charles Gustavus* to the conquest of Denmark, and afterwards incur his displeasure by the secret correspondence he carried on at Copenhagen, when that city was besieged. He was afterwards arrested by the court of Sweden, but released at the intercession of Terlen, the French ambassador; soon after which he threw himself into the power of his natural king, whom he had so grievously offended, by promoting the late war, without the precaution of obtaining his pardon. At Copenhagen he was arrested and sent prisoner to Bornholm; but afterwards enlarged, and suffered, on his parole, to go to the Spa, and reside for his health, in the Netherlands. From thence he wrote to count Sverin, or as others think from Amsterdam, acquainting that minister with a secret of the utmost importance, which he could intrust to no one besides the elector of Brandenburg himself. The elector immediately sent general Spon to Ulfseld. They met at Bruges, and the count informed him, that the Danish nobility, incensed against Frederic, had determined to elect another king, and that the clergy joined in the conspiracy. That himself had quitted Denmark to avoid their importunity, and to labour with

more security abroad in effecting this revolution; that he would be perfectly well received in France and Sweden, if he carried such propositions to either of these courts; but that, as his design was to give Denmark a German king, he first applied himself to the elector, and could assure him of success, if he embraced the proposal.

General Spon immediately acquainted his master with Ulfseld's secret, at which the elector was struck with horror. He detested the perfidy of Ulfseld, and admired the fertility of his genius in expedients to disturb the repose of his country. He gave immediate notice to Frederic of Ulfseld's designs. Ulfseld's wife was arrested in England, and sent prisoner to Copenhagen; and himself, finding that his projects were blasted, retreated to Basil, with his three sons. Here he lived as tutor to three Dutch young gentlemen, and was at length discovered by a quarrel which one of his sons had with a captain of Zurich. On this, thinking himself unsafe, he went up the Rhine, in an open boat, and died of a severe cold he contracted in his passage; thus ridding his king and country of the most artful, dangerous and projecting enemy they ever encountered. *Vid. Terlen, ibid.*

here

here only relate, that the *Dutch* surmounted all difficulties, and at last concluded a quadruple alliance with *Denmark*, the elector of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Brunswic*; from which the *Dutch* reaped this advantage, that their *East India* fleet found a safe retreat in the harbour of *Bergen* in *Norway*, and baffled, by this means, all the attempts of the earl of *Sandwich*, admiral of the *English* fleets in those seas.

Now it was that *Frederic*, disburthened of all foreign wars by his alliances, and eased of domestic troubles by the late revolution, in consequence of which his prerogative was so extravagantly extended, and the crown made hereditary in his family, gave his whole attention to the affairs of commerce, promoting industry, gaining the affection of his subjects, and watching over the education of the hereditary prince his son. Attended by the famous count *Parfberg*, he sent the young prince upon his travels; first to *Holland*, from thence to *England*, afterwards to *France*, returning by the way of *Italy* and *Germany* to his own dominions. In passing through *Germany*, the young prince conceived such a passion for the princess *Charlotta Emilia*, daughter to the landgrave of *Hesse*, that when he came to *Denmark*, he used his utmost endeavours with his father for permission to address that lady. Proposals were accordingly made, accepted, and the nuptials consummated in the royal palace of *Oma-lienburgh*, on the 16th of *May* 1667.

HOLLAND had no sooner concluded peace with *England*, than the city of *Amsterdam* and the states general entered into disputes with *Frederic*, about certain sums of money lent him during the late war with *Sweden*, and the duties exacted from *Dutch* shipping in the ports of *Norway*. These little contentions tended only to cool the friendship between the two powers, without any hazard of their occasioning a rupture. In much the same state were the courts of *Denmark* and *Holslein*; they wrangled and disputed about their claims: but so far were they from deciding their differences by arms, that they silenced them for a time by a family alliance, the duke having espoused the princess *Frederica Emilia*, princess of *Denmark*: notwithstanding which the duke did not break his engagements with *Sweden*, nor renounce any of his claims. On the contrary, they were renewed in the year 1670, and the king was preparing to enforce his arguments with arms, when he was carried off by a chronical disorder, first contracted by the fatigue he underwent during the siege of his capital.

FOR

Frederic's
death and
character.

FOR some years he was afflicted with a cough, which at last affected his lungs, and was the cause of his death, and of real sorrow to his people. It is sufficient praise of this great monarch, that absolute power, made hereditary in his family in his reign, so far from alienating the affections of the nobility, jealous to an excess, for so many ages, of their liberty and independency, had rather more strongly engaged their attachment, by destroying the seeds of discontent and faction, which had ever flourished in *Denmark*; and sprung up as in their native soil and climate. Known to merit a crown by his valour, intrepidity, constancy and prudence, the people voluntarily presented their rights to him, and never repined under their greatest misfortunes at the sacrifice they had made. When *Denmark* was reduced to the last extremity, his subjects only recollected, that his virtues and magnanimity had once saved the kingdom, and lamented that the power of the nobility should limit talents so formed for the public good. As soon as he was in possession of absolute government, he restrained his passion for glory, and applied himself to restore frugality among his people, to re-establish his finances, to encourage merit, industry, and commerce, to reward those who had served him with fidelity, to redress grievances, protect the oppressed, relieve the indigent, and approve himself the father of his subjects, and the friend of mankind (B).

S E C T. XVII.

The history deduced to the accession of Frederic V. with a sketch of whose reign it concludes.

Christian
V.

CH^RI^STIAN, the oldest son of *Frederic III.* had been declared successor to his father, at a general diet of the states, the year preceding that great event which made the crown hereditary in the family. He mounted the throne at

(B) *Frederic III.* left a numerous posterity. His eldest son *Christian*, born 1646, succeeded to his throne. His daughter *Anna Sophia* married the elector of *Saxony* in 1666, and died in 1717. *Frederica Emelia* was married to the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* in 1667, and died 1704.

A third daughter married the elector *Palatine* in 1671, dying in 1706. His second son *George*, espoused *Anne* queen of *Great Britain*, and died in 1708; and his youngest daughter *Ulrica Elenora* was married to *Charles XI.* of *Sweden*, dying in 1693.

a time,

a time, and with circumstances that foreboded him a reign not more pacific than the last. Notwithstanding all the endeavours of *Frederic*, his son found the kingdom filled with troubles and confusion, the affairs of the state in bad order, the whole specie of the kingdom drained by a tedious war and heavy subsidies; and lastly, a variety of altercations abroad with different states, particularly *Sweden*, *Holland*, and the dukes of *Holstein*, *Gottorp*, and *Ploen*.

The state of Denmark on Christian's accession.

FROM the time that *Sweden* had broke the knot of union, which kept her in a kind of dependency on *Denmark*, she had by large strides elevated herself above her neighbours, and became formidable, through the courage and vigour of her monarchs, to all *Europe*. She had made conquests on all sides, but the chief were the provinces wrested from *Denmark* and *Norway*. From the latter she had taken the provinces of *Femsterland* and *Herendahlen*, and from the latter a tract of land which secured her frontier, by making the *Sound* the boundery of her dominions on the side of *Denmark*. These, and a multitude of other reasons, conspired to point out the necessity of *Christian's* putting himself in condition to restrain the ambition, and make head against this aspiring and powerful monarchy. With this view he directed that the fortifications of all the cities should be repaired, and each put in a state of defence; that new fortresses should be built in all places exposed to the insults of those turbulent neighbours; that military discipline might be established among his troops, the command of which he gave to the most experienced officers, whose attachment to his person, and fidelity to the public, were approved; and lastly, he minutely examined the state of the revenue, and laboured to set it upon the best footing, without oppressing the people.

A view of the state of Sweden.

THE duke of *Gottorp's* close alliance with *Sweden*, gave *Christian* umbrage, and his endeavours to break off the treaty between these powers, introduced disputes between him and the duke, which they both consented to terminate amicably, at an interview appointed at *Rendsburgh*. Thither the duke went, and was received by a general discharge of the artillery mounted on the ramparts. His majesty having immediately after his arrival received advice, that the *Swedes* were defeated by the elector of *Brandenburgh*, acquainted his highness, that he proposed marching with all his forces against the enemies of the empire; and expected that his highness would not, in consequence of his alliance with *Sweden*, do any thing to molest his dominions during his absence. The hesitating a reply, and desiring time to consider

Differences between Christian and the duke of Gottorp.

A. D. 1674.

Under the king's demand, *Christian* ordered the gates of *Rendsburgh* to be shut, in order to prevent the duke from giving orders to his governors to oppose his design, or of surprizing *Sweden* of the measures he had concerted. Intimidated with a proceeding so vigorous and unexpected, his highness complied not only with the king's demand, but agreed to relieve a *Danish* garrison in *Tonningen*, which was done without delay, *Christian* being equally prompt in executing, and prudent in concerting his projects.

THIS action was highly blamed by the enemies of *Denmark*. The king was accused of a breach of his word, and violation of the laws of hospitality. It was reported, and industriously propagated, that his highness was confined to his chamber, a guard set over him, and his person insulted; nay, his life threatened if he refused to comply, circumstances sufficiently refuted by the treaty, soon after concluded between *Denmark* and *Holstein*, as well as by the most authentic documents of this transaction. Besides, it is certain, that had he laid any restraint on the duke's person, he might have been fairly justified by the laws of nations, as at the very time when the gates were shut, it is well attested that certain letters and projects which intimated designs against *Denmark*, were found among the papers of baron *Kielman*, first minister of *Holstein*^a. In fact, however, no violence was done to his highness, and the gates of *Rendsburgh* were shut with no other view than to prevent his disconcerting the king's measures; a circumstance unpremeditated, and arising solely from the intelligence just received from *Germany*. We are assured from undoubted testimony, that the king and prince *George* frequently visited the duke, during his residence at *Rendsburgh*, and that they testified for each other the warmest friendship, and proved the sincerity of their professions, by the treaty which immediately followed. By this the duke renounced the sovereignty he assumed by the treaty of *Roschild*, restoring the ancient union between the two states, upon the footing established by the ancestors of both princes. Upon his return to his own dominions, he ratified the treaty concluded at *Rendsburgh*, and sent back the patent whereby *Frederic III.* had made him independent on the crown of *Denmark*. He likewise formally ceded all claim to the advantages which he extorted during the late reign, at the conclusion of the general peace, and obliged his brother, the bishop of *Lubeck*, to do the same. In

They are
reconciled.

^a Mem. de Danemarck,

a word,

a word, after his majesty's return to *Copenhagen*, he received a letter wrote by the duke's own hand, assuring him of the satisfaction he received in being thus reconciled to his majesty; and protesting, that it would be his utmost care to cultivate his majesty's friendship, and the ancient and natural amity between the two families, from which he had been artfully drawn by the suggestions of his majesty's enemies. These circumstances we think quite sufficient to vindicate his majesty's character, from the false aspersions thrown out at that time, and weakly transmitted by subsequent historians to posterity, in defiance of truth, honour, and justice.

CHRISTIAN was no sooner at ease with respect to the house of *Holstein*, than he openly declared war against *Sweden*, and joined his fleet to the *Dutch* Squadron in the *Baltic*. The duchy of *Bremen* was the more immediate cause of this rupture, and it afterwards became the subject of a strange labyrinth of intrigue, negotiation and wrangling. His majesty ordered war to be proclaimed by sea and land, determining to act vigorously against the *Swedes*, whose effects were seized in his ports; but the queen was averse to the war, and the ministry entered so much into her sentiments, that the fairest occasion of humbling *Sweden* was lost, by their dilatory preparations.

THE first hostilities commenced at sea, two *Danish* ships attacked a *Swedish* man of war stationed off the fort of *Brunshuisen*; the action was sharp, but of short duration, one of the *Danish* vessels being sunk, and the other forced to make off. This loss the *Danes* repaired by taking a fleet of *Swedish* merchantmen.

WHILE the war went briskly on by sea, his majesty and the elector of *Brandenburgh* had an interview at *Gadesbæsch*, to concert the operations of the campaign. Here it was determined that *Christian* should attack *Damgarten*, while the troops of *Lithenburgh*, *Brandenburgh*, *Munster*, and of the other allies, should employ their whole force against *Demmen* and *Tribes*, a town of *Pomerania*. His *Danish* majesty arrived at *Damgarten* on the 2d of *October*, where count *Koninsmarck* defended the passage of the river *Recknitz*, to the last extremity, and had a horse shot under him. At last the post was forced in the night, and the *Swedes* obliged to retreat. However, as they broke down all the bridges behind them, his majesty was compelled to relinquish the pursuit.

NEXT he marched towards *Straßund*; and having met the elector of *Brandenburgh* in the neighbourhood of that city, it was concerted that his majesty's next operations should be against *Wismar*. The winter was now far advanced, the city of *Wismar* strong, and easily supplied with all necessaries from *Lubic*. Such difficulties, however, could not damp the spirit of *Christian*. He levelled his artillery against two batteries at the mouth of the harbour, built to secure a passage to the town; and at the same time made his approaches before the town from three different quarters. The trenches were opened with extreme diligence on all hands; five batteries played incessantly upon the besieged, with thirty-six pieces of cannon and five mortars. Bombs and ignited bullets were poured into the town as thick as hail, the houses reduced to ashes, and garrison and inhabitants to the most deplorable situation. A ship of 46 guns, stationed before fort *Baline*, was taken, and the garrison of the fort so intimidated by the intrepidity of the *Danes*, that they surrendered at discretion. Still, however, *Wismar* held out for some days; and though the garrison was alarmed by the enemy's success, and greatly harrassed with fatigue and continual watching, yet still their courage was undaunted. Every thing was attempted in their own defence. After giving a false alarm on the left of the king's camp, a strong body of soldiers and burghers sallied out on the right, fought desperately, but were repulsed with loss.

To prevent such sallies for the future, his majesty ordered caltrops to be placed round the camp. He sent three burghers, prisoners, back to the city, with orders to acquaint the inhabitants, that he would instantly hang up all the burghers who should be taken in the sallies; and he also drove back into the city several women who had been sent out, to save provision, many of whom perished with hunger. Besides the vigorous resistance of the besieged, he had to encounter with natural inconveniences of situation, which greatly retarded his approaches. *Wismar* was surrounded with marshes, which his majesty found it necessary to drain, both for the health and convenience of the soldiers, and to render his approaches practicable. This he attempted with engines erected with great expence and labour; but the toil was endless, the continual rains, and neighbouring springs and rivulets filling them as fast as they were emptied. Finding this expedient fruitless, he contrived to dam up the waters, and keep his camp dry by dykes and ditches driver round. However, the snow and cold weather becoming unsufferable, the soldi-

ers began to murmur; and even the officers, fatigued with hard duty, uttered complaints of the king's rashness in undertaking so laborious a siege, when the season was so far advanced. At the same time *Wrangel* dispatched count *Königsmark* with a strong detachment to force a passage into the town, in which he was disappointed by the king's vigilance. In spite of all difficulties, *Christian* determined to storm the town in breach, and to pass over the marshes upon light wooden bridges, contrived for the purpose. The twenty-first of December was fixed for the attack. Early in the morning the troops began to file over, three a-breast; and though they were miserably galled by the grape-shot and musketry of the besieged, yet, animated by the presence and example of their monarch, they marched on, setting danger at defiance. The attack on fort *Sparburt* was led by the duke of *Holftein-Pleen*, where he was repulsed. General *Rosenkrantz* was more successful in the attack on the new works on the side of *Mecklenburg-gate*, which he carried with little opposition. Two hours after the governor demanded a parley, and offered terms of capitulation, which his majesty accepted. For ten weeks he had defended himself with great valor and conduct: the garrison had sustained numberless hardships from cold, fatigue, and hunger; they had for several days been restricted to a scanty subsistence, hardly sufficient to keep them from perishing; yet nothing but the clamours of the burghers could oblige them to surrender.

THE same day on which the king made himself master of *Rebnitz Wismar*, general *Arensdorff* appeared before *Rebnitz*, with a detachment of *Danes* and *Brandenburgers*. The Swedish garrison, not exceeding four hundred men, finding their endeavours to defend the place would be vain, surrendered on the first summons; and the prisoners were equally divided between the troops of the king and doctor. Several other enterprizes were projected; and *Adolph* others an attempt on the island of *Rügen*, to which *Griffenfeldt*, who had secretly opposed the Swedish war, put a stop, pretending that he had certain intelligence of an intended descent on *Zealand*, as soon as the frost came on; the expedition to be headed by the young king of Sweden. His majesty gave credit to the report of his minister, relinquished the design, returned to *Copenhagen*, and found he was deceived. In the mean time he had ordered his fleet, commanded by admiral *Adelaar*, to cover his capital, as he was too weak, though joined by the *Dutch*, to act offensively (A).

FOR-

(A) Here it was that famous officer died, the
Mod. Hist. Vol. 11.

regret of his majesty, and all well-wishers to Denmark, before
L 1, he

A. D. 1676. FORTUNE was not more favourable this campaign to the Swedes than it had been the former. The allied forces continued during the winter to block up *Carlsstadt*, and reduced the garrison to such extremities, that the fortress was surrendered early in the summer. His Danish majesty demanded *Carlsstadt*; and the other allies took the alarm, as he formed the same pretensions to *Stade*, which would have made him master both of the *Wiser* and the *Elbe*; but this last city was still in the hands of the Swedes. However, the contention rose high; the bishop of *Munster*, the duke of *Lunenbourg*, and the elector, all opposed his demand; and though the conquest was yet remote and precarious, yet it is certain their disputes about the imaginary spoil was of the greatest prejudice to the operations of the campaign.

It gave great uneasiness to the states of *Holland* to see their allies neglect real conquests for disputes about cities which possibly might never come into their power. They proposed an expedient; and matters went so far, that a treaty was drawn up, and approved by the ambassadors of the several princes; but it came to nothing, as the masters refused to ratify it.

IN the mean time the Swedes lost no opportunity of annoying the enemy. The garrison of *Stade* had formed, during the winter, a scheme of surprising *Altena*; but the design was defeated by the vigilant measures of the Danish garrison. Several other attempts they made were equally unsuccessful; and one may say, that fortune rather forsook the arms of Sweden than either courage, conduct, or perseverance.

Christian's dispute with the city of Lubeck. THIS year it was that his majesty wrote to the regency of *Lubeck*, exhorting them to carry on no correspondence with Sweden; and threatening to keep no terms with that republic, if she refused to break off her connections with the enemies of his kingdom. Soon after he relaxed in this demand, and insisted only, that the *Lubeckers* should carry no contraband goods into Sweden, or such as were specified in the treaty of commerce between Denmark and *Lubeck*. Having finished this affair to his satisfaction, he gave orders for augmenting his troops; and to raise funds for pushing the war on vigorously, he imposed a poll-tax on all his subjects, collecting it in a certain proportion, according to their supposed abilities. A nobleman paid two rixdollars; an officer, or placeman of distinction, one rixdollar; a doctor two marks; a merchant,

he had an opportunity of signa- the *Feyrian* fleet, and gained
lizing himself against the Swedes. seven or eight battles over the
He had formerly commanded *Turks* (1).

(1) *Ad. Maurenius lib. 7. c. 1.*

shop-keeper, or burgher, half a crown; a mechanic one sol; and so in proportion to the lowest rank of the people. This tax was payable at two yearly instalments, and was supposed would produce seven hundred thousand rixdollars. To push his levies with the more success, he also ordained, that no tradesman should keep above one journeyman and a boy; regulations equally injurious to commerce, and oppressive of the spirit of industry in general; but necessary to forward the great projects and ambition of *Christian*.

And the world was surprised at the directions which his Majesty gave for dismantling *Tonningen*, and blowing up the general demofortifications, after they had cost the government immense sums in building and repairing. It was conjectured, that his majesty had given these orders on receiving advice, that an *English* ambassador was on his way to solicit the restitution of this place to the duke of *Holslein*; but this was no more than conjecture, without any positive authority.

If the public beheld with surprise the demolition of *Tonningen*, they were still more astonished at the downfall of the chancellor *Griffenfeldt*, the king's chief minister and favourite, whom he had raised from an obscure rank to the highest honours and preferments of the kingdom. Some of his letters having been intercepted, the king gave orders to general *Arensdorff*, and three other lords, about three o'clock in the morning, to invest the house of the burgomaster *Falker*, who was privy to all the minister's secrets. The general executed his orders so secretly, that he seized on *Falker's* person and papers without the least noise, or being perceived by any one, and committed him prisoner, with all his domestics. *Griffenfeldt*, who had no suspicion of what happened, went as usual to court at seven in the morning. He was met in the antichamber by general *Arensdorff*, who inquired where he was going at so early an hour: to which *Griffenfeldt* answered, he was going to the king. "You had better step to the library," replies the general, "as his majesty is not to be disturbed, and follow me without noise." The minister had an immediate foreboding of his fall; and cried out, as he went after the general, "If these are the king's orders, 'tis proper I obey. Heavens, whence comes this disgrace!"

When *Griffenfeldt* was committed, his majesty gave directions that all the chancellor's debtors and creditors should carry their accounts to the treasurer. Soon after baron *Killman* and his three sons were likewise arrested; and so fearful was the duke of *Holslein* of his own person, that he escaped by night to *Hambourgh*, and rode with such dispatch, that he killed two horses by the way. In these sudden imprisonments occasioned great speculation. For some time the people concluded

cluded that some dangerous conspiracy against the state, or his majesty's person, had been discovered. Men spoke differently of this proceeding; but the *Danes* insisted, that although *Kielman* and his children were the subjects and ministers of the duke of *Holstein*, it was justifiable in his majesty to secure their persons, as they were always bitter enemies of *Denmark*, and had by their pernicious counsels introduced great confusion in their master's affairs, and occasioned all the quarrels between him and the king. They were besides ^{guilty} with having entered *Denmark* in a hostile manner during the last war, and committed cruel ravages in different parts of his majesty's dominions. Besides, old *Keilman* was convicted of having published bitter libels against the king, both at *London* and *Frankfort*.

GRIFFENFELDT was examined, for the first time, on the twenty-fifth of *April*, but he obstinately refused to answer to the charge, and was dismissed from the court as refractory, with a caution from the fiscal, that, if he persisted in his silence, he should be condemned as a voluntary mute, whose guilt rendered it dangerous for him to answer to the questions proposed. The crime for which he was accused was corruption and venality in distributing justice, and the sale of offices; for his majesty did not care to lay open the secrets of state, by proving him guilty of treason. Instances of both were so clearly and circumstantially proved, that he was condemned to lose his head; though that sentence was not executed, his majesty having reprieved him on the scaffold, but condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. His arms were, however, first broke; and the executioner was just ready to sever the head from the body when his reprieve was proclaimed, and he was conducted to prison, with books, like a school-boy, under his arm.

Not long after *Falker* was brought to his trial, and condemned by the same judges to lose two fingers of his right hand, to be exposed for a quarter of an hour on a gibbet, and then to be conducted out of the town by the hangman, and for ever banished the kingdom.

CHRISTIAN being thus delivered of a faithless minister, who traversed all his designs, by holding a secret correspondence with the enemies of his country, and had undoubtedly betrayed the fleets and army, appointed generals to the command of each, in whom he might confide. Immediately the army was ordered to march to *Stade*, which city had for some time been blocked up by the troops of *Lunenburg*. The bishop of *Munster*, in imitation of his majesty, marched his force likewise to *Stade*; but with a view rather to relieve than distress the garrison; for, changing his sentiments of a

Stade besieged.

he was now desirous of maintaining the Swedes in Bremen, and of declaring war afresh against Holland, with which he had concluded peace only from necessity.

WHEN the allies made their appearance before Stade, the garrison consisted of three thousand men, and the burghers were resolved to take arms; but a dysentery prevailed among both, and swept off great numbers. Besides, the town had laid in no store of provisions, and the men were restricted to a certain allowance on the first approaches of the enemy. However, as it was open to the river, and the Munster forces were negligent in their duty, the garrison found means to draw in some supplies, before the besiegers had enough pushed their works to prevent them.

To cut off this advantage, the allies resolved to attack fort *Swing*, which commanded the communication of the town with the water; and began so furious a cannonading, that it was laid in ruins in a very short time, and all the artillery dismounted. The Swedish commandant hung out a white flag; but the allies, valuing him the honours of war, he resolved to defend it to the last extremity, and now hostilities recommenced with redoubled fury. At last, finding the place no longer tenable, he determined upon a sally, and cutting his way through the besiegers to the town. The effort was brave, but unsuccessful; for he was taken prisoner, with all his men.

FORT *Gastorp*, another strong out-post, surrendered a short time after the reduction of *Swing*. Three men of war appeared off *Stade*, with intention to throw in provisions and stores of all kinds; but the diligence of general *Arensdorff* rendered their attempts vain, though his vigilance could not prevent their landing some men at *Brunsbüttel* and *Bracktorff*, and setting fire to a number of villages, after pillaging the inhabitants. After this attempt, the Swedish admiral, perceiving he could not relieve *Stade*, set sail for *Gottenburg*, and narrowly escaped commodore *Bastiaenz*, who lay with a squadron to intercept him.

IMMEDIATELY on the departure of the Swedish fleet, the besiegers advanced their works; but having certain advice that the town was in great want of provisions, they altered their intention of storming it to a kind of blockade, as famine would soon oblige the garrison to surrender, without any loss to the confederates. At last, on the thirteenth of August, the governor signed a capitulation, the town was put into the hands of the allies, there to become a bone of contention, until their differences were terminated by a new division of their conquests.

The operations of the Danish fleet. WHILE the confederate army lay before *Stade*, *Van Tromp* arrived at *Copenhagen* with the ships of *Amsterdam* and *Rottterdam*, and was received by the king with all possible respect, being honoured with the order of the Elephant. His majesty deliberated with him about the necessary operations; and the result was, that several *Danish* ships, which had been laid up, should be equipped with all possible expedition; the *Danish* admiral *Juel*, cruizing in the *Baltick*, reinforced with eight stout men of war, and *Van Tromp* to follow, as soon as the rest of the fleet could be got ready. *Juel* had scarce received this reinforcement when he fell in with two *Swedish* men of war, one of which he burnt, having taken the other. He then steered for the island of *Gothland*, landed his men, in spite of all the resistance made by count *Oxenstiern* the governor, whom, after a vigorous and sharp engagement, he drove into *Wibby*. After making himself master of the whole island, except the capital, he laid siege by sea and land to *Wibby*, and was not long before he obliged the governor to capitulate, the inhabitants of the island in general expressing most ardent desire to return under the dominion of *Danish* rule. The exacting an oath of allegiance from the inhabitants in general, ecclesiastics as well as laics, he left a garrison of five hundred men in *Wibby*, and put to sea, where he was again reinforced with six *Danish* and *Dutch* men of war.

On the first of *June* he descried the *Swedish* fleet, consisting of forty-four sail, besides tenders and small vessels. On the fourth he came up with the *Swedish* admiral, and begun the engagement at six in the morning, between the coast of *Schonen* and the isle of *Bornholm*. The *Suedes* were superior in force; but they contented themselves with cannonading, without coming to a close engagement, or attempting to board. In this *Juel* had the advantage, he disabled five of the enemy's ships; but was prevented by the wind from pursuing and making prize of them. Next day the fight was renewed at the same hour; the *Swedish* admiral, having the wind astern, bearing up as if he intended coming to a very close engagement; but this he declined a second time. After a cannonading of four hours, and making some attempts to destroy each other by fire-ships, both admirals retired, as if by voluntary consent, without any considerable advantage gained on either side. The *Suedes*, indeed, lost one galliot of ten guns and thirty men, had five ships disabled, and were even, if we may credit the *Danish* accounts, forced to retreat each day.

THE news of this battle was scarce arrived at *Copenhagen*, when *Van Tromp* put to sea with a squadron of four *Danish* and three *Dutch* men of war to reinforce *Juel*. The fleets joined on the seventh of *June*, and next day every thing was

prepared for a third engagement; but it was the eleventh before the battle began, contrary winds preventing the confederate fleet from coming up with the enemy. In the very beginning of the fight the *Swedish* admiral's ship, mounting one hundred and four guns (A), was blown up. The rest of the fleet, discouraged with so unfortunate an accident, would have retreated; but they were attacked on every side by the *Dutch* and *Danish* admirals. Necessity obliged them to stand in their own defence, and they fought for a long time with great resolution; but were at last forced to give way, and leave an undoubted victory to the superior skill and good fortune of *Juel* and *Van Tromp*, after losing ten of their largest ships, one frigate of sixteen guns, and several other smaller vessels. In the letter which the *Dutch* admiral wrote to the states, he claims to himself the chief glory of this victory; but with little reason, if we can rely on the *Danish* and *Swedish* accounts, who agree, that *Juel* and all his officers performed all that could be expected from the most experienced and resolute commanders.

AFTER this battle, *Stade* surrendered to the allies; though, to avoid breaking the narrative, we related it previous to this transaction. Indeed the *Swedish* arms were not more successful by land than by sea. The elector of *Brandenburg* obliged them to raise the siege of the citadel of *Wolgast*, and afterwards took *Penemunde*. Several other disgraces followed, and *Sweden* was falling as low in military estimation as she had been raised high in the preceding reign; and ever since *Gustavus Adolphus* ascended that throne.

CHRISTIAN was intent on drawing some advantage from *Christian* the victory gained by his fleet. He ordered *Tromp* to make a descent on *Schonen* on the one side, while he entered the province at the head of an army on the other. *Tromp* immediately obeyed his orders, and appearing with a squadron before *Ustad*, summoned its governor to surrender. *Vesfen*, who commanded, sent back an answer by the trumpet, that as he had the honour of being intrusted by his king with the fortress, he would defend it to the last extremity. *Tromp* immediately ordered in a certain number of frigates to keep a continual fire, and cover the debarkation. Then he landed three thousand men on both sides of the town, and repulsed, after an obstinate engagement, a brisk sally made from the

(A) Some writers call this the finest ship ever built in the North, affirming that she mounted one hundred and thirty-four pieces of brass cannon, and was manned with eleven hundred stout seamen (1).

(1) *Des Roches*, tom. vi. p. 301.

town to impede the landing. The admiral resolved to give the assault the same night; but thought it proper first to summon the governor. A trumpet accordingly was sent, and the admiral was astonished to find that the governor and garrison had evacuated the place, without the least noise, or motion that could intimate their intention.* *Tromp* left a strong garrison here, and plentifully supplied it with every necessary for a vigorous defence, in case the enemy should attempt to retake a place of so much consequence.

IN the mean time the king embarked with about nine thousand foot, and near as many horse, accompanied by his brother, and set sail with a fleet of fifty ships, of which twelve were men of war. Next day, being the ninth of July, he arrived on the coast of *Schonen*, and landed, without resistance, between *Helsingburg* and *Landskron*. When the artillery was unshipped, his majesty detached some regiments to invest *Helsingburg*, which the governor immediately abandoned, retiring with his slender garrison into the citadel. Here he defended himself gallantly for four days, killing *Rejencrant* in the attack; but seeing no prospect of success, and the garrison being sorely galled with the fire of the batteries, surrendered just as the *Danes* were preparing to storm the citadel.

CHARLES XI. of *Sweden*, taking the reins of government into his own hands, made some motions as if he intended to oppose the progress of the *Danish* arms in that country. He put himself at the head of his army, and begun his march to *Schonen*; but, finding the *Danes* were greatly superior, he turned off to *Christianstadt*, and relinquished the design. The king of *Denmark* would not neglect pursuing the advantages which success and superiority of numbers afforded: leaving a garrison in *Helsingburg*, he marched to lay siege to *Landskron*. His first approaches were retarded by several vigorous sallies from the town; at length, however, both the town and citadel were forced to surrender, after sustaining a siege and bombardment of three weeks, and being reduced to the last extremity. *Landskron* capitulated on the fifteenth of Aug^r, and the garrison were allowed the honours of war, on account of the brave defence they made, and his majesty's respect for the valour of the governor.

Christian
takes Hel-
sinburg
and Land-
skron.

ON the surrender of *Landskron*, his majesty detached major-general *Duncamp* with a strong corps to block up *Helmstadt*, while he marched in person with the rest of the army to *Christianstadt*, and encamped within cannon-shot of the walls, on the very spot where the king of *Sweden* had pitched his camp a few days before. *Christianstadt* is in a manner inaccessible, on account of deep marshes that every way surround the town.

The

The strength of the place lulled the garrison into a security, that soon became fatal to them; for the Danes surprised and Christian took it, without erecting a single battery, or firing a cannon. *Stadt taken* Such were the rapid successes of his Danish majesty's arms. *by the Danes.*

In the mean time the Swedish army was reinforced by a strong body of Finlanders, and other levies; upon which Charles began to concert measures for opposing Christian's progress. He began with an attempt to surprise general Duncamp; for which purpose he detached general Aschenberg with eight thousand men. The motions of this officer were not so secret, but that Christian got notice of them. He sent notice to Duncamp, of the enemy's intention, with orders to retreat, if he found himself too weak to give them battle. Duncamp would have continued fighting; but the manœuvres of the enemy rendered that impracticable. He put on the best countenance he was able, and with a body of three thousand men opposed all the efforts of the Swedish general for an hour and a half; but was at last forced to give way to numbers, and received an undisputed victory, dearly purchased by the Swedes.

General Tromp made himself master of a place of no strength, the year before. General Gudenow, and laid under contribution and West Gothland. He drew innersee, defeated a body of five hundred soldiers, and laid siege to to relinquish this enterprize, on Copenhagen. Royster was to have blocked up the city, but the appearance of some English ships before the capital, as the intention of the Danish admiral's retreat was attended with consequences, besides Gudenow's discomfiture, he seized the opportunity of his absence, and himself masters of thirty vessels laden with provisions for the Danish army. Christian was incensed at this loss; and immediately ordered Royster to be arrested and superseded, captain Wibe taking upon him the command of the fleet. This officer endeavoured to regain the time lost by some vigorous measures. He blocked up Gottenburg, and formed a scheme for burning the Swedish men of war in the harbour of Helsingburg, which was frustrated by an accident, and his own squadron endangered.

GENERAL Duncamp's defeat chagrined the king, and he determined to pursue the Swedes with the utmost diligence. Accordingly he marched towards Helmstaad; but found himself greatly

greatly retarded by the *Swedes*, who broke all the bridges behind them. When he came before the city, the governor was summoned to surrender; but he refusing to comply, the place was immediately invested, and all possible endeavours used to bring the *Swedish* army, encamped in a very advantageous post at some little distance, to a battle. *Christian* perceived they were determined not to risque an engagement, and that it would be hazardous to force them; he therefore changed his measures, and detached young *Arensdorff* with a corps of horse and dragoons to the frontiers of *Sweden*, either to fight the enemy, if occasion offered, or to destroy and ruin all the forage and provision, so as to prevent the *Swedes* from wintering in *Schonen*.

Position of both armies.

ARENSDORFF begun his march, and found on his arrival at *Falkenburg* that the *Swedish* army had retreated to *Wardberg*, by which means the expedition was frustrated. He therefore rejoined the army, which was put into winter-quarters in the month of *October*, and preparations were made for taking the field early in the spring. Some of the troops were cautioned in such a manner as to block up *Malmö*; and the fleet returning to *Copenhagen*, was disarmed for the season.

Carlskrona surrendered to the Danes.

Two small squadrons were however left to cruise in the *Baltick*, under the conduct of the admirals *Bielke* and *Royfley*, who was restored to his command. The latter coming to *Carlskrona*, found the fort besieged by the garrison of *Christianstadt*, and a body of peasants. His officers requested him to land some troops and cannon to assist the besiegers, which he granted. Batteries were erected, the works carried on with more skill and alacrity than before, and at length this important place was forced to surrender. Here the *Danes* found upwards of three hundred pieces of cannon, large quantities of stores and ammunition, together with two new ships ready to put to sea, the one pierced for thirty guns, and the other for twenty-four guns.

Malmö blocked up.

MALMÖE being a place of the utmost consequence to *Sweden*, the young monarch determined to relieve it; but his own inexperience, and the ill conduct of his ministers and generals made him commit numberless errors in the execution of his design. Of these the politic *Christian* did not fail to make his advantage. He no sooner heard of the march of the

The king of Sweden resolves to relieve it.

Swedish army, which amounted to eighteen thousand men, than he marched with all expedition to *Landscroon*, drew all his troops out of garrison, and encamped in a situation near *Landscroon*, that likewise covered the blockade of *Malmö*. The ardour of the *Swedish* monarch excited him to prosecute his design at all hazards; he marched on and encamped on the opposite side of the river *Roa*, which separated the two armies

armies. Several light skirmishes happened, which decided nothing; but the *Swedish* monarch perceiving, that *Christian* had thrown so many obstacles in his way, as made the relief of *Mahoe* impracticable, decamped, and marching to *Helsingburg* laid siege to that place. Colonel *Muller*, who commanded, evacuated the town as untenable, and retired to the citadel, which he refused to surrender upon a threatening summons. The *Swedish* monarch began to batter in breach, and then gave the assault; but was received with so much courage, that the *Swedes* retreated with considerable loss. Their batteries were dismounted by the furious fire of the besieged, and matters went on so unsuccessfully, that after pillaging the town, his majesty drew off the army, and pitched his camp opposite to the *Danish* army, on the banks of the *Loder*.

THE armies again began to cannonade each other, while, in the mean time, a conference was held across the river, between the colonels *Sustedt* and *Ascheberg*; the former a *Danish*, and the latter a *Swedish* officer. The latter demanding why the king would not give battle, the other replied, that his majesty sought nothing more eagerly, provided the *Swedes* would encamp in an open plain. Upon this *Ascheberg* took his leave, saying, he would acquaint his matter. For some days nothing however passed, except certain manœuvres, by which both sides endeavoured to gain some advantage in point of situation. At last both kings determined to come to a battle, and to command their armies in person. The *Danes* were drawn up with ten squadrons composing the right wing, supported by a corps de reserve of eight squadrons. A regiment of dragoons, and three squadrons of horse, covered the flank. In the center were nine squadrons, supported by nearly an equal body of reserve; and the left wing was composed of an equal number of squadrons, supported in the same manner, and covered by a regiment of dragoons and three squadrons of horse. Upon advice that the enemy were in motion, *Christian* advanced his left wing, and general *Stanberg*, hurried on by his courage and ambition to signalize himself, attacked the right wing of the enemy, without observing the motion of the center and right wing. He was received so warmly, that most of his colonels and field-officers were killed on the spot, and himself so much wounded, that he was obliged to quit the field.

IN the mean time the right wing had more success; the enemy's left was hard pushed and broken, when the young *Swedish* monarch appearing with a reinforcement from the right, that had defeated *Stanberg*, renewed the engagement with fresh vigour. In this manner did the battle continue until night separated the combatants, the *Danish* infantry having

*Both sides
claim the
victory.*

having pushed the *Swedes* beyond *Lunden*, and the cavalry of both sides obstinately disputing the field. Both claimed the victory; but in our opinion the *Danes*, with most reason, as they remained masters of the field until sunset, pushed the enemy's infantry, took their artillery, and about sixty pair of colours and standards. However, the very same was asserted by the *Swedes*; and it is a disputed point to this very day which party urged the stronger arguments; although the ingenious author of the Present State of *Europe*, speaks of the battle of *Lunden* as if the *Danes* had received a total and decisive defeat. Indeed, with respect to consequences, this insinuation may have some foundation; for the *Swedes* relieved *Malmoe*, and *Christian* soon after returned to *Copenhagen*; but that he was worsted in the field appears from no authentic testimony. How much depended on his majesty's conduct and valour, appears from the circumstances of the engagement. Both sides agree, that he was present wherever danger and glory called; that his force was but half that of his enemy; that wherever he commanded, the enemy gave way; and that he acquitted himself in all respects like a skilful and valiant commander.

LEAVING his army for the protection of his conquests in *Schonen*, the king returned to *Copenhagen* to make fresh levies, and repair the loss he sustained in the bloody battle of *Lunden*. Twelve new regiments were ordered to be raised with all expedition; and he negotiated a subsidiary treaty with the courts of *Hanover* and *Hesse*. He likewise made propositions to cede his pretensions to *Bremen* to the duke of *Lunenbourg* and bishop of *Munster*, provided they would furnish a certain number of auxiliaries to act under the command of his generals.

*Negotiations at
Nime-
guen for
a peace.*

It is usual with princes to talk of peace while they are waging the most cruel wars, rather to impress men with an opinion of their moderation, than to be sensible of their pretensions, however unjustifiable. It happened at this time, all the contending powers sent their ambassadors to deliberate on a peace at *Nimeguen*, while each resolved to insist upon the terms he might expect after a successful war. His *Danish* majesty's intentions were very apparent, from the number of obstacles his minister raised against every proposition, and the difficulties he started about passports, precedence, ceremonials, and the right of ambassadors. The smallest circumstances is used for a pretence to break off treaties to which sovereigns have no inclination. This at *Nimeguen* run many hazards of coming to nothing, from the cavilling disposition of the parties. The ambassador of *Denmark* first disputed with the *Spanish* ambassador about the right hand, and then with the *French* minister about the language in which they were to express

press themselves: in a word, every thing was made a handle for prolonging the war. *Christian* panted after the recovery of the last provinces yielded to *Sweden*; his success for the two last campaigns had given him a taste for conquest, and whetted his ambition; and he was in hopes, that prolonging the war might reduce *Sweden* to the low estate he wished, and proportionably augment the power and grandeur of the *Danish* monarchy. Here are the claims of the several negotiating powers.

DENMARK demanded, that *France* should reimburse her in the expences of the war; and that matters between her and *Sweden* should be restored upon the same footing they stood at the peace of *Westphalia*: That the treaties of *Reschild* and *Copenhagen* should be abolished, and all the provinces dismembered from *Denmark* and *Norway*, restored: That *Sweden* should cede all her conquests in *Germany*, and that *Wismar* and the isle of *Rugen*, be annexed to the crown of *Denmark*. Finally, that for the greater security, his *Danish* majesty should garrison with his troops all the frontier towns of *Sweden*. Terms such as these, it was evident were calculated to be rejected.

THE propositions of *France* with respect to *Denmark* were, that as his most *Christian* majesty had declared war against the crown, only because in prejudice of the treaty of *Copenhagen*, which he had guaranteed, his *Danish* majesty had declared war on *Sweden*, things should be restored on all sides agreeable to the tenour of that treaty.

As for *Sweden*, her demands were of a similar nature; for by insisting on the performance of the treaty of 1660, restitution was necessarily made of all the places taken from her during the present war. The propositions of the duke of *Holstein-Gottorp*, put into the hands of the mediators by his envoys, received no answer at all, passing wholly unnoticed, because the *Danish* ambassador refused to acknowledge the minister of that prince, allied with *Sweden*, protected by *France*, and for those reasons dispossessed of his dominions by the king of *Denmark*.

SUCH were the propositions made for establishing peace in *Preparand* North, while the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* were making vigorous preparations for continuing the war. *Christian* reflecting, that his chief advantage would arise from his superiority at sea, sent admiral *Tromp*, after loading him with honours and titles, to solicit more powerful succours from the states-general of the United Provinces. On the other hand, his *Swedish* majesty having regained possession of *Helsingburg*, after the battle of *Landskrona*, was taking measures for driving the *Danes* out of *Bjerringe*. He sent a detachment to attack *Carlshaven*,

A. D. 1677. *Shaven*, which was repulsed; but afterwards laying siege in form to the place, it was surrendered after a brave defence. *Christianshaven* was the next object of his designs; to this he laid siege early in the spring, and *Christian* marched with an army of twenty thousand men to its relief. Although the *Swedes* were strongly posted, they not only refused battle, but decamped with precipitation, and were followed by that part of the army which had invested the city. To this a vigorous sally of the besieged, in which the enemy lost a great number of men, eighteen pieces of cannon, &c. greatly contributed.

As soon as *Christian* had reinforced the garrison, and thrown in the necessary supplies, he marched in pursuit of the *Swedish* army, but could not come up with it. However, he resolved to undertake the siege of *Malmoe*, because the possession of this strong hold would secure the conquest of *Schonen*. The *Danes* army arrived before the town on the nineteenth of June, and after employing eleven days in making his approaches, raising batteries, throwing bombs, and attacking the covered way, his majesty carried the counterscarp by the first of July: then playing furiously on the citadel, from the second to the fifth, he effected a lodgement on the parapet of the covered way, where a battery, to play on the east gate, was raised. *Christian*, naturally humane, would have delayed the siege a little longer, rather than sacrifice so many lives in pushing it with all the vigour that was possible; but certain intelligence which he received of the motions of the *Swedish* army and fleet, rendered all possible dispatch necessary. He therefore resolved to finish the affair by a general assault, which was fixed for the evening of the sixth of July. The troops of *Munster* were ordered to make a false attack in one quarter, while three other attacks were pushed with the utmost vigour. The *Danes* mounted the ramparts sword in hand, carried the works before la Greve gate, took post at a place called *Stockholm*, and between *Gattenburg* and *Malmoe* bastions. They were preparing to burst open the gates for the cavalry, when the draw-bridge giving way to the weight of numbers, broke down. Upon this the besieged took courage, and the *Danes* were dispirited, on seeing colonel *Bison*, with his corps, drowned. Those who had entered the town were forced to retreat with precipitation; and this unfortunate assault ended with the loss of two thousand men to his *Danish* majesty. Immediately the siege was raised, and from this time we may date the reverse of fortune of the *Danish* arms by land.

Siege
raised.

The advantages which his majesty gained by sea compensated in some measure the losses on shore. Admiral *Juel* having

having intelligence, that a *Swedish* Squadron of eighteen sail lay at *Gottenburg*, to join the main fleet, resolved to attack it before the junction could be effected, though his fleet consisted only of eleven ships of the line. On his approach the enemy cut their cables, and both fleets began a general cannonading for the space of five hours, without any considerable damage to either, a calm preventing *Juel* from coming to a close engagement. In the morning a favourable gale springing up, the *Danes* bore down with all their sail, and begun the attack with such fury, that six *Swedish* ships were disabled. *Juel* fearing lest the *Swedish* admiral might escape under favour of the smoke, lest the pursuit of the six damaged ships to the rest of his squadron, and with his own ship-boarded the admiral. The engagement was warm and obstinate, both ships being nearly of equal force, and both admirals determined to conquer. *Juel's* fortune however prevailed, and the *Swedes* struck, after fighting desperately for two hours. A complete victory followed; the *Admiral*, of sixty guns, three hundred men; the *Angel Gabriel*, of fifty guns, two hundred men; the *Calmar*, the *Angel*, and *Sirene*, each of forty-six guns, being taken, together with one fire-ship, and two transports. In all, about three thousand *Swedes* were taken and killed, with the loss only of two hundred and fifty men on the side of *Juel*. The Danes defeat the Swedish fleet.

Four days after the siege of *Malmoe* was raised, *Juel* performed another no less signal advantage to his matter, which in some measure compensated his loss before that place. He was attacked by the *Swedish* fleet near the isle of *Mona*. The admirals *Horn*, *Clerk*, the best officers in the *Swedish* marine, and *Warksmuster*, led the enemy's fleet, composed of forty sail in three divisions. Greatly superior in force, they doubted not of retrieving the late disaster; but *Juel* supplied the want of numbers by conduct, vigilance, and courage. Exploiting the wind of the day, by dint of superior skill, he broke their line, put the fleet in confusion, and took the *Mars*, of seventy-two guns, *Julius Caesar*, of sixty, *Sea-Wolf*, of fifty-six, the *Lyon*, of fifty-two, *Dragon*, and *Saturn*, each of sixty-four, sinking the *Jupiter*, of sixty guns. Never was the valour of *Juel* more tried than in this engagement, in which his ship, the *Christian*, was attacked by six large ships of the enemy, and so much damaged, that the admiral was forced to send her out of the line, and continue the fight in the *Frederick*, that happily came up to his relief. Swedish fleet defeated a second time.

Just as the battle was ended, the *Dutch* squadron, so impatiently expected, came in sight, but too late to claim any share in the glory of the day. *Tromp*, however, intercepted three sixty gun ships before they got into *Malmoe*, burnt one, and

and sunk the other two in presence of his Danish majesty, who was a witness of this action from the shore.

Battle-betwixt the two armies

A SCENE very different was acting where his majesty commanded in person, though every action was schemed with prudence, and executed with valour. Weakened by the loss of *Malmoe*, he was attacked between *Helsingburg* and *Landscron* by the king of *Sweden*, and an army near double in numbers. Both princes performed prodigies of valour: they seemed rivals in courage and glory. *Charles* exposed himself to the thickest of the fire, and *Christian*, with his own hand, slew several *Swedish* officers, who successively attempted to make him prisoner. Fatigue, joined to the excessive heat of the sun, at last put an end to the battle, the *Swedes* keeping the field, and the *Danes* retreating to their camp at *Landscron* in good order. His majesty's loss indeed was great; but his good conduct prevented the *Swedes* from deducing any considerable advantage from their victory; for such it must be allowed.

COUNT *Guldentrou*, the king's governor of *Norway*, formed a scheme to reduce *Maulskand*, a small fortified town in the district of *Babus*, situated upon a rock. His measures were so well taken, that he not only made himself master of this place, but of *Carlsfryn*, a strong place, surrounded by high walls, and encompassed by rugged mountains. Encouraged by this success, he detached two thousand horse and foot, under the command of the colonels *Haven* and *Schultzen*, to attempt regaining *Jemtland*, which had been wrested from *Denmark* at the peace of *Copenhagen*. The march made with such rapidity over rocks, inaccessible mountains, and impenetrable woods, was altogether astonishing. *Schultzen* forced a post defended by four hundred men, and a battery, where the natural situation would, by any other officer, be deemed an insuperable obstruction.

Swedes defeated.

AMIDST a variety of operations in *Norway*, we shall only take notice of one attended with more important consequences than the rest. The *Swedish* army, ten thousand strong, hearing that the *Danes* were in motion to give them battle, did not decline the engagement. On the seventh of *September* both armies came within sight of each other: they soon began a general fire with their artillery; and general *Louvenheim*, who led the vanguard, began the fight on the side of the *Danes*. He attacked sword in hand, the heavy rains having rendered his fire-arms useless. At first he was warmly received; but the resistance made by the *Swedes* was not of long duration. They soon were put in disorder, their infantry totally defeated, and their cavalry obliged to seek safety in their flight. They lost a great number of officers, four hundred soldiers, six hundred were made prisoners, all their artillerie was taken, together

Danes de- treat, and leave a clear victory to the enemy, who would have
feat^d. made prodigious slaughter, had they not been interrupted in
 the pursuit by marshes, which cut them off from the *Danish* camp. However, the consequences of this defeat were
 fatal, for no less than five thousand men fell into *Königsmark's*
 hands in a few days after the battle; so well had he taken his
 measures, and such was the confusion and anarchy that reigned
 in the *Danish* army.

Christian *CHRISTIAN* was chagrined at this loss, and employed all
makes se- his endeavours in scheming revenge. It was greatly his interest
veral at- to raise the siege of *Christianstadt*, which place the *Swedish*
tempts to army had invested; and he left nothing unattempted to effect
relieve this design. His fleet under *Fuel*, on which he had the chief
Christian- reliance, put to sea; but was greatly damaged by a storm,
stadt. that obliged the admiral to relinquish the expedition.

THE *Danish* general *Arensdorff* had better fortune; he took
 the town and citadel of *Hejlsburg*, and had just signed the
 capitulation, and received the keys of the gates, when advice
 arrived, that the *Swedish* monarch was on his march to relieve
 the garrison. Several other diversions were made, to draw the
 king of *Sweden's* attention from the siege of *Christianstadt*, a
 place equally important to both monarchs, with respect to the
 security of *Silmon*. His majesty placed his greatest hopes in
 the success of the siege of *Babus*, a place invested by general
Gullenlew. This however failed; for as the general was on
 the point of storming the town, having made himself master
 of all the outworks, the *Swedes* arrived with a powerful army
 to his relief. All these diversions having failed in producing
 the desired effect, his majesty determined upon one last effort
 to relieve *Christianstadt*, which was now reduced to the last
 extremity, for want of provisions. With this view he put
 himself at the head of his army, composed of twelve thou-
 sand men. *Arensdorff*, and the duke of *Brüsen*, commanded the
 right wing. The generals *Wedel* and *Meerheym* the left, com-
 posed of the forces of *Münster*, and the king in person; the
 count de *St. Paul* commanding under him, led the main
 body. At the same time the fleet was ordered to draw up be-
 fore the harbour of *Christianstadt*, and practise every endea-
 vour to throw in supplies. Two faults committed by general
Arensdorff frustrated the king's project. Contrary to his or-
 ders, he deterred until next day fixing upon an eminence
 which overlooked and commanded the enemy's camp, who
 taking advantage of this error, fortified the post. In every
 other part, the camp was so well fortified by the nature of the
 situation, as rendered it inaccessible; and sensible of this ad-
 vantage, the *Swedes* prudently declined all his majesty's car-
 tels and challenges to fight. They carried their
 point.

All his at-
tempts
frustrated.

point without running any hazard ; *Christianstadt* was forced to surrender in fight of the *Danish* army ; and the king, who attributed the whole loss to *Arensdorff*, was so much incensed, that he ordered that officer under arrest.

His majesty's arms were more successful in another quarter. *Rügen* ^{re-} ^{taken by} *Juel* failed for the isle of *Rügen* ; and took his measures, jointly with the elector of *Brandenburg*, so well, that the island ^{the Dapies,} was retaken, *Straßund* and *Grißwald* reduced, and several lesser advantages gained. Soon after this it was, that *Christian* had an interview with the elector, to concert their future operations. Nothing farther however was attempted for that season ; and the public attention was engrossed by the negotiations resumed at *Nimeguen*, and the unfortunate fate of the garrisons of *Straßund* and *Grißwald*, amounting to four thousand men, all of whom were shipwrecked off the island of *Borkholm*. When these towns surrendered it was capitulated, that the garrisons should be transported into *Sweden*, on board the ships of the allies. *Christian* made some objections to this ^{Shipwreck} ^{of the} ^{Swedish} ^{prisoners.} ^{as count} *Xhigsmark* had broke some parts of his engagement with the *Danish* troops in *Rügen*. At last he granted it ; and the fleet being cast away, the *Swedes* attributed it, though upon a very slight foundation, to design. Nothing indeed could be more absurd than to suppose, that either the king or elector had given orders to their admiral to shipwreck himself, or that he would have obeyed such an order, had it been given.

It was now reported, that the states-general of the United ^{Negotia-} ^{tions at} *Provinces*, had lent an ear to the propositions of the court of *France*, and agreed on a separate peace. Immediately the *Nimegu-* ^{en, where} ^{the Dutch} ^{and elector} ^{of Bran-} ^{denburg} ^{sign a se-} ^{parate} ^{peace.} plenipotentiaries of *Denmark* represented to their high mightinesses their treaty with the king, their master, in the strongest manner, urging the performance of terms mutually advantageous, with ^{the} arguments of reason and rhetoric. But all was in vain ; the states had taken their resolution, and nothing could divert them from putting an end to a war, which had proved so ruinous to them, however successful their fleets in the *Baltick* had been. All that the other allies could do was to enter a protest against their proceeding, which was done by the ambassadors of *Denmark*, *Brandenburg* and *Münster*. The same measure was taken with respect to all the other parties engaged in this general war, who had now signed a separate peace. *Denmark* and *Brandenburg* were left alone to withstand all the power of *France* and *Sweden* by sea and land ; however, they determined not to relinquish their conquests, or cede an inch of what they believed their just right. This was the elector's determination, as well as the king's ; but for ^{the} ^{reasons} made by the army under the

marechal *Crequi*, soon convinced the former, that his only method of warding the impending storm, was to renounce his alliance with *Denmark*, and embrace the propositions made by *France* and *Sweden*. Thus *Christian* remained single of all the allies to fight his own quarrel. His fleet was always superior; but the march of *Crequi*, after the elector had signed the peace, towards *Oldenburg* and *Delmeborst*, convinced his *Danish* majesty, that *France* would act with all her force in favour of *Sweden*; and that, to avoid the consequences of a war carried on against two so formidable powers, each of which had been the terror of *Europe*, it was necessary to follow the example of the other allies. He therefore gave directions to his minister to sign, which alone was wanting to re-establish the tranquillity of the *Christian* powers, embroiled for such a number of years. Accordingly peace was concluded between *France*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, on the second of *September*, 1679; all the summer having passed without any considerable military operations on either side.

Peace concluded between Sweden and Denmark.

By this treaty *Charles* was put in possession of all he claimed before the war; and *Christian*, after prodigious exertions of courage and conduct, was forced, through the fault of his allies, to sit down disappointed in all those views which had first made him declare against *Sweden*. The duke of *Holstein-Gottorp* recovered his dominions and sovereignty in consequence of the peace; and the treaties of *Roschild*, *Copenhagen*, and *Westphalia*, were declared in force between the courts of *Denmark* and *Holstein*, the same as if they had been transcribed word for word in the present treaty. It was at *Fountainbleau* that the peace between the three crowns was signed; besides which, a separate treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, was executed at *Lunden* between the ambassadors of *Denmark* and *Sweden*, in presence of the *French* ministers. Finally, the more firmly to connect the two northern crowns, a treaty of marriage was proposed between the princess *Ulrica Eleonora* of *Denmark* and the king of *Sweden*. The terms were accepted; but the ceremony deferred until the spring of the following year, on account of the multiplicity of business in which both kings were engaged, in restoring the tranquillity of their kingdoms, and redressing all the disorders and grievances introduced by a long and bloody war.

WHILE the treaty of peace was in agitation, king *Christian* advanced the greater part of his army towards the river *Elbe*, under the pretext of disputing the passage with *Crequi* the *French* general. This march gave uneasiness to the city of *Hamburg*; the magistrates expressed their resentment, particularly on general *Wedel's* building a fort in their vicinage. At last, upon seeing the king's forces daily increase, they took

took the alarm, and seemed convinced that these preparations had a farther design than was acknowledged. First, they made remonstrances, and then took effectual steps for the security of their city; precautions extremely seasonable, as *Christian* had certainly formed designs to surprize it. He had reconnoitred the ground in person, and formed a plan for besieging the city, in case his attempts to surprize it failed. He published a manifesto, declaring his rights to that city, which was answered by the *Hamburghers*; and then began to enforce his claim by arms. Batteries were raised, lines drawn, and approaches made in a regular manner, that convinced the inhabitants he was not to be resisted by arguments; they therefore applied to *France* for her mediation; and *Louis XIV.* wrote a letter with his own hand to *Christian*, exhorting him not to disturb the repose so lately granted to *Europe*, by entering upon fresh disputes; and the house of *Brunswick*, having already sent a body of troops in defence of the city, laboured so heartily in effecting an accommodation, that a sort of provisional treaty was concluded on the first day of *November*.

*Christian
Luther
Hamburg*

By the city of *Hamburg*, agreed to pay his majesty, at Peace with five stated instalments, the sum of two hundred and twenty thousand crowns, on condition that he sheathed the sword, and laid aside the resentment he had conceived against this city; renounced his pretensions to those territories possessed conjointly between *Lubeck* and *Hamburg*; restored the shipping and merchandize he had taken, belonging to the city, together with several other articles, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. By the third article, the city of *Hamburg* engaged to send deputies to *Christian*, to declare the sentiments of the magistrates and burghers, with respect to his majesty.

Thus peace was happily established; and the *Danish* army began to file gradually out of the duke of *Holstein Gottorp's* territories. Tranquillity was now restored to *Europe*; several marriages were celebrated among the parties concerned in the war; and among others, that of the princess *Eleanora* of *Denmark* with his *Swedish* majesty. On the twenty-fifth of *February* she was demanded by *M. Guldenstern*, the *Swedish* ambassador, arrived in *Copenhagen*; but her departure was deferred on account of a fever, with which she was seized. At length her royal highness set out for *Sweden*, where the nuptials were celebrated with all imaginable pomp and magnificence.

A. D.
1680.

CHRISTIAN next applied himself to the affairs of the empire, and finally terminating the differences between the houses of *Austria* and *Bourbon*, which met with numberless difficulties. He laboured so heartily in this business, that he

*Chris-
tian's
policy.*

received the thanks of the diet at *Ratisbon*; but not satisfied with general declarations, he entered into an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the elector of *Brandenburg* and bishop of *Munster*, whereby the contracting parties engaged with all their power to preserve the peace of the empire, and mutually to assist each other in case either was attacked. Although in fact this alliance was no more than defensive, it gave umbrage to the United Provinces, who called it an offensive treaty, calculated for some end not specified in the treaty. They dreaded lest his majesty formed designs on their homeward-bound *East-India* fleet; and their fears were augmented by the attention which his *Danish* majesty gave to his marine. There had been some differences between the two nations, on account of a *Danish* ship taken by the *Hollanders* on the coast of *Guinny*; but the event shewed that *Christian* had no intention of coming to a rupture by making reprisals. *Christian* used all possible endeavours to dispel the clouds of suspicion gathered in *Holland*; he wrote to the city of *Amsterdam*, protesting that so far from giving any disturbance to the commerce of the United Provinces, it should be his study assiduously to cultivate the good intelligence between *Denmark* and *Holland*. As *France* was now included in the late treaty of alliance, he thought it necessary to declare, that the sole object of this confederacy was no other than to preserve that tranquility which *Europe* had begun to taste.

A. D. 1682. In the month of *July*, *Christian* and the elector of *Brandenburg* had an interview at *Itzoba*; but the business transacted at this conference is rather conjectured at than known. Common report would have it, that *Holstein* was the subject of their conversation. Certain it is, that not long after his majesty imposed a tax of eighteen crowns upon each plough in the dutchys; and the duke, not in a condition to oppose this resolution, was forced to consent to see the inhabitants oppressed.

FROM *Itzoba* his majesty returned with all expedition to *Copenhagen*, on advice that a strong *Swedish* fleet had put to sea. Here he arrested two *Lubeck* ships, under pretence that the regency owed him a sum of money. The duke of *Lunenburg* first interposed, and afterwards the imperial minister complained loudly at his proceeding, both as guarantees of the late treaty at *Nimeguen*, and protectors of the hanse-towns; however they obtained no redress, and the vessels were at length released, in consequence of a deputation from the regency.

A DIFFERENCE likewise happened between the fleets of *Sweden* and *Denmark*. The former having put in by fires of

of weather at *Elfsneur*, refused to pay the usual honours to *Differences* the flag of *Denmark*. This the *Danish* admiral resented, and *between* begun firing upon the *Swedes*, which at last obliged them to *Denmark* lower their flag and strike their colours. The *Swedish* ~~and the~~ voy complained of this violence at *Copenhagen*; he insisted *neighbour-* upon the admiral's being broke, which *Christian* peremptorily *sing powers* refused, though he found other means to terminate the affair amicably.

NEXT year a dispute of more consequence arose between *Denmark* and ~~the~~ republic of *Holland*. The *Danes* complained that their settlement was driven out of *Bantam*, by the king's son, at the instigation of the *Dutch*; they demanded not only to be indemnified in the immense losses they sustained, but that their company should be restored to all the rights and privileges they before enjoyed. The dispute was warmly carried on by both parties, and it was believed that the difference between the two companies would occasion a rupture between both nations. However, the business was too important to be suddenly determined. Both agreed to wait for farther advice from the *Indies*; and thus the dispute was delayed, but not decided.

It was apprehended, from the preparations made by *Sweden*, *Denmark*, *Bavaria*, and *Lunenbourg*, that the tranquillity of *Germany* would be again interrupted. Each of the above princes were busied in putting their armies on the best footing; and the forces of *Denmark* were actually in a flourishing condition, being lately augmented, in consequence of a subsidy from the *French* court. *Christian* reviewed his army at *Oldsloe*, which raised jealousies in the regency of *Lubeck* and duke of *Lunenbourg*. The former put the city in the best state of defence, and the latter augmented his army to twenty thousand men; but nothing was undertaken by either side.

THE first actual hostilities happened between his majesty *The king* and the city of *Hamburg*. Private dissensions had arisen in *lays siege to* that city, the people refusing to pay the taxes imposed by *Hamburg* the senate. Matters were carried so high, that all government ceased, and the whole was one confused anarchy. A more favourable opportunity could not offer for *Christian's* renewing his demand on *Hamburg*. He immediately embraced the occasion, and presented himself with a powerful army before the gates, demanding that he might be acknowledged protector of the city against the emperor's usurpation, and threatening in case of refusal to treat the inhabitants as enemies. The senate not giving ear to these propositions, he enforced his menaces with actions. He attacked some of the outposts sword in hand, hoping to reduce the city by bombardment, if he succeeded in securing his approaches:

but he was repulsed with loss. A second attack was made with all imaginable fury; but the fort having a communication with the city, it was constantly supplied with fresh troops, so that the assailants were forced to desist, with more loss than in the former attempt.

A. D.
1685.

It was now found impossible to succeed by assault, his majesty therefore resolved to proceed regularly, and besiege the fort in form, after cutting off the communication between it and the city. But while he was engaged in making his approaches to the fort, the *Lunenbourg* infantry, and a body of *Brandenburg* cavalry, entered the city. These were soon joined by a strong corps of *Swedish* matrosses and gunners from the dutchy of *Bremen*, the whole garrison forming an army of twelve thousand men. However, the king did not relinquish his design; he continued drawing lines to cut off the communication, and erecting batteries to play on this strong fort. Several little forts were built to cover his operations, which the *Hamburgers* perceiving, determined to drive the *Danes* from their works. A vigorous sally was made, and about five hundred *Danish* infantry cut in pieces before the cavalry could come to their assistance: afterwards the scene changed, the *Hamburgers* were repulsed, driven back to the town, and scarce able to prevent the *Danish* cavalry from entering the gates with them. In the heat of pursuit, a *Danish* officer, having actually got within the walls, was discovered by the officer on guard, who presented his scabbard; but the *Dane*, too quick for him, drew his pistol, shot the *Hamburger* dead, turned his reins, and oversetting all who opposed him, made his way back to the camp.

*Peace re-
sisted.*

IMMEDIATELY after this conflict, a negotiation was set on foot by the elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Zell*, who came to *Harburg*, on the opposite side of the river, to push the mediation with the more vigour. The *English* envoy strenuously promoted an accommodation, which was at length concluded, after his *Danish* majesty had made fruitless attempts to lay the city in ashes with his bombs. The principal article of this treaty was, that matters should remain on the footing they then stood, until the year 1700, without detriment to the claim of his *Danish* majesty.

ALL the world was astonished to see the king lay siege with fifteen thousand men to *Hamburg*, the works of which were so extensive as to require sixty thousand men completely to invest them. It was believed therefore that he relied upon secret promises from some of the chief burghers, who afterwards deceived him.

ALTHOUGH the city of *Hamburg* was now secured by a peace, guaranteed by princes able to protect her, yet she did not

not fail to keep herself in a posture of defence. *Christian's* standing army, and close alliance with *France* and *England*, gave the alarm not only to the senate of *Hamburg*, but to all the neighbouring princes. The North enjoyed peace; but all the princes made vigorous preparations, as if they intended coming to an immediate rupture. In effect, this was owing to the intrigue and policy of *France*, who finding it necessary to maintain a large army for the defence of her conquests, thought of nothing but to keep all the neighbouring kingdoms in a state of suspense. Her views were to exhaust their funds for carrying on a war, in case they should unite to retrench the power of the house of *Barbours*.

An ordonnance published this year by the king of *Denmark* furnished new matter of speculation, and gave the alarm in particular to the *Dutch*. The treaty of commerce concluded in 1647 between *Denmark* and the United Provinces was now expired, and his majesty raised the duties on *Dutch* shipping passing the *Sound*, and prohibited the exportation of black cattle out of *Jutland*, and other parts of his dominions. It was presumed that his majesty had farther designs; and these edicts published with a view merely to excite fresh troubles. For this reason the *Dutch* laid an embargo on all their ships destined for the *Baltick*, to prevent their being seized by the *Danes*, in case his majesty should think fit to come suddenly to a rupture, and before they had taken measures for regulating the affair of the customs of the *Sound*. In the mean time their ambassador at *Copenhagen* procured a suspension for four years of any farther proceedings, and till matters should be finally adjusted by a solemn treaty.

THE affairs of the duchy of *Holstein* had been long in agitation. His *Danish* majesty still claimed the sovereignty of that duchy, and in a manner kept possession of *Holstein*, as appeared from the late heavy tax imposed on the people. To put a final end to their differences, the duke at last consented to a conference at *Altena*, to be conducted under the mediation of the emperor and elector of *Brandenburg*. *Christian* could not give stronger proofs of the justice of his cause, than by submitting to the mediation of princes visibly, nay professedly, biased in favour of the duke. His highness relied upon his declining the conference upon such terms; but finding that *Christian* accepted the proposal, he did all that lay in his power to confound the business of the negotiation, which he knew must terminate to his disadvantage. All his endeavours however being frustrated by the vigilance and policy of *Christian*, his highness was compelled, as the last resource, to accede to the proposed accommodation, in hopes

A. D. 1687.
Negotiations respecting Holstein.

hopes that fortune might one day prove more favourable to his pretensions.

A. D.
1688.

THE two northern crowns continued their armaments, and the duke raised his hopes in proportion as he saw the *Swedish* army increase. At last he published a memorial, in which he demanded, first, that the duchy of *Sleswick*, and the territory called *le Don de Dieu*, and its dependencies, should be restored to the same situation in which they stood A. 1674, when they were sequestered: secondly, that the treaties of *Rajskuld*, *Copenhagen*, *Fontainbleau*, and *Lunden*, should be the basis of the negotiation, and that of *Rendburg* totally annulled: thirdly, that the isle of *Fennem*, the baillages of *Trittau*, *Trenshutte*, and *Steenburst*, should be given up without any equivalent or remaining claim: and, fourthly, that his highness should enjoy all the prerogatives of sovereignty, particularly those of collecting and imposing taxes, and of declaring war and peace. Several other particulars, which we need not mention, were specified in this memorial.

A. D.
1689.

HIS majesty answered every article in a memorial which he published immediately after the appearance of the duke's. He begun with observing, that the treaties mentioned by the duke, could not possibly lay the foundation of the desired negotiation, as the face of affairs was greatly altered since that time; and the duke having once refused their authority, he had now no right to claim any benefit from them. Every article was minutely answered, and the differences at last ended by the treaty of *Altna*, concluded under the mediation of *England* and *Brandenburg*, the former influenced to intercede by the solicitations of prince *George* of *Denmark*, and the latter from a desire to prevent *Sweden's* marching an army into *Pomerania*. By this treaty a general amity was agreed upon, and a perpetual union and friendship begun between the courts of *Denmark* and *Holslein*. His *Danish* majesty restored the duke to all his dominions and sovereignties, with the right of levying taxes, making alliances, declaring war, concluding peace, building or demolishing fortresses: in a word, all the prerogatives his highness enjoyed, from the treaty of *Westphalia* and of the North, to the year 1665, and likewise all that he could claim from the treaty of *Fontainbleau*. The king also consented to the redemption of the isle of *Fennem*, and the baillages of *Steenburst*, *Trenshutte*, and *Trittau*, which had been mortgaged to the crown of *Denmark*.

Conclusion
of the dif-
ference be-
tween
Denmark
and *Hol-
stein*.

ON the other hand his highness renounced all claims, pretensions, and actions against his majesty for the damages he had sustained by the retention of his dominions, and the king's

king's levying his revenues for years past. He likewise yielded up all claims in consequence of the verdict obtained against the duke of *Holstein-Plön* in the imperial chamber. As to the treaty of perpetual union, family connections, conventions, and private contracts, they were put on the same footing they stood before the year 1657, as was literally expressed in the treaties of *Wipshalia*, *Fontainebleau*, &c. All other particulars were referred to an amicable decision; and in case that could not be done, to the course of law, without any attempts to be made on either side to succeed by force. In testimony of this agreement, two copies were made out, signed, sealed, and delivered to both parties at *Altena*, on the twentieth of *June*, 1689. Such was the end of those differences between the king and duke of *Holstein*, which was the immediate cause of the late war with *Sweden*, and had been for years the subject of jealousy, contention, and perpetual wrangling (A).

ABOUT this time some altercation happened between the courts of *London* and *Copenhagen*, about some *Danish* ships which the *British* monarch had detained. *Christian* did not care to embroil himself with that crown. He knew the advantages which his subjects deduced from the *French* commerce: however, this trifling circumstance became the foundation of a treaty, which he soon after concluded with *Sweden*, by which it was agreed, that they should mutually resent the injuries done to either, and act in all respects like nations closely connected in interest, treaties, and natural alliances. Both, notwithstanding, consented to carry on trade in its utmost extent; a resolution which gave umbrage to the enemies of that monarchy, and was the occasion of the *Heller*'s attacking a fleet of *Danish* merchantmen bound to *France*. This was an affront which his majesty soon revenged, by ordering all *Dutch* vessels in his ports, and in the *Sound*, to be seized; a measure which soon reduced the republic to the necessity of using supplications, and de-

A. D.
1690.

Treaty
with
France.

(A) An instance of generosity in *Prince George* of *Denmark*, afterwards married to *Anne* queen of *Great-Britain*, ought not to escape on this occasion. His father had left him by will a portion of three hundred thousand crowns, and his brother, unable to advance the sum assigned him the baillages mentioned above, until his patri-

mony could be paid. These baillages being now restored to the duke of *Holstein*, provided he could redeem them; and his highness having no money to pay off the mortgage, *prince George*, with unparalleled generosity, made him the compliment of them, that every obstruction to a treaty so salutary to *Denmark* might be removed (1).

(1) *Peter's Memoirs de Dan.* p. 242.

manding

manding an accommodation. A negotiation for this purpose was set on foot, and a treaty finally concluded in the month of July, whereby *Denmark* was permitted freely to trade with *France* in all kinds of commodities, except such as were prohibited by former treaties; viz. salt-petre, pitch, powder, lead, and a few others. In consequence of this accommodation both sides released the shipping they had detained, and *Denmark* lived upon the same terms of amity as before with the republic.

A. D.
1691.

His majesty this year made a trip to *Holstein*, to visit the fortifications erecting with the duke's consent at *Rendsburg*. Such progresses made by princes always furnish matter of speculation, and it is conjectured that other motives than those they declare actuate them. This was the case in the present instance. The public would have it, that a plan was concerted between the kings of *Denmark* and *Sweden* for the reduction of the cities of *Hamburg* and *Bremen*. The conjuncture was indeed favourable for such a design; all the princes interested in the preservation of these towns being otherwise engaged. However, all suspicion was banished by a letter which his *Danish* majesty wrote to the diet at *Ratisbon*, disclaiming an intention to molest either *Hamburg* or *Bremen*, or any wise disturb the repose of the empire.

NOTHING farther of moment happened in *Denmark* during the reign of *Christian*, except some little disputes with the *Dutch*, the duke of *Holstein*, and the cities of *Hamburg* and *Lubeck*, all which were accommodated with little trouble, and without the necessity of applying to arms. It was now the policy of this great monarch to preserve to his people the blessings of peace, which he effectually did until his death, which happened on the fourth of September, 1699, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and twenty-ninth of his reign.

Death and
character
of *Chris-*
tian.

THE breath had no sooner quitted his body, than some of the by-standers cried over the window, "The king is dead;" upon which count *Rasentlaw* called over the window of the young queen, "Long live king *Frederick IV.*" The count's voice was no sooner heard than the heralds at arms solemnly proclaimed the prince king of *Denmark*, the gates of the city were shut for some days, all the troops put under arms, and an oath exacted from the senate, magistrates, and inhabitants, before they were opened.

CHRISTIAN V. died with the reputation of one of the greatest monarchs in *Europe*, having given numberless proofs of his wisdom in the cabinet; of his courage and conduct in the field; of his affability, tenderness for his people, and every virtue which could engage esteem and love. His greatest enemies charge him only with one foible, and that was,

was, his reposing too much confidence in the opinions of his ministers and generals, and thinking too meanly of his own understanding; an amiable fault, that ever accompanies true merit. He spoke most of the modern languages, and had made a great progress in those branches of the mathematics which regarded the military art and history. *Christian* was never so much pleased as when he was presented with some new geographical chart or plan of fortification. It would be unnecessary to dwell upon his character; the *Danes* recite his virtues with the utmost satisfaction to this day.

FREDERICK IV.

HERE we proposed ending the *Danish* history, as all the extraordinary particulars in the succeeding reign will be fully related in the *Swedish* history: however, to render the work more complete, we shall subjoin a short view of the principal actions of *Frederick IV.* who was immediately proclaimed, as we have seen, upon the death of his father. When he ascended the throne, he found it convenient to act precisely upon *Christian's* principles. He resolved to keep the duke of *Holstein* dependent on his crown, and with that view over-run the dutchy, and undertook the siege of *Tonningen*, that laid the foundation of a long war we shall have occasion to relate in the next volume. His *Swedish* majesty laid siege to *Copenhagen*; and the *English* and *Dutch*, as guarantees of the last peace, sent fleets into the *Baltick*; vigorous measures which reduced *Frederick* to the necessity of signing the famous peace of *Travendahl* in August 1700.

A. D.
1700.

By this treaty, the full right of sovereignty was once more yielded to the duke of *Holstein*, who was to use, without constraint, all the annexed prerogatives; the right of making war, concluding peace, levying taxes, erecting or razing fortifications, &c. with this limitation, that he should not build within two miles of any *Danish* fort. It was likewise stipulated, that his *Danish* majesty should pay the duke two hundred and sixty thousand crowns; and that the chapter of *Lubeck* should be at liberty to elect for their bishop a prince of *Holstein*. Disputes however about this election happened the very next year.

A. D. 1701.
A view of his conduct.

IN 1708, after making the tour of *Italy*, *Frederick* attacked the *Swedes* in *Schonen*, by whom he was roughly handled; however, his good fortune by sea compensated in a great measure his losses on shore. Three years after, in conjunction with the *Poles*, he fell upon *Swedish Pomerania*, took *Danzarten*, but failed in some other enterprizes. Next year he made himself master of the dutchy of *Bremen*, and city of *Stale*; but his army was soon after defeated by the *Swedes*, and

and the fine town of *Altena* burnt to the ground. In 1714 and the year following, he was successful by sea and land, drove the *Swedes* out of *Norway*, reduced *Wismar*, and gained several other advantages, which he did not pursue, because he perceived they were less beneficial to himself than to his allies, who did not merit great services from him. This it was that inclined *Frederick* to peace, which was concluded in 1720, under the mediation of *George I.*, king of *Great-Britain*.

This treaty secured to his *Danish* majesty all he could reasonably desire. In particular, it procured what was of great consequence to him, the guarantee of *France* for the possession of the duchy of *Sleswick*. From this time his majesty passed his days in tranquillity, and only a single accident, the burning of his capital, occurred to disturb his repose. *Frederick* was certainly a wise prince, strongly inclined to promote the welfare of his subjects; brave and politic; but too enterprising, as some think, and ready to embrace the ideal schemes of projectors, upon which he squandered his public money, without deducing the expected advantage. He died in 1730, in the sixtieth year of his age, deeply regretted by all his subjects, and highly esteemed by the potentates of *Europe*.

CHRISTIAN VI.

Chris-
tian VI.

It was his son *Christian VI.* who might justly be called the father and darling of his subjects. This prince, immediately on his accession, made several alterations, all of which gave extreme satisfaction, as they were wisely calculated for the ease of the people. In particular, he abolished a farm, established in the late reign, for the sole vending brandy, wine, salt, and tobacco; a farm extremely beneficial to the prince, but oppressive to the subject. Those persons interested in it, offered to advance large sums for its continuance; but *Christian* answered, "It produced too much, since his subjects complained of the exactions it occasioned;" a saying worthy of perpetual remembrance and admiration!

A short
view of
his wife
policy.

CHRISTIAN's whole administration was perfectly consistent with those specimens of wisdom and moderation he gave in the beginning of his reign. In 1736, he terminated the old disputes with the city of *Hamburg*, which put a million of silver marks in his coffers, and produced several advantageous concessions to his subjects. He established a council of trade, to examine all proposals made for the extension of commerce, in order to give the necessary encouragement for executing such as met with approbation. Every thing possible he did for promoting science, arts, and manufactures, workmen being hired at high prices from all the different kingdoms

